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For the YEAR 1819.

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PREFACE.

THE Foreign History of the year 1819 presents few events or circumstances of much moment in themselves, though deriving interest and consequence, as the indicators and forerunners of future changes of most material and momentous importance. The Domestic History of the same period is replete with topics and events that must suggest serious and almost terrifying reflections and anticipations to all who consider them deeply in all their bearings. The causes which produced the tumultuous meetings in the manufacturing districts are of such a nature that they cannot die away, so long as the minds of the mass of the people are imbued with the doctrines that produced those meetings, and their feelings are at the same time agitated by distress.

We have endeavoured to give a faithful picture of the state of Britain during 1819, particularly of the dreadful meeting at Manchester. The trial of Mr. Hunt of course belongs to our next Volume; but we believe we have, in the present, represented the Manchester Meeting in that light in which it is now regarded by all impartial persons. The state of the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, circulating medium, and finances has received from us

their due portion of attention and examination:—every year, each of those topics becomes more and more interesting.

The foreign relations of Britain continue highly satisfactory. France, though in a slight degree agitated by party, especially by the machinations of the Ultra Royalists, is advancing, under the guidance of the good sense and moderation of the King, in industry, prosperity, and strength. Spain during 1819 sunk, if possible, deeper in degradation and distress than she had previously done, and seemed to have reached that state, in which human patience and endurance under a feeble government is exhausted. Some parts of Germany obtained at least the semblance of political liberty; others were still refused it, though repeatedly promised it; but all were dreadfully agitated. The United States, in all the vigour of youth, were throwing off their temporary distress; while the cause of freedom was advancing in South America.

SEPTEMBER 1st, 1820.

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BRITISH

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1819.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1819.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the Privileges, &c. of the three Branches of the Legislature—Opening of the new Parliament—Regent's Speech—Debate on the Address—Criminal Code—Insolvent Debtors—Supply—Cash Payments—Civil List—Finance—Poor Laws.

THE occasion of the calling of a new parliament, and of the record of its proceedings in the first session, seems an appropriate opportunity of introducing a few brief remarks on the powers, privileges, and modes of proceeding of the three branches of the legislature. This we are the rather induced to do, because, strange and not very creditable as it may appear, it is undoubted that comparatively few, even of well-educated and otherwise well-informed Britons, are well acquainted with the constitution of their government, except in its most general and broad outlines.

The sovereign constitutes the head and chief branch of the legislative body: but no law can be acted upon, or indeed pass, without the concurrence of all the three branches,—the king, house of lords, and house of commons. The chief prerogative of the sovereign, as the head of the legislature, consists in the power of calling, proroguing and dissolving parliament. He opens parliament by a speech, either delivered in person, or by commissioners; it may also be prorogued or dissolved, and the royal assent given to bills, either by him in person, or by commissioners.

The house of peers consists of all the peers of England, and of a certain number of Scotch and Irish peers. Peers are called up to the house of lords in three different modes: by tenure, by writ, or by patent. The archbishops and bishops may be considered as called by election; they sit indeed as barons or temporal peers; but in their spiritual character they are nominally elected by the dean and chapter. The Scotch peers, who represent the whole bo-

dy of the peerage of that nation, are sixteen: they are chosen at the beginning of every parliament. There are also 28 representative peers from Ireland, but they are chosen for life: the church of Ireland is represented by one archbishop and three bishops, who come in by rotation every session.

Independently of its legislative authority the house of lords is the supreme court of judicature: to it there is an appeal from all the civil courts, and its decision is final: before it also, and by it, all impeachments are conducted and determined. It can originate and alter all bills except money bills; these must originate with the commons, and can alone be altered in that house. It scarcely ever happens, either in the house of lords or house of commons, that any debate takes place on the first reading of a bill: on the second reading, only its principles are discussed: it is then referred to a committee, where it is thoroughly canvassed in detail: the report of the committee is then made; and on its third reading it is passed or rejected. All bills originating in the house of lords, after being passed there, are sent to the commons; but bills coming from the commons remain with the lords for the royal assent, unless altered, when they are again sent to the commons for their concurrence. Private bills are referred to select committees; public bills, to a committee of the whole house. Peers can vote by proxy, except in committee: any peer may enter, in the journals of the house, his reasons of dissent from any measure or bill—which is called a protest.

The chief officer in the house of lords is the speaker, who is generally the lord chancellor: his duty is to preserve order, direct the business, collect the votes, and declare the numbers: the peers vote by saying *Content* or *Not content*. When the house goes into a committee of the whole house, the speaker gives up his authority, and is succeeded by the chairman of committees: he has a council to assist him, composed of certain peers: his situation is generally permanent: his duty is the same in committees as that of the speaker at other times: he also reports the decision of the committees to the house. The judges are present in the house of lords to give their opinions on points of law: bills and messages are carried from the peers to the commons by masters in chancery.

The house of commons consists of members for the counties, cities and boroughs of England; and a certain number of members from Scotland and Ireland. The county members of England are chosen by all who possess a freehold of the yearly value of 40*s.*—in Scotland by those who have 400*l.* Scotch of old valued rent, which is now in most cases equal to 400*l.* English: but the superiority, that is, the right to elect, derived from such an estate, may be purchased separately from the estate. In Ireland 40*s.* freehold, or on lease for life, gives the elective franchise. In England the elective franchise for cities and boroughs varies considerably; as it does also in Ireland: in Scotland it resides in the town council, or corporation.

A new parliament is called by the sovereign's warrant to the lord chancellor, commanding him to

to issue writs: these are directed to the sheriffs, and must be returned in 40 days after the *teste*, or date. The sheriffs issue their directions to the returning officer of each city or borough, who is generally the mayor: the election must begin in eight days after the receipt of the order from the sheriff, for all cities, &c.; and in 14 days for all counties. While the house is sitting, all vacancies are filled up by writs issued by the speaker, under the authority of the house: during a recess, the speaker, on being certified of the death of a member, issues his warrant for a writ.

No person can legally represent a county, who does not possess 600*l.* a-year in land; nor a city, &c. who does not possess a landed estate of 300*l.* a-year; but in the latter case, the qualification is often nominal, or borrowed for the occasion. The eldest sons and heirs of peers, or of those qualified to represent counties, are exempted.

When the new parliament first assembles, a speaker is chosen by order of the sovereign, by whom, after his election, he is approved. The lord steward of the household swears in the first 40 members: these are sufficient to constitute a house, and they can swear in the remainder.

The mode of introducing and passing bills is nearly similar to that of the house of lords: if the latter alter a money bill, the commons reject it, even though they approve of the alterations, and introduce a new one. When the two houses disagree, a conference between them takes place.

The speaker of the house of commons keeps order, regulates the debates, puts all questions, and declares the sense of the house: no business can proceed without him. He never votes unless the house is equally divided, or it has resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, when indeed he is no longer speaker. He is the first commoner in rank in the country. There is also a chairman of the general committees, whose duty, while the house is in a committee, is similar to that of the speaker: he is chosen by the house.—In order that all new laws may be generally known, 5,500 copies of every public bill are sent to the mayor or other chief officer of every city, &c. in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

House of lords, Jan. 14. The new parliament being summoned to meet this day, chief baron Richards, as acting for the lord chancellor, who was confined by indisposition, took his seat on the woolsack at half past two o'clock, and apprised the house of peers that the prince regent was not able to attend in person, but had empowered certain commissioners to open the parliament. He then proposed to adjourn during pleasure.

After a short adjournment, the house was resumed, and the duke of Wellington, and lords Harrowby, Liverpool, Westmoreland, and Shaftesbury, having taken their seats as commissioners, and the commons being soon after in attendance, lord Harrowby stated, that as soon as a sufficient number of the members of both houses were sworn, the prince regent would let them know the cause for which he had summoned them together; and it being necessary that a speaker of the house of

commons should be first chosen, it was the pleasure of his royal highness that the gentlemen of the house of commons should repair to their usual place of sitting, and proceed to the choice of a speaker, and that they should present him this day at the bar of the upper house for the prince regent's approbation. The lords then proceeded to take the oaths.

The members of the commons being returned to their own chamber, Mr. Peel proposed to elect to the office of speaker the right honourable Charles Manners-Sutton.

The motion was seconded by lord Clive, supported by Mr. Barnett, the member for Rochester, and unanimously adopted.

The speaker elect was then conducted to the chair in the usual form, and returned thanks to the house for the high honour thus conferred upon him a second time.

Mr. Canning then moved an adjournment, and availed himself of the opportunity to pronounce another deserved panegyric upon the right honourable gentleman.

Jan. 15. The commons, pursuant to usage, were summoned by the usher of the black rod, by direction of the commissioners authorized by the crown to give their assent to, or dissent from, the choice made by the commons of a speaker of their house for the present parliament. The right honourable Charles Manners Sutton appeared at the bar of the house of lords, attended by many of the members of the lower house, where he informed the lords commissioners that the choice of the commons had fallen on himself.

The earl of Harrowby, as first commissioner, gave the royal approval to the choice of the commons.

The speaker then proceeded to claim from the crown the usual privileges enjoyed by the house of commons, such as freedom of debate, exemption from arrest, and free access at all convenient occasions, &c. These the first lord commissioners declared they were empowered by the crown to grant, in the fullest possible manner. The commons then retired, and both houses proceeded to the only business before them—swearing in members.

Jan. 21. This day the commissioners sent the usher of the black rod to summon the commons; on whose appearance the lord chancellor read the following speech:

"My lords and gentlemen,—We are commanded by his royal highness the prince regent to express to you the deep regret which he feels in the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition. In announcing to you the severe calamity with which it has pleased divine providence to visit the prince regent, the royal family, and the nation, by the death of her majesty the queen of the united kingdom, his royal highness has commanded us to direct your attention to the consideration of such measures as this melancholy event has rendered necessary and expedient, with respect to the care of his majesty's sacred person. We are directed to inform you that the negociations which have taken place at Aix-la-Chapelle, have led to the evacuation of the French territory by the allied armies. The prince regent has given orders that the convention concluded for this purpose, as well as the other documents connected with this arrangement, shall be laid before you; and he is persuaded that you will view with

with peculiar satisfaction the intimate union which so happily subsists amongst the powers who were parties to these transactions, and the unvaried disposition which has been manifested in all their proceedings for the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of Europe. The prince regent has commanded us further to acquaint you, that a treaty has been concluded between his royal highness and the government of the United States of America, for the renewal, for a further term of years, of the commercial convention now subsisting between the two nations, and for the amicable adjustment of several points of mutual importance to the interests of both countries; and, as soon as the ratifications shall have been exchanged, his royal highness will give directions that a copy of this treaty shall be laid before you.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—The prince regent has directed that the estimates for the current year shall be laid before you. His royal highness feels assured that you will learn with satisfaction the extent of reduction which the present situation of Europe, and the circumstances of the British empire, have enabled his royal highness to effect in the naval and military establishments of the country. His royal highness has also the gratification of announcing to you a considerable and progressive improvement of the revenue in its most important branches.

"My lords and gentlemen,—The prince regent has directed to be laid before you such papers as are necessary to show the origin and result of the war in the East Indies. His royal highness commands us to inform you that the operations undertaken by the governor-general in council against the Pindarries, were dictated by the strictest principles of self-defence; and that, in the extended hostilities which followed upon those operations, the Mahratta princes were, in every instance, the aggressors. Under the provident and skilful superintendance of the marquis of Hastings, the campaign was marked, in every point, by brilliant achievements and successes; and his majesty's forces and those of the East India company (native as well as European) rivalled each other in sustaining the reputation of the British arms. The prince regent has the greatest pleasure in being able to inform you, that the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country are in a most flourishing condition. The favourable change which has so rapidly taken place in the internal circumstances of the united kingdom, affords the strongest proof of the solidity of its resources. To cultivate and improve the advantages of our present situation will be the object of your deliberations; and his royal highness has commanded us to assure you of his disposition to concur and co-operate in whatever may be best calculated to secure to his majesty's subjects the full benefits of that state of peace, which, by the blessing of providence, has been so happily re-established throughout Europe."

On the withdrawing of the commons the swearing-in of peers continued until four o'clock, when an adjournment took place until six. At that hour the lord chancellor read the speech.

The earl of Warwick then touched upon the different topics in the speech in their order, and concluded with moving an address, which was, as usual, a mere echo of the speech.

Lord Saltoun seconded the address.

The marquis of Lansdown said, that, with regard to that part of the speech which related to the death of the queen, there could be but one sentiment, and one expression of sentiment, in that house. He approved of the evacuation of France, and of her readmission to her proper rank in the system of Europe. He regretted that the speech said nothing as to what had been done to complete the abolition of the slave-trade. The improvement in the revenue was gratifying, but, calculating it at its utmost extent, it would be found that the annual income would not exceed between 53 and 54,000,000*l.* whilst the expenditure amounted to 68,000,000*l.*—thus leaving a deficiency of 14,000,000*l.* equal to the whole amount of the sinking fund. He did not conceive that reductions could be effected beyond 4,000,000*l.*; so that the financial state of the country would call for the immediate attention of parliament. He further regretted the silence of the speech on the subject of the resumption of cash payments. Without a fixed system, as to the national currency, no certain calculation could be made as to the public revenue or private property. He was pleased to learn that the commercial treaty with the United States had been renewed. He hoped that the proceedings of the court-martial on Messrs. Ambrister and Arbuthnot would be formally disavowed by the American government. With regard to the Indian war, he conceived that it was one of self-defence, and it had been conducted in a manner which did honour to his majesty's arms.

The earl of Liverpool, after panegyrizing the virtues of the late queen, stated the grounds on which France had been evacuated, and said he was bound in conscience to declare, that, so far as he knew, there never was a period in the history of the world when so general an anxiety prevailed to preserve the peace, when the causes of disturbance were so completely removed, when nations and sovereigns were more divested of ambition and the love of undue influence, and when the necessity of repose and the spirit of conciliation were more thoroughly acknowledged or acted upon over the European community. What had been done relative to the slave-trade would be laid before the house at a proper opportunity. Looking to the short period since the conclusion of hostilities, the finances of the country were by no means in an unsatisfactory state. It should be recollected that taxes to the amount of 17,500,000*l.* had been remitted. As to the national currency, no man could be more anxious than he was for a recurrence to cash payments; but to attempt such a measure, under an unfavourable state of the exchange, or whilst loans to foreign powers were in progress, would be productive of much distress. It might perhaps be found necessary to continue the restriction beyond the month of July next. As

to

to forged notes, the commissioners of inquiry had prepared a report, stating that plans had been presented, by which, if forgery could not be rendered impossible, it could at least be rendered extremely difficult.

Lord Lauderdale conceived that the country could not go on under its present load of taxation. He wished to know whether any commercial treaties had been made with our allies. Until the present mint regulations were altered, it was in vain to expect the expiration of the restriction act. But the state of the country could not be satisfactory until labour of all descriptions was paid for in a metallic currency.

The motion was then unanimously agreed to.

In the commons, the same day, a copy of his majesty's speech being read by Mr. speaker, Mr. Brownlow moved the address, which was seconded by Mr. W. Peel, who thought that every honourable member in the house might give it his support, whatever might be his political views, without any impeachment of his character for consistency, or without pledging himself as to the support of future measures.

Mr. Macdonald rejoiced that reductions in the army were in progress, but stigmatized the representation of the state of the country, as "most extravagant." The omission in the speech of all allusion to a reduction of our taxation was highly inauspicious. It was evident that the administration had done nothing towards the fulfilment of the national desire on the subject, until this alternative was proposed to them—"Do it, or go." If, however, they were still reluctant; if they stopped short of that which ought fairly to be expected, that house must, and he was persuaded would, do their duty. It was well known that the principal result of the congress had been decided without our interference. On the subject to which the people of this country looked with anxious expectation, namely, the abolition of the detestable traffic in human creatures, nothing had been done. For himself, it gave him little satisfaction to find general discontent in the country, and more especially when that discontent occasionally exhibited itself in an intemperate and malignant character. But it was impossible not to reflect, that all this could not exist without adequate cause.

Mr. Sinclair entirely approved of the proposed address. He thought the candour and moderation of the speech highly creditable to his majesty's ministers. It enabled all parties to approach the throne on the first day of the session, with an expression of unanimous feeling.

Mr. Clive and Mr. Canning shortly spoke.

Sir Henry Parnell expressed his surprise that no mention was made in the speech from the throne of any measure in favour of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects.

The address was then agreed to.

House of lords, Jan. 25. The earl of Liverpool introduced a bill for placing the custody of the king's person in the hands of the duke of York, subject, as in the case of the queen, to the advice of a council. Blanks were left for the names of the counsellors, but he should propose to re-appoint

point the same persons, with a substitute for the late lord chief-justice of the kings' bench.

In the commons, the same day, the sheriffs of London presented a petition from the common council for a revision of the criminal code. Mr. alderman Wood, on moving that it should lie on the table, observed, that crimes were daily increasing in every part of the country; the present harsh system defeated its own object; he had only the day before seen 40 criminals in Newgate, not one of whom seemed to have any apprehension of being executed. By the system of confinement to hard labour, which he had witnessed in many parts of the continent, criminals were generally sent back to society reformed men.

Mr. alderman Waithman (in a maiden speech) remarked that within the last 10 years the number of prisoners had risen from 4000 to 14,000. He held a paper in his hand, by which it appeared that 600 of the persons confined in Newgate during the last year were under 21 years of age; and, as far as the account could be made out correctly by the keeper, the total of those acquitted and convicted under that age amounted to about 1000. He hoped that the importance of this subject would draw the attention not only of the house, but of his majesty's government, with the view of providing some remedy for the alarming and increasing evil.

Mr. Vansittart said, he had had a communication with the bank directors, in consequence of which he would alter his mode of proceeding in renewing the bank restriction. He should first move for a secret committee of inquiry, and lay its information before the house.

House of lords, Jan. 27. Lord Holland presented a petition from the common council of London for a revision of the criminal code. He alluded to the change which had taken place in France since the revolution, from the substitution of less severe punishments. When torture and death were inflicted for privately stealing, no man of humanity would prosecute, and the offence multiplied. Under the effect of the code Napoleon, the crime was seldom heard of, because none hesitated to prosecute, and the offender was sure to be punished.

Lord Liverpool attributed the comparative increase of crimes stated in the petition to the change from war to peace. A similar result had been observed at former periods. In 1777 the number of capital convictions was 63; in 1778 they were 81; in 1779 they decreased to 60; a circumstance well worthy of their lordships' attention. In 1781 the number increased to 90; in 1782 the number was 108; in 1783, still increasing, 173; in 1784 the convictions were 153; and in 1785 they were 151. The same ratio would be found to hold as to the war of 1756. The number of the convictions was in 1759, 15; in 1760, 14; in 1761, 13; in 1762, 25; in 1763, 61; in 1764, 52; in 1765, 41.

The marquis of Lansdown contended, that there was a rapidly progressive increase of crimes, without any reference to a state of war or peace. In fact, among the culprits since the termination of the late war, there was a very small

small proportion of disbanded seamen and soldiers. The weight of taxation, the fluctuation of property occasioned by the measures of government, and the state of our gaols, which were nurseries of vice, were the genuine causes of the increase of crimes.

Feb. 1.—In the commons a petition was received from the corporation of the city of London against the renewal of the insolvent debtors' act. Mr. alderman Waithman said, that the effect of the act had been to break down the fair trader, to encourage vice, and to give a deadly blow to commercial confidence. It even affected the constitution itself; for it had superseded the trial by jury, and introduced the authority of one individual who decided upon more property than all the judges together. During the first three years of the act, that is, down to March 8th, 1815, the debts amounted to 6,000,000*l.* and the dividends to one farthing in the pound. It was then supposed that this was through the carelessness of creditors themselves, and the law was amended to meet this evil; but from March 8th, 1815, to March 1st, 1817, the number of debtors was 9000, and the amount of their debts nearly 9,000,000*l.* He had stated the dividend in the former case to be one farthing; he ought to have stated it the quarter of one farthing. The effect then of the amendment was, that it raised this dividend to a halfpenny. He objected to this act, not merely on the part of traders, but also on the part of debtors themselves. All insolvent debtors, whatever might have been the distinction in their conduct, were treated alike—the most honest and unfortunate as the most profligate.

After some observations from Mr. Littleton and Mr. Brougham, the petition was received; and on the motion of Mr. alderman Waithman, a return was ordered of the number of insolvent debtors discharged up to the 1st of February, 1819, their debts and their dividends.

On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the house resolved into a committee of supply, to which were referred certain army and navy estimates and accounts, relative to the issue of exchequer bills.

Sir G. Warrender, after some preliminary observations, moved "that 20,000 men should be employed in the sea service, for 15 lunar months, from Jan. 1819, including 6000 marines."

Mr. Robinson asked whether it was in contemplation to afford any relief to the navy, from the hardships of impressment?

Sir G. Warrender said, that measures had been taken to ameliorate the condition of seamen, and by means of a registry of those who were receiving a sort of half-pay, to secure, on an emergency, a supply of sailors well acquainted with and well fitted for their duties.

The resolution was then agreed to, and sir G. Warrender moved, in succession, resolutions for granting

565,550*l.* for the wages of 20,000 seamen.

520,000*l.* for victualling them, at the rate of 2*l.* per man per month.

532,000*l.* for wear and tear of ships.

91,000*l.*

91,000*l.* for ordnance for the sea service.

Lord Palmerston then brought forward a vote for one million on account of the army estimates. He said, he should abstain from going into any statements, as a more fit occasion would occur when the remainder of the estimates should be brought before the house; at present they had not yet been submitted to the committee of finance. He proposed, therefore, a resolution for a grant of one million.

Mr. Calcraft said, the votes of the last year would have been exhausted on the 25th December last, and he begged to be informed how the operations of government had gone on from that date to the present without any new vote by parliament.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, although the year had expired on the 25th of December last, yet it had long been the practice to apply the overplus of each year to the necessary charges of the country.

The resolution of lord Palmerston was carried.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proposed a resolution for granting 24,954,300*l.* to provide for outstanding exchequer bills, issued under the two acts of last session.

Mr. Grenfell said, he should take this opportunity of inquiring whether the hon. gent. had entered into any arrangement with the bank respecting the loan of three millions, without interest, made by that company in former years, in consideration of the balances of public money which remained in their hands. He believed that that arrangement had ceased last April; so that instead of deriving any advantage from the accumulation of public money in the hands of the bank, the country paid to that establishment four per cent. interest on those three millions, or 120,000*l.* per annum, whilst the bank held an enormous mass of public property, totally unproductive to the public, but not so to its holders! He should take another occasion of calling the attention of the house to so important a subject, unless the right hon. gentleman should be able to state that some arrangement was now negotiating between the bank and the government, to remove so just a ground of complaint.

The chancellor of the exchequer said the three millions advanced by the bank, and continued since last April by act of parliament at 4½ per cent. interest, and the balances of public money, had been a subject of discussion between his majesty's government and the bank. Propositions had been made for applying the whole of the latter to the public service. But those balances themselves had deen greatly diminished by the reduction of the public expenditure and other causes. They did not amount last year to more than one half what they had been at periods to which the hon. gentleman had alluded. As to the three millions in question, no interest had yet been paid upon them, and whether some arrangement could be made of a retrospective nature remained to be ascertained.

Mr. Grenfell next inquired, whether any arrangement had yet been

been entered into with the bank for securing to the public the full benefit of the balances of public money deposited in their hands.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the honourable gentleman was himself aware of his desire of coming to some satisfactory arrangement on this subject. That, however, was evidently impracticable without the assistance and co-operation of the bank itself. That co-operation had been now most cordially and liberally afforded, and he had no doubt would lead to a result that would meet with the approbation of the house and the country.

Feb. 2.—Mr. Tierney rose, and stated his object to be, to move for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the effect produced by the suspension of cash payments on the exchange with foreign countries, and on the circulating medium. It was understood that ministers intended to continue the restriction act to March 1820; and the question was one of the most important that had been agitated since the revolution, and was becoming a topic equally popular with universal suffrage or parliamentary reform; and he was disposed to think the petitions on the subject had been procured in the same manner. He admitted that the principles laid down in the report of the bullion committee formed his creed. The question had become different from what it had been before, as it was no longer one of mere abstract reasoning, but whether the circulation could be restored to its former state.—Much alarm had beeen felt on the subject; and, it had been said, that should cash payments be resumed, the country would be ruined. Such a doctrine had caused in him no surprise, after the long continuance of the restriction act. It was sanctioned by men of considerable influence in the country; and, to say the truth, by a powerful body, who attempted to control both the bank and the legislature. Many of them were men of the fairest character; but the tail was formed by others of a very different description; men of no capital, who had over-traded themselves, and, on that account, wished to keep the circulation as full as possible, and whose ruin would be inevitable upon the return of a metallic currency. But it was extraordinary indeed that England should not have the same circulating medium with all Europe beside. If the chancellor of the exchequer was not an instrument in the hands of those men, he had at least lent them effectual assistance. No system of finance had been established since the peace, nor had any attempt been made to free the country from its difficulties. The object of the chancellor of the exchequer was to make it be believed that the income and the expenditure would be equalized, and the case was, that he paid off so much debt with the sinking fund, and added as much to it by the issue of exchequer bills. In the years 1816 and 1817, the amount of the paper in circulation had been extremely low, and the chancellor of the exchequer, with an air of triumph, seemed to have little doubt about paying off the four or five per cents. But soon afterwards the bank of England and the country banks had increased their circulation, and that was the real

cause

cause of the triumph. If the situation of the country were not looked at in time of peace, it could never be looked to at all; and what would be the consequence, should a war break out? Would to heaven he could prevail on the opposite side to consent! If, after five, or at least four, years of peace, we were still to proceed with this paper system without inquiry, let any gentleman lay his hand upon his heart, and consider how dreadful would be the consequences to the nation, if a war, or even an armament, were to intervene! What resources had we but paper? what means of supporting ourselves, but by one piece of paper piled upon another? The low rate of interest in the country arose from the excessive issue of paper, and had led to extravagant fluctuations in the funds, to the great satisfaction of a certain race of men. In 1817 the 3 per cents. had been 63, and in the course of eight months they had risen to 84. He himself should be sorry that the 5 per cents. should be paid off by a forced paper circulation. He should call it a fraud upon those who had placed their money in that fund. The present system could not go on; though he had no doubt that many were of the opinion of Mr. Cooper, that there was no need of reverting to cash payments at all. The obvious course was, the appointment of a committee, which would furnish materials for the consideration of the house. He saw no reason against the return to cash payments, as the question related to the currency of the country. The foreign loans amounted only to nineteen millions at the beginning, which were to be paid in nine months; which sum had afterwards been reduced to twelve millions; the time extended to 27 months; so that the sum to be sent out of the country was only 330,000*l.* per month, and that by private individuals. When the bank began to take steps to pay in specie, the stocks had fallen, and those fluctuations had been productive of gain to artful men; while, on the other hand, the losers had been those who relied on the declarations of the government. The present chancellor of the exchequer called for more unlimited confidence than Mr. Pitt had ever done in the plenitude of his power. He (Mr. Tierney) had offered to exchange motions and plans with him; but the right honourable gentleman was not to be moved. The right honourable gentleman had opposed all inquiry, till it had been recommended to him by the directors of the bank. He had no doubt that the bank was prepared to pay in specie; but in the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, there was a sweeping clause as to other matters, that might mean any thing or every thing. He himself only wanted distinct answers to different points. If the house should stand by him, the right honourable gentleman would give way, as he had done on a former occasion. He could not believe that the house would reject his motion, out of compliment to the chancellor of the exchequer, whose object was to show his strength in the new parliament; and a better opportunity could not possibly be afforded to new members, of testifying their devotion to the minister. There was no ground

ground for secrecy, as to the general question; and with respect to the affairs of the bank, he should not object to a secret committee, so desirous was he to come to a good understanding with the right honourable gentleman the chancellor of the exchequer. The right honourable gentleman concluded his speech by moving—

"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the effects produced on the exchanges in foreign countries, and the state of the circulating medium, by the restriction on cash payments; and to report whether any and what reasons exist for continuing it beyond the period now fixed by law for its termination."

The chancellor of the exchequer expressed his surprise at the course which the right honourable gentleman had taken, who had first given a notice of a motion on the state of the finances. This, however, he had entirely abandoned on his (the chancellor of the exchequer) giving a notice on the present subject; but even here, as it would appear, from no other reason than for opposition only, the right honourable gentleman had proposed a motion less in extent than his. The right honourable gentleman had accused the ministers of doing nothing towards reducing taxation, or the burden of the public debt. In contradiction of that assertion, he would show, that in three years from the termination of the war, the people had been released from a burden amounting to at least 15,000,000*l.* of taxation; and there had also been paid off from 25 to 30 millions of unfunded debt. He challenged the right honourable gentleman to contradict this statement if he could, from which it appeared that more had been done in these three years, than in any other period of peace since the revolution. On the present occasion, his object, as well as that of the right honourable gentleman, was inquiry; and, as both had the same object in view, he trusted they should not differ materially as to the mode. He had certainly come down to the house on the first day of the session, and given notice of his intention to propose a short prolongation of the restrictions on cash payments, and had not then mentioned any inquiry; and he had refrained from doing so, thinking that the inquiry would have been better delayed till next session of parliament; by which time the confusion into which the financial systems, not only of this country, but of every government on the continent, were thrown, would have subsided, and the inquiry been gone into with more advantage; and he should, under that persuasion, have proposed a continuation of the restrictions till March 1820: but circumstances had arisen which induced him to think, with the right honourable gentleman, that inquiry was necessary, and he would go further. The right honourable gentleman only proposed to inquire into the effect which the restrictions on cash payments had on the exchange. Now he, by his proposition, proposed to go further, and inquire into the state of the bank of England. The first and prominent point of inquiry, as it struck him, was an inquiry into the state of the bank, and the preparations they had made towards the

the resumption of cash payments, and several other collateral circumstances. These would all be embraced by his motion, whilst the right honourable gentleman's motion would exclude them. The right hon. gent. must be aware, however, of the danger of a public disclosure of all the concerns of the bank. His motion would avoid that inconvenience. He should move for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the bank, relative to all matters connected with the resumption of cash payments; into the expediency of now resuming such payments; and that the said committee should report to the house the result of such inquiries, as far as they could do so without injury to the concerns of the bank. This would be his motion, and would, as he conceived, go further than the right honourable gentleman's. With respect to the further extension of the restrictions, if such should be deemed expedient, it would be desirable that the resumption of cash payments should be so fixed as that it should take place at a period at which parliament was sitting. The committee would have much to inquire into: they would inquire into the state of the exchanges; the state of the foreign loans, and many other subjects; some of which it might be improper to make public; but it would rest with the committee to discriminate between what might with safety be reported to the house, and what ought, consistently with the public interest, to be withheld. The right hon. gentleman concluded by moving, as an amendment, "That all the words in the original motion, after these—'that a committee be appointed,' should be left out, and the following be inserted:—'to inquire into the state of the bank of England, the exchange, and other matters connected with the resumption of cash payments, and the expediency of taking off the restrictions; and to report the result of such inquiries, as far as the same could be reported consistent with public interest; with their observations thereon.'"

Mr. F. Lewis had listened with admiration to the excellent speech of his right hon. friend; but all his arguments, however convincing, had in an instant been overthrown by one sentence uttered by the chancellor of the exchequer; that sentence was an acknowledgement that the bank were not yet prepared to resume their cash payments, and an entreaty that parliament would appoint a committee to investigate their affairs, and to assist them. Before he could consent to this call on the part of the bank, he must see the bank make some attempt on their part. He would say to them as Jupiter is represented to have said to the waggoner who called on him to assist in getting his waggon out of a slough, "Set your shoulders to the wheel, and exert your own strength; and then, if you call upon me, I will help you."

Lord Castlereagh could not but consider the present question as lying in a very narrow compass, since all parties were now agreed on going into the great, important, and extensive inquiry. With respect to the bank, he was in justice bound to say, that they had acted as honourable men and as good citizens. They said, We (the bank)

bank) can take care of ourselves, if you can take care of the public, which we cannot undertake to do. He had no objection to an open committee, except that the house was now about to make a private inquiry into the affairs of the bank; and he thought they were bound to guard against partial and garbled statements, and for this reason he opposed a public committee. Did he understand the right honourable gentleman to give up the public committee? then all the difference now between them was, whether the committee should be appointed by ballot or otherwise. This was the last point to which a discomfited party could retreat. It appeared from this, that the right honourable gentleman was completely ousted. Government gave him inquiry; they conceded to him a committee, and now the right honourable gentleman, who was the ablest skirmisher and the best hand at covering a retreat of any general in the house, was driven to the last resource, a ballot. He could not, however, give up this to the right honourable gentleman. He trusted the right honourable gentleman and himself should go together into this committee and come out again, as they had done on former occasions, with better opinions of the committee, and of each other, than they had on entering it. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman as to the importance of this question; it was, indeed, one of vital importance; it was one in which the bank was only as a fly on a wheel. The question was, whether, by a premature opening of the bank, and resumption of cash payments, commerce should be ruined, and the commercial world thrown into chaos and confusion. The noble lord then proceeded to contend that the resumption of cash payments, in the present state of the exchanges, would entail on our manufacturers a loss of at least 7½ per cent. and turn the bank into an exchange for brokers and jobbers; as our manufacturers would have to compete with gold at 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, instead, as was now the case, having to compete with it at 4*l.* 4*s.*, and not a bale of goods would go out of this country but without that loss upon it. He defended the bank from the odium which had been thrown upon it, of excessive profits. He had never witnessed any interested motive which had operated on the directors of the bank to refrain from cash payments whenever the state of the exchange was such as would admit of their resuming such payments in a manner beneficial to the public. For the reasons he had stated, he was of opinion cash payments could not at present be resumed.

Mr. Cooper said, that if the house did divide, he should feel it his duty to vote for the amendment of the chancellor of the exchequer, which he considered the most comprehensive.

Mr. Maberly contended, that the resumption of cash payments was necessary; the first step towards which would be to fund our unfunded debt; the next to reduce our taxation, and to resume cash payments at once, and not partially, and then the exchanges would soon return to their original state. He was aware that it might be said taxation could not be reduced. He would propose to repeal the vexatious assessed taxes, which

burthened the tradesman and middling classes, and surrounded their houses with tax-gatherers, spies, and informers, and substitute for them a property tax. (*Hear, hear!*) He expected this cry; but he would again repeat, Repeal the assessed taxes, which produced about six millions of vexatious taxes, and substitute, not an income but a property tax, which should be paid by the rich, the miser, and the absentee, which would produce at least 10 millions.

Mr. Bernal (member for Lincoln) said, he had endeavoured to qualify himself for the duties of that house, by bringing into it a small share of common sense, and a larger stock of independence. He was not inclined to prejudice, nor had he made up his mind upon any course when coming into that house. He begged of the new members not to be deceived by the shadow of a committee; and he should deem it an abandonment of his duty if he did not support the motion of the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. Canning was one of those who had always considered the suspension of cash payments as a departure from the constitution of the country, and was anxious to return, as soon as possible, to the old constitutional mode; and even as late as the month of October last, his majesty's government confidently anticipated the resumption of cash payments at the appointed time. They then, however, found it would be impossible, and it was contemplated to propose a continuation till 1820, with a full determination, however, not to propose any further prolongation of the period, if such should be found necessary, without the fullest previous inquiry. In this state of things, the right honourable gentleman gave his notice, and subsequent to that notice the bank made such a communication to the chancellor of the exchequer, as determined him now to propose an inquiry. This communication, and not the notice of the right honourable gentleman, had determined his majesty's government to change its course. The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to defend the election of a committee by ballot, and entered into a humourous description of the assertions which were invariably thrown out by the opposition benches, of the influence exerted in the appointment of committees, and cautioned the young members not to be surprised if they should hear some honourable gentleman sitting on the bench immediately behind the right honourable gentleman offer, if the speaker would allow him, to wager who would be the individuals that would form the committee, and proceed to read over all the names. This might at first surprise all those who were not in the secret; but their amazement would cease, when they were told that this cunning seer owed all his skill as a prophet to the circumstance of having previously obtained a list from some one on the other side of the house. He had seen this and similar jokes played off. It was indeed an old joke to the house, but it would answer the purpose for the new members. With respect to the present committee, he thought it ought to comprise all those gentlemen who had taken an active part in the discussion of this important subject,

ject, and should consider the committee as most inefficient, if the right honourable gentleman was not a member of it. Another great point on which he expected to be enlightened was the effect which the return to cash payments would have on foreign exchanges. In 1816, the experiment which was then attempted drained the bank of five millions and a half of specie. If the bank failed in that experiment, it failed with Cato, and with all mankind; for all the country was lacquering their heels, hailing the first partial opening of cash payments the bank was about to adopt. The word bank was the beginning, middle, and end of all the debates of that house now, and even in the other house of parliament; but, like the two rival theatres in that country, that ran Hamlet night after night against each other, when at last one of them hit on the expedient of advertising the tragedy of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out; so, perhaps, the right honourable gentleman would at last induce others to go to some entertainment where the part of the bank was left out.

Mr. Manning said, this was a great national question, with which the bank had nothing to do. In the course of a very short time there had been a reduction in the issue of bank notes, of no less than three millions.

Mr. Grenfell said, he held documents in his hands, which showed that the issue during the last year, 1818, was greater than was ever known at any former period.

Alderman Heygate supported the motion.

Mr. Tierney replied. He did not know what the bank meant; for at one time it was Hamlet, and at another a fly upon a wheel; and all he could understand was, that it could be caught when he liked by the chancellor of the exchequer. He put it to the house, after all they had heard, what probability the country had of ever seeing a return to cash payments. In his opinion, the failure of the boasted experiment of the bank in 1816 was owing to their issuing a much larger quantity of paper, after having paid in specie about five millions of their old notes. He therefore could not honestly believe that the bank did really intend to resume cash payments. He would attend the committee with all diligence, and would bring with him all the mildness of disposition he could; but he could not give up his convictions, unless fairly proved to be wrong. He would show the chancellor of the exchequer that bank notes were not equal to one another; for if the right honourable gentleman had the good fortune to have in his possession a bank note for 100*l.* dated the 20th of March 1815, he, Mr. T., would give him another note for 100*l.* also, and four 1*l.* notes in addition. Such was the opinion which the public held of bank notes, and he was sorry, for the sake of the right honourable gentleman, that his resolution still remained on the journals, declaring 1*l.* bank notes to be worth 20*s.* each. He wished the resumption of cash payments to take place as gently as possible, without any jarring with the public; but the latter could not be. Nevertheless, the easiest way

would be to reduce the issue of notes to the lowest possible point, consistent with the wants of the public. Therefore gentlemen must make up their minds to some inconvenience, though he did not expect that the inconvenience would be so great as was held out in prospect to them. He implored the house to take this subject into their most serious consideration. The house then divided on the original motion—

Ayes	168
Noes	273
Majority for ministers	105

The amendment was then carried without a division.

After some discussion it was decided that the committee was to be secret, and to be formed by ballot.

Feb. 3.—Mr. Brogden reported from the committee appointed to scrutinize the ballot for a committee of inquiry with respect to the bank; and the following are the members chosen:—viscount Castlereagh, the chancellor of the exchequer, Messrs. Tierney, Canning, W. Pole, Wm. Lamb, F. Robinson, P. Grenfell, Huskisson, Bankes, Abercrombie, Peel, Littleton, T. Wilson, S. Wortley, Manning, F. Lewis Ashurst, Sir J. Mackintosh, Sir J. Nicholl, and Sir J. Newport.

House of lords, Feb 4.—The following noblemen were appointed a secret committee to consider the state of the bank of England; with reference to the resumption of cash payments:—lord Harrowby, duke of Wellington, marquis of Lansdowne, duke of Montrose, lord Liverpool, earl of St. Germain's, lord Sidmouth, earl of Aberdeen, lord Granville, lord King, lord Grenville, lord Redesdale, and lord Lauderdale.

In the commons the same day, on the motion of Mr. M. A. Taylor, an address to the prince regent was agreed to, humbly requesting that his royal highness would adopt such measures as should give the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham, the benefit of an assize and gaol delivery twice in the year; at the same time assuring his royal highness, that the house would make good any expenses required by this measure.

Lord Castlereagh presented a message from the prince regent to the following effect:—

"George P. R.—The prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, acquaints the house of commons that the sum of 58,000*l.* per annum, which, in the distribution of his majesty's civil list revenue, was appropriated to the maintenance of the establishment, and to the support of the honour and dignity of the queen, having by the lamented demise of her majesty become disposable by his royal highness for the general purposes of the civil list, the prince regent places this sum at the disposal of parliament. He thinks it at the same time incumbent upon him to state, that there exist certain claims upon a part of this saving, which he recommends to the justice and liberality of the house of commons. These claims are founded on the faithful services of the persons who formed the separate establishments of her late majesty, and are limited to those services. The prince regent is satisfied that he may confidently rely on the loyal attachment of the house of commons,

commons, to enable him, upon the reduction of that establishment, to grant to the several individuals belonging to it such allowances as it has been usual for the crown to bestow on former occasions, when the royal family has been visited with a similar affliction."

His lordship entered into various details connected with the establishment in question, and stated, that besides the saving of the queen's 58,000*l.* a reduction to the amount of 50,000*l.* would be made in the sum hitherto appropriated to the keeping up the state of the sovereign. It was proposed to retain such officers of the household as had been in the habit of attendance on the royal person, and to reduce those who had not. This reduction would of itself produce a saving of 5993*l.* There would ultimately be at the disposal of parliament a sum of 108,000*l.*; but for the present the saving would amount only to 83,000*l.*, as the sum of 25,000*l.* would be required for the servants of the establishment of her late majesty, most of whom were advanced in life. With regard to the servants of his majesty who might be thrown out of employment by the new arrangements, the house might, under the act of 1812, enable the *custos personæ* to make some provision for them out of the privy purse, and the sum would not exceed 8 or 10,000*l.* His lordship concluded with moving for a select committee of 21 members to inquire into the details of the Windsor establishment.

After some observations from Mr. Long Wellesley, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Canning, the motion was agreed to.

House of commons, Feb 8.—Lord Castlereagh, after observing that he was about to propose the appointment of a finance committee, and after pointing out the benefits that had already resulted from the appointment of former committees, proceeded to observe, that the object for which they had been appointed had been already accomplished; seeing that from the statements which he was to submit to the house, he would show that there was an actual surplus or income above expenditure. It was impossible to explain this subject in all its details. What, it might be asked, was the income of the country at the end of the year which terminated on the 5th of last January? It amounted to 54,630,000*l.*, while on the 5th of January 1818 it was only 51,668,000*l.* thus giving a considerable increase and improvement. But in the account of the 5th of January 1818, there were included arrears of the property tax to the amount of 2,300,000*l.*, whereas the arrears of the property tax on the 5th of January last amounted to no more than 565,000*l.* Subtracting these arrears from the gross income, it would appear that the clear receipts in January 1818 amounted to 49,334,000*l.*; whereas on the 5th of last January the clear receipts rose so high as 53,497,000*l.*, leaving a balance of no less a sum than 4,168,000*l.* in favour of the last year. This certainly was a great and important improvement. But the balance was still greater, as a sum of about 600,000*l.* arising from duties on sugar in 1818, ought to be subtracted from the income of that year, and added to that of the year 1819. This would raise that

income to the sum of 54,097,000*l.*, and would reduce that of the year ending on the 5th of January 1818 to 48,734,000*l.* Thus it would appear that the surplus of the present year over the preceding would amount to 5,363,000*l.*

After these statements, he would ask, could they have more encouraging prospects? for did not this surplus of nearly five millions and a half in favour of the present year entitle him to call the prospects of the country most flattering and encouraging? From the former reports of the finance committee it would appear that they estimated the expenditure for the year ending January 5, 1818, at 51,087,000*l.*, and the income for the same year at 52,500,000*l.*, leaving a balance in favour of the income of about 1,400,000*l.* The income of the year 1819 they estimated at 52,500,000*l.*, whereas in point of fact it would appear, from the statements he had already made, that the real amount of that income exceeded by more than one million and a half the calculations and estimates of the finance committee. But hereafter it would be made manifest, he was persuaded, that the financial situation of the country was not only better by more than one million and a half than the committee had predicted, but that there would be at the end of the present year, that is, in January 1820, an actual surplus of income over expenditure, applicable to the reduction of the debts of the country, of no less a sum than 3,558,000*l.*

He would not however content himself with this statement of the prospects of the present year from the receipts of the last, but would inform the house even so far as we had gone into the present year, namely, from the 5th of January to the 5th of February, that experience confirmed the flattering prospects to which he had already alluded. On the first month of the present compared with the first month of the last year, there was an increase of from between 900,000*l.* to 950,000*l.* And it ought to be borne in mind, that even in the last year, the first month was a month of increase, compared with the corresponding month of the preceding year.—What then was our present financial condition? Why it would appear not only that our expenditure was brought within our income, but that there was an actual surplus of about three millions and a half, which was disposable for the liquidation of our debts.

The noble lord proceeded, in the next place, to give a short outline of the different reductions that had lately taken place; previously to entering upon which, he stated that it would not be necessary to impose any new taxes in the course of the present year. From the reductions that had taken place, he trusted that the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Tierney) would see, in the matter of economy, that he and his majesty's ministers had profited by the advice which he (Mr. Tierney) had given them last year. For his own part, he was unwilling to quarrel with the right honourable gentleman on the subject, but would be ever ready to take all the advice he could from him. They were blamed last year for not going more extensively into economy; but the government could not then have prudently economized

economized more than they did, considering how they were circumstanced both at home and abroad. The expenses of the army for the present year were formerly estimated by the finance committee to be 8,967,000*l.* Besides this, there was for officers on half-pay, &c. a sum of about 800,000*l.* But after all, it would appear, that even exclusive of this last sum, there would be, if the report of the finance committee was compared with the actual reductions, a saving of no less than 567,000*l.* on the army alone, for the present year. In the navy, the actual saving would be 100,000*l.*, and 100,000*l.* also for the ordnance; so that in the three services, the actual saving would amount to 767,000*l.* Owing, however, to the distance from home at which some regiments were placed, and to other circumstances, some temporary expenses were unavoidable, as regiments could not be always immediately reduced. These expenses in the present year would amount to about 330,000*l.*, but next year would be wholly unnecessary. The expenses of this description last year amounted to a much more considerable sum, for they went so high as a sum of about 740,000*l.* With regard to the reductions in point of men, he would state them at 22,126 rank and file of the army in France, and 9122 rank and file of the army at home, making a total reduction of 31,248 rank and file. Were officers included, it would amount to about 35,000 altogether. The reductions in the ordnance were 2020. The total expense of the army, navy, and ordnance for the present year, was estimated by the finance committee at 16,297,000*l.* Out of this, four millions would be saved by the reductions. The direct expense would be only about twelve millions. There were, however, pensions amounting to about 4,300,000*l.*; but of these it may be calculated that about 130,000*l.* would fall in annually.

From these statements, the noble lord proceeded to remark, that there was a principle of powerful elasticity in the resources of the country, which was gradually and vigorously rising into action, in spite of the pressure of all our former burdens. This was particularly evident in the improving commercial condition of the empire at present, as might be seen by the state of our exports and imports. In fact, this was the greatest year of British commerce; for it far exceeded all those on record, even the great year of 1815. The amount of our exports from January to October, in 1815, was 35,231,000*l.*; in 1816 for the same period it amounted to upwards of 28,000,000*l.*; in 1817, to 32,000,000*l.*; and in 1818, to 33,325,000*l.* From the promises of the early part of the present year there could be no doubt but that the amount would exceed any of the preceding. These prospects surely ought to dissipate gloom, but not to prevent exertion. He concluded by proposing the appointment of a committee to inquire into and state the income and expenditure of the united kingdom for the year ended on the 5th of January 1819, and also to state the probable income and expenditure (so far as the same can now be estimated) for the year ending on the 5th of January 1820, and to report the same, together with

their observations thereon; and also to consider what further measures may be adopted for the relief of the country from any part of the said expenditure, without detriment to the public service.

On the motion being read by the speaker,

Mr. Tierney regretted, that as the noble lord had gone into such detail, he had not given previous notice of his intention to do so; for no man who had heard the notice of motion for the revival of a finance committee, such as had existed in the last parliament, could have supposed at the time that such a motion would be accompanied with the opening of the budget for the year. He, as well as the house, were taken by surprise in this instance. He was not, therefore, prepared to follow the noble lord into a minute examination of all the items, but would give the house such observations as occurred to him on hearing them. He was rather surprised to hear from the noble lord an insinuation that the present might be the last occasion when the exertions of the committee would be required—he meant such a finance committee as seems to have been first intended, and was really necessary: but if the committee which was then about to be appointed was to be only of such a description as the last—if it were only to receive from the government certain budgets, and send them back to the house as their reports, he thought it was of very little consequence whether they were continued or not. They might as well be got rid of all at once. They were in fact little more than the echo of ministers on all the accounts which were sent up to them. The noble lord had built most sanguine expectations upon what he called the present flourishing state of trade. He (Mr. Tierney) was not prepared to deny that his statement was well founded. But if the noble lord was right, all the merchants with whom he (Mr. Tierney) had conversed on the subject, and the number was by no means small, were wrong: for every one of them, to a man, had taken quite a different view of the question. Without going at present into a very minute examination of this alleged prosperity, might not a great part of it be traced to the immense paper issues? The manufactures were likely to flourish; but there were two things to be taken into that account; capital was plenty—he spoke of capital, paper so called—and labour was cheap; put both these circumstances together, and the glowing picture which had been drawn might be accounted for. He would ask whether that could be called a flourishing state of trade?

He now came to the substantial part of the noble lord's speech, the improvement in the revenue. He agreed that there was a great improvement, and he congratulated the house and the country upon it. It was, however, only what they had been taught to expect by the anticipations of the finance committee; but he would take it as it was stated. The noble lord had stated, that the total sum in which the revenue of this year exceeded the preceding was 5,300,000*l.* The noble lord might be right, and he (Mr. Tierney) wrong; but he wished to see what was the exact sum which would be available for the present year. Deducting the arrears paid of the property tax, and the anticipating

cipating sugar duties, there was practically a difference between the two years of only 2,300,000*l.* The noble lord said, that the income and expenditure would meet, and that there would remain a surplus. There never was a stouter assertion than this, nor one which was more calculated to give general satisfaction if it could be proved. But the noble lord, in building up this argument and drawing so happy a conclusion from it, had thrown out of his view altogether the sinking fund, that which he could not but imagine was a burden to the country. This he conceived was a delusion on the part of the noble lord; and it would be a most complete delusion on that of the house, to imagine that this question of a budget could be fairly discussed without including the sinking fund.

In order to put the matter in a way in which it would be more intelligible, he should take it thus:—he took the surplus of the consolidated fund, after considering the income as opposed to the charge upon it, to be 3,214,000*l.* But did the noble lord state what was to be done with this? He would explain the matter. There was an old debt upon that fund of 3,000,000*l.*; upon this the noble lord was also wholly silent. Then he (Mr. T.) should say, that before one farthing of the surplus of that fund could be made available to the expenses of the current year, the whole of the old debt upon it must be wiped off: and on the 5th of January 1820, all the advance which the country would have made, would be to get clear of the old debt. It was clear then that this surplus of the consolidated fund could not be taken into the ways and means of the present year; and what was to be taken into those ways and means? There were the land and malt tax, the war and excise taxes, and the lottery; the whole of which would not, after deducting the expenses of collection, exceed more than 7,000,000*l.* This was the amount of income towards covering the expenses of the army, the navy, the ordnance, and the miscellaneous services. Beyond those 7,000,000*l.* there was nothing else that any one knew of. He might, perhaps, except the million which was due from France, and which the country were led to expect would be paid upon the evacuation of the French territory. He would ask the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) whether that sum was likely to be forthcoming this year? The chancellor of the exchequer not replying, Mr. Tierney said, he presumed, as the right honourable gentleman did not make a sign, that that sum could not be calculated upon. Well, then, how was the difference between the income (7,000,000*l.*) and the expenditure to be supplied? or how would the noble lord support the argument that both ends would meet, that the income would be equal to the expenditure, and that there would be a surplus? The call for reduction was heard in every part of the country; and what was the consequence? What might naturally have been expected, not only the reduction of 5000 men was agreed to, but ministers themselves came forward to propose that 9000 should be reduced besides the army in France. It was not, then, to the economical dispositions of ministers which he owed these measures, but to the effect

effect of that necessity which they could not control. It should be recollected that there was little reduction in the navy; and in the army, the navy, and the ordnance, the whole sum expected to be saved would amount to no more than 400,000*l.* (Lord Castlereagh explained this in a low tone across the table.) Mr. Tierney continued; he would admit that the saving really made would be more; but from the circumstances which he (lord Castlereagh) had mentioned, the full sum of 700,000*l.* saved in these branches would not be available this year. However, supposing the whole of the reductions to make the expenditure this year less by a million than that of the last, there would still remain an expenditure to be provided for, amounting to 20,000,000*l.* He spoke from recollection only, but he took the expenditure of last year to be not less than 21,000,000*l.* (The chancellor of the exchequer nodded assent.) Then admitting 1,000,000*l.* less for the present year, how was it to be met? He had shown that the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) had not ways and means that any person yet knew of, exceeding 7,000,000*l.* How were 13,000,000*l.* more to be made up? for after all the reductions there would still remain that sum to be provided for. How could any man in his senses say, that with an income of only 7,000,000*l.* and an expenditure of 20,000,000*l.* both ends would be made to meet, and a surplus left? It was a mere juggle to assert such a thing, and a juggle which he did not suppose there was a man in the house or country who would not treat as such. Where was the sinking fund, or what had been said about it? It would be said there was a sinking fund of 14,000,000*l.* at least it would soon be nearly that sum; but to support it, it would be necessary to borrow 13,500,000*l.* Arguments founded upon the strength of that fund, as applicable to the public service, would be a gross delusion. Yet it was a delusion which had long been practised. It was a delusion which had been and would still be supported by the finance committee. If the house were to grant the sum now demanded, they would find that next year the same plan would be continued. Would the noble lord say, with these facts staring him in the face, that the country was in a most prosperous state, that we were going on flourishingly, and were the astonishment of the world? He could not see any reason why the people were to be taxed 14,000,000*l.* when 12,000,000*l.* were to be borrowed; and could only consider it as another insult which was to be offered to them. After thanking the house for the indulgence which had been extended to him, the right honourable gentleman sat down amid loud cheerings from every part of the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought that the labours of the last committee were entitled to the highest consideration, and were such as ought to inspire the nation to look forward with confidence to the proceedings of another committee, especially as it was instituted upon the same plan and consisted nearly of the same members as the former committee. He then said, that his noble friend had then pointed out the general amelioration of the revenue up to January 5, 1819, and stated that the

the proceeds of it amounted to 53,000,000*l.*, a sum surpassing the estimate of the committee by 1,500,000*l.* The honourable gentleman who had spoken last had thought proper to have recourse to his inquiries, because he found the state of the country more flourishing than he had expected. The reduction which had already taken place was surprising and beyond all belief. He would not hesitate to say, that if any individual had been told in 1792, before the war commenced, that we should be engaged in a series of hostilities for five-and-twenty years, that those hostilities should leave us with an unredeemed debt of 800,000,000*l.*, and that notwithstanding, at the end of the third year of peace there should be a surplus of 5,000,000*l.* or 4,000,000*l.* in the revenue, that individual would have returned for answer, "It is beyond all hope, it is beyond all credibility, it is a fairy prospect that can never be realized." And yet, such is the state of facts, even after 17,000,000*l.* of annual taxes have been remitted to the country.

Mr. Ellice had as full confidence as any individual could have in the means and energy of the country; but he was quite convinced that if we kept borrowing money to raise the funds, and issuing an over abundance of paper, we should find it impossible to continue to go on much longer.

Mr. Protheroe observed, that in his opinion his majesty's ministers were in general disposed to place too much reliance on the amount of exports and imports, as a criterion for national prosperity. A spirit of adventurous speculation had been introduced, and had extended itself from the higher to the more humble classes of traders, and the effects of which it was not easy to calculate.

Mr. Hart Davis expressed his opinion that the export trade of the country must be materially affected by a diminution of the circulating paper. The low rate of interest payable on the exchequer bills was a direct advantage to the public, whilst the amount of them enabled capitalists to promote its manufacturing interests.

The question for appointing the committee was then put, and carried unanimously. The following members were then elected to compose it: lord Castlereagh, Mr. H. Bankes, the chancellor of exchequer, lord Binning, right hon. R. Peel, Mr. B. Wilbraham, Mr. Hart Davis, sir George Clerk, right hon. W. Huskisson, Mr. F. Lewis, sir G. Hill, Mr. Tremayne, Mr. N. Calvert, Mr. D. Gilbert, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Gooch, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. J. H. Smyth, lord Clive, Mr. Holford, Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. Grenfell said he had lately called the attention of the house to the subject of the public balances in the hands of the bank, with a view of securing a greater share of the benefit of them to the country. The bank at present derived a sum of about 280,000*l.* a year from this source, and he wished to ask the right honourable gentleman, whether it was intended to submit this branch of public expenditure to the consideration of the committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer intimated, that this ought in his opinion to form the subject of a distinct inquiry and arrangement.

The house then went into a committee of ways and means, when a general

general resolution as to an issue of exchequer bills was agreed to.

Mr. S. Bourne, after some preliminary observations, as to the proceedings of the committee on the poor laws, which sat during the last session, said he should propose to re-appoint that committee. He was fully impressed with the importance of the subject to which he was alluding, and the committee had felt it in an equal degree. So overwhelming had the evil appeared to them, that they had been at a loss what remedy to propose; at the same time it was impossible to disguise from ourselves that the evil, great as it was, was still increasing; and in a little time in many districts, unless checked, it would leave to the owner nothing but the soil. He concluded by moving for the appointment of a committee.

Mr. Curwen acknowledged that the country was under great obligations to the honourable member who had just sat down; and it was with pain he opposed the motion. But, in his opinion, little benefit could now be derived from a committee; the house was already in possession of all the information which they could derive from a committee; and the only source from which any relief could be expected was one which could at once look at the evil in all its parts. In 25 years the poor rates had increased from 2,000,000*l.* to their present enormous amount. The increase was owing to three great causes—increase of taxation, the depreciation of the value of money, and the consequent increase of the price of the necessaries of life. The increase of the value of labour had indeed been, he believed, in the proportion of one-fourth; but the increase in the prices of the necessaries of life had been at least one-third; and the additional taxation on the necessary articles of soap, leather, and salt, amounted to one-ninth at least of the produce of labour. He verily believed, that instead of the poor-rates being diminished, they had been increased. It would be better to take this great burden off the people and lay it at once on property. He reprobated the practice of giving bounties to the poor for marrying; for parishes often gave a man 2*s.* for his wife, and 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for each of his children. He thought that some power should be given to the magistrates to fix the wages for agricultural labour in different districts; by this means, out of the eight millions for the poor rates now raised, two millions might be raised as wages, which would be a great relief. But nothing would give real relief but lessening the taxation. He therefore thought government ought to take up this question, for otherwise he despaired of any good being done.

Lord Castlereagh thought it would be better to discuss the general question of the poor laws when his right honourable friend brought in his bill. It would be deceiving the house, if he was to say that government had yet seen any mode of relieving the lower orders by throwing the burden of them on any one class in the state. Government wished to agree with every person in the house, in order to inquire what could really be done to afford relief on this great subject. The committee had already gone a great length towards ameliorating the poor laws. He would not encourage false hopes

to

to the country; and although some classes in the community were still suffering, as in a great country there must at all times be, there never was an example of a more rapid amelioration of general, commercial, and manufacturing interests.

Mr. Burrell instanced the case of Brighton parish, which lately paid 7000*l.* for poor rates, and last year they amounted to 16,000*l.*, the population being 18,000. The parish of East Grinstead paid at a rate of 4*l.* a year a man to the poor rates. The reason was, that there was a greater population in the parish than they could find work for. All the young able-bodied single men had been obliged to be sent to the workhouse for want of employment.

Mr. Methuen said, it would be a delusion to think that any legislative measure could be found to meet this evil, except a diminution of taxes.

Mr. L. Wellesley opposed the re-appointment of this committee.

Alderman Waithman could not agree with the noble lord on the increasing prosperity of the country. He had found in his own parish the distress of the poor increasing up to this moment. In one of the parishes of his ward, upwards of 100 persons were summoned for non-payment of the poor-rates, and found incapable. Nothing would remedy this evil but a relief from the taxes which now oppress the country.

Colonel Wood supported the motion for the committee.

The committee was then ordered to be appointed.

CHAPTER II.

Windsor Establishment—Criminal Code—Bribery at Penryn—Exchequer Prosecutions—Chimney Sweepers' Bill.

HOUSE of lords, Feb. 11.—The earl of Liverpool laid on the table papers relative to the negotiations at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Lord Holland inquired whether there were among them any papers respecting the slave trade, and also a copy of the holy alliance, or if it was intended to lay a copy of it before the house.

The earl of Liverpool said, the British government approved of the principles of the compact alluded to, but was not a party thereto. That alliance had been signed at Paris by the four sovereigns themselves, without the intervention of any subordinate agent; and by the principles of the British constitution, which required the intervention of responsible agents, the prince regent could not be a party in the same manner with the other sovereigns. Under these circumstances, it was not deemed regular to lay a copy of the treaty before the house.

In the commons, the same day, sir J. Jackson moved for a committee to inquire whether contagion or infection was incident to epidemic diseases.

Mr. W. Wynn thought this was a subject more fit for the inquiry of

of medical men than a committee of the house of commons.

Mr. F. Robinson explained the bearing of the question upon the interests of commerce, as affected by the quarantine laws. A reference had been made to the college of physicians on the subject, and their opinion was, that the doctrine on which the quarantine regulations had been founded was correct. Still facts had been stated which rendered it a matter of doubt whether the plague itself was contagious.

Mr. W. Wynn, upon this explanation, said he should not oppose the motion.

Sir J. Jackson said that Dr. Roberts, who had been 24 years at St. Bartholomew's hospital, had informed him that he scarcely ever knew an instance of fever being contagious. Motion agreed to.

House of lords, Feb. 12. The royal assent was given by commission to the bill for the custody of his majesty's person, and the Westminster hustings bill.

On the motion of Mr. Grenfell, several returns were ordered from the bank relative to notes and post-bills. He also gave notice, that after the holidays he should submit a motion respecting the allowance of 280,000*l.* to the bank, for managing the concerns of the public debt.

Lord Castlereagh brought up a large mass of papers relative to negotiations with foreign powers, on the subject of the slave trade; and in answer to a question from Mr. Smythe, said great difficulties had been found in filling up the list of commissioners to be sent out, under the treaties with the peninsular powers.

Mr. Wilberforce remarked, that every day's delay in sending them out was signing the death-warrant of hundreds of their fellow creatures.

The attorney-general having moved the committal of the law of appeal repeal bill, sir Francis Burdett said he should, in a future stage, move a saving clause as to the right of appeal in cases of murder.

Sir J. Mackintosh did not see how any part of the law could be suffered to remain, without leaving a principle equally inconsistent with humanity and justice. The objections to the repeal of that part of it which applied to cases of murder, rested upon no better authority than the observations of Junius upon the case of the Kennedys.

February 16.—The house having gone into a committee on the acts respecting the assessed taxes on horses, Mr. Curwen complained of the frequency of surcharges in the collection of these taxes. This mode of surcharging excited infinite odium against the government, without occasioning any considerable increase of the revenue.

Mr. Lushington thought there could be no objection to continue the act of last year, in a committee on which the honourable gentleman might propose an amendment. Different constructions certainly prevailed in different parts of the kingdom, an evil which ought undoubtedly to be remedied.

Feb. 17.—On a petition from land-owners in the west riding of Yorkshire, for a committee on the corn laws, sir R. Wilson expressed his surprise at the perse-

verance

verance of the landlords and farmers, in presenting such petitions, after the unequivocal declaration made on the subject by ministers. Was it intended again to exasperate the feelings of the public against the existing corn laws? The agricultural interest had been most fortunate to get what they now enjoyed, and he was certain that they ought to be well satisfied with gains which were the losses of the rest of the country.

Mr. Stuart Wortley, who presented the petition, said he had great doubts whether this was a fit time for urging the claims of the petitioners; but it was his duty, as a member of the house, to submit their humble request to its consideration.

Mr. alderman Wood said, the better way would be to move at once for a committee of inquiry, the negativing of which would set the matter to rest, and satisfy the country.

Mr. W. Wynn deprecated these repeated discussions on a topic so calculated to excite a general ferment. With regard to the petitioners, he was well persuaded that nothing could be gained for them, and much might be lost, by any new attempt at legislation.

Mr. S. Wortley said he had no intention of moving for a committee.

Sir J. Graham said, that in his part of the country they were well satisfied with the law as it stood.

On the motion of Mr. Protheroe, a select committee was appointed to consider the acts now in force respecting the highways and turnpike roads in England and Wales; and to inquire into the expediency of making better regulations for their repair.

After a pretty general preliminary conversation, the house went into a committee on the chimney-sweepers' regulation bill. The committee agreed that the age below which climbing boys could not be apprenticed should be 14, and that the penalty for each violation of this clause, proved before two magistrates, should not exceed 50*l.* nor be less than 10*l.* It was also agreed, that the act should begin to operate on the 1st of May, 1821.

Some conversation took place among Messrs. alderman Wood, Bennet, and Ommaney, on the practice of boys, after the termination of their apprenticeships, returning upon their parishes, and the effects of chimney-sweeping on the looks and limbs of boys. Mr. Ommaney, who had been overseer in town and country, maintained, that none had been ever known to him to return upon the parish, but that all had felt a firmness and determination to go forward in life, and that all he had ever seen of them wore happy countenances, so good and buoyant were their spirits. Mr. Bennet, on the contrary, contended, that without reference to any other authority, his own eyes must convince him while he goes along the streets, that they are miserable victims, with bent legs, humped backs, distorted bodies, and miserable, distressed, dejected countenances. Mr. alderman Wood remarked, that if glee of countenance could ever be discovered through the covering of soot, it must have been occasioned by recent escape from eminent peril in a chimney. Mr. Ommaney affirmed, that chimney-sweepers had often gone into the navy. Sir Isaac

Isaac Coffin said he had never known one there.

February 18. Mr. Bennet addressed the house at great length on the evils attending the present system of transportation of convicts to New South Wales, and defects in the present mode of governing that colony, which placed the persons and property of 20,000 Englishmen at the arbitrary disposal of the governor, without the restraint even of a council. He complained that the governor opened and shut the ports on principles so capricious, that neither the agriculturists nor merchants knew how to regulate their dealings; that he ordered three men, one of them a free man, an artist of great ingenuity, to be publicly flogged, for going through a hole in the wall of his park; that he levied taxes to the amount of 20,000*l.* a-year without the authority of parliament; and that he had licensed 52 public houses, many of which were infamous brothels. Mr. B. concluded with moving, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the system of transportation, and the state of the colony of New South Wales, and to report their opinion to the house.

Lord Castlereagh conceived that the object of the hon. gentleman would be best attained by connecting the proposed inquiry with that into the state of the gaols, which he (lord C.) intended to move for; and the state of the criminal code he also considered another branch of the same subject. The committee of 1812, of which the late sir S. Romilly was a member, concluded their report with stating, that, of late years, the government had turned its particular attention to the means of improving the state of the colony at New South Wales; and he could now inform the house, that a commissioner was about to proceed thither to inquire on the spot as to the practicability of better arrangements. Under these circumstances he should move the previous question.

In the sequel of the debate, which lasted till midnight, the original motion was supported by Mr. Wilberforce, sir J. Mackintosh, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Forbes; and opposed by Mr. Goulburn, sir B. Martin, Mr. Canning, and Mr. B. Bathurst. The previous question was then carried by a majority of 199 to 93.

Feb. 19. — Lord Castlereagh obtained leave to bring in a bill to carry into effect the conventions for the liquidation of the claims of British merchants on France. His lordship incidentally noticed, that no relief or protection was to be expected from this government by speculators in the foreign funds, in cases of war breaking out. He also said, that when the persons who had preferred their claims prior to the period mentioned in the notice given by the commissioners, had been satisfied, those who had good claims, but had neglected to prefer them in time, would be entitled to a division of the surplus, if any remained.

House of commons, Feb. 22.— The chimney-sweepers' regulation bill, after some opposition by sir J. Yorke and Mr. Ommaney, and a reply by Mr. Bennet, was passed.

The house went into a committee, to consider of the report of the select committee on the Windsor establishment. Lord Castlereagh

reagh addressed the committee in the order of the following resolutions, which he proposed at the close of his speech, viz. 1st. That for the Windsor establishment generally, instead of 100,000*l.*, 50,000*l.* be appropriated. 2d. That annuities be given to the servants of her late majesty, to the amount recommended by the committee. 3d. That 10,000*l.* be given to the duke of York, as to her late majesty, for the expenses attending the care of his majesty's person. The 4th, 5th, and 6th resolutions related to an alteration in the mode of superannuating the king's servants, to the future payments from the exchequer, and to other matters of form. On the general subject of the first resolution, his lordship said there had been no difference of opinion in the committee. The only point of difference was, whether there should be four or five equerries retained; but as to the grant for the Windsor establishment, it was agreed that it could not be less, considering that one third of it was absorbed by the expense of keeping up the palace, and that the real expense of his majesty would not exceed 16,000*l.* The sum proposed for the queen's servants was between 18 and 19,000*l.*, making a reduction of upwards of 6000*l.* The allowance was less than that made to the servants of the late princess dowager of Wales, and about the same that had been given to those of queen Mary. With regard to the grant to the duke of York, he understood it was to be proposed that it should be paid out of the privy purse. This, he contended, would be unjust, illegal, and unconstitutional. The statutes of the 39th and 40th of the king had enabled his majesty to dispose of the savings of the privy purse as private property. On this principle, too, the acts of 1811 and 1812 had proceeded in keeping that fund untouched. The duty of the *custos* of the king's person was a public one, and to propose to pay him out of his majesty's property need only be named in order to revolt the feelings of the house; it was to shake the very first principle of private property. If such a proposition were carried, it would consign their names to infamy. If any one had nerves to bring forward an amendment to that effect, the house, following the clear law on the subject, must at once meet him with the practice of good faith, with the practice of good law, and with the maxim much esteemed by our ancestors —*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* The noble lord concluded with stating, that he had been authorized by the duke of York to apprize the house that nothing could induce him to take what he considered the sacred property of his majesty. He then moved his first resolution.

Mr. Tierney admitted that, from what had been disclosed in the committee, no saving could be made in the proposed vote for the Windsor establishment, but one too paltry to put into competition with the irksomeness of the discussion of the affairs of the royal family, of which there had certainly been enough in that house already. As to the queen's servants, he had objected to extending pensions or allowances beyond servants in menial offices. He was told that he was quite in error upon that point, and that lords

were usually pensioned, as well as menial servants. As to the infamy which would fall on the house if they ordered the duke of York to be paid out of the privy purse, all he would say was, that he acted from the best information he could receive, and with the best discretion he could exercise; and while he so acted, he was sure of the approbation of his own mind, and felt confident that he could not be the means of bringing infamy on himself or on others. The communication made to the house by the noble lord, at the conclusion of his speech, was very ill advised. The royal duke must have been told by ministers, that if the house of commons would be infamous by giving the money out of the privy purse, he would be infamous by receiving it. But whatever sum of money that house might offer, he begged to say that the proudest royal duke must feel an honour to receive. Mr. T. then argued at great length, that neither legally nor constitutionally was the privy purse private property; that it was not made so by the 39th and 40th of the king, though they enabled him to dispose of the savings that had previously accrued. As to the 51st of the king, there would have been no necessity for it had the privy purse been considered the private property of the sovereign. The sole object of that act was, that should his majesty recover, he should find every thing *in statu quo*. But the 52d, which was a permanent measure, expressly stated that it was reasonable that the payment of the physicians and certain other expenses should be borne out of the privy purse. How then could it be infamous in this parliament to do that which the late one had thought reasonable? It was not known, he believed rather that the reverse was the fact, that his majesty had made any testamentary document by which to direct the future application of his property; and if so, the consequence would be, that it would devolve to the crown; and were the house, he asked, to be called on, in the present state of the country, to add to the burdens of the people, in order to secure a large sum to the successor to the throne? Did the house recollect that the privy purse of his majesty was not the only one which the country had to pay? There were at present two privy purses, and the savings from both were to become the property of the crown. He then begged the house to recollect that the eyes of the country were upon them. It expected from them a saving of 10,000*l.*; and let them not be afraid of the infamy which was threatened to the supporters of the amendment. Let them but do their duty—vote for the saving; the country would stand by them, and where the charge of infamy would afterwards fall let others find out. He reminded the house of the unpleasant situation in which ministers had recently placed the junior branches of the royal family, by demanding establishments which the country could not afford. Though the sum at present in dispute was small, the question which it involved was one of the utmost importance: it was connected closely with the constitutional law of the country, and it came home to the most powerful feelings of a people, who, while labouring under

der their burdens, were insulted by such expressions as those to which the noble lord had resorted. He concluded with moving an amendment, "That the surplus out of the funds arising to his majesty from the duchy of Lancaster, and the 60,000*l.* which was allowed for the privy purse, after the payment of the physicians, and other incidental expenses, be applied to the payment of the 10,000*l.* to be given to his royal highness the duke of York as the *custos* of his majesty's person."

In the sequel of the discussion, which did not terminate till one o'clock in the morning, the amendment was supported by Mr. Bankes, Mr. Protheroe, Mr. Hume, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. T. Wilson, and Mr. Scarlett; and opposed by Mr. Peel, Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Martin (of Galway), Mr. Huskisson, lord Compton, Mr. H. Davis, the attorney and solicitor general, and Mr. S. Wortley. On a division, the original motion was carried by 281 to 186.—The chairman of the committee then reported progress.

February 23.—The remaining resolutions respecting the Windsor establishment were agreed to in a committee of the whole house.

February 24.—Sir Robert Wilson presented a petition from Thomas William Grady, clerk of the peace, against the honourable William Windham Quin, member for the county of Limerick. He (sir Robert Wilson) was instructed to say, that the petitioner was perfectly prepared to prosecute the inquiry, and that the documents referred to could all be produced before the house or a committee.

Mr. Windham Quin then stated, with much energy, that the charges in the petition were malicious and ungrounded. His removal of Mr. Grady had nothing to do with politics. It was true that the petitioner had held the situation of clerk of the peace for the county of Limerick for 15 years. But would the house believe that he was now only three and twenty years of age, and consequently that he must have been appointed when he was about seven or eight years old? The petitioner never exercised a single function of his office. In appointing a successor to the petitioner, he did select a gentleman who could discharge, and who does discharge, the duties of that office. Mr. Quin then produced a letter, supposed to be addressed by the father of the petitioner to himself, in which he was threatened with having his conduct represented in parliament, unless he restored his son to his office, and confirmed him in it for life. This letter being proved to be the hand-writing of Mr. Grady, sen. he was ordered to be taken into custody and committed to Newgate, for a breach of the privileges of the house.

House of lords, Feb. 25.—Lord Sidmouth called the attention of their lordships to the papers recently laid on the table relative to the state of the gaols, prisons, and crimes. It was gratifying, he said, to find that there had been a decrease of crimes last year. The increase of crimes of late years was to be ascribed to the circumstances of the country. It was an object worthy of their lordships' inquiry, to discover the means of diminishing the number of crimes. The state of the criminal law would also require their

attention. Some thought it to be too sanguinary; others thought the evil lay in its being administered with too much lenity. It was to be regretted that transportation had lost much of its terrors. The regulations adopted of late years with regard to the hulks had proved highly beneficial. Whatever alterations might be made in the system of prison discipline, care ought to be taken that culprits, however improved in their minds and morals, should on their liberation carry with them the recollection that gaols were places of punishment. His lordship concluded with moving for a select committee to consider of the returns on the table, and report thereon.

The marquis of Lansdown thought the field opened by the noble lord for the committee now proposed too wide. If they were to go into the consideration of the criminal law, there were about 750 acts which they would have to examine.

Lord Kenyon then moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state and condition of children employed in the cotton manufactories, and to report thereon to the house.

The lord chancellor said the overworking of children was indictable at common law; and he saw no reason why the master cotton manufacturers and the master chimney-sweepers should have principles applied to them different from those applied to other trades.

Lords Rosslyn, Grosvenor and Lauderdale argued against all interference with the principle of free labour.

The bishop of Chester, lord Liverpool, and lord Holland, contended that it was absurd to talk of the poor children in question as free labourers, and that by adopting some measure for relief, their lordships would merely endeavour to make that effectual by provision which was now ineffectual for the want of provision.

The noble lord's motion was agreed to.

In the commons the same day, the report on the Windsor establishment was brought up and read; but on the third resolution, for granting 10,000*l.* annually to the duke of York for the care of his majesty's person, being put, the discussion on the subject was renewed. It was however without much interest, except in the result. The opposition was not as to the fund from whence the money should be taken, but the grant of the sum itself. The principal speakers against the resolution were Messrs. Denman, Curwen, Bernal, Williams, Tierney, lords Carhampton and Ebrington; in support of it Messrs. Robinson, Canning, Long Wellesley, Bathurst, Freemantle, and others. An amendment was moved for reducing the allowance to 5,000*l.*; but which was lost on a division by 247 to 137.

Feb. 26.—Mr. Atkyns Wright reported from the Penryn election committee, that Henry Swann, esq. was not duly elected; that he had been guilty of bribery, and was therefore incapacitated to serve in parliament; that evidence had been adduced of three persons using corrupt influence, and eight others of receiving bribes.

March 1st.—Lord Castlereagh, with a view of anticipating and rendering unnecessary a motion of

of which sir James Mackintosh had given notice, moved, "that a select committe be appointed to inquire into the state and description of gaols and other places of confinement, and into the best method of providing for the reformation as well as the safe custody and punishment of offenders."

Sir James Mackintosh remarked, that when the time arrived, he should then endeavour to convince the house, that there was ground for instituting an inquiry, a separate inquiry, into a part of the criminal law.

Messrs. Bennet, Buxton, Wynn, Lawson, and alderman Wood, made a few observations. The motion was agreed to, and a committee appointed.

Mr. Callaghan observed, that a statement had gone forth that the bank had narrowed their discounts, and moved for an account of the bank issues from the 25th of January last.

The chancellor of the exchequer had no objection to the motion. He assured the house, that the issues of the bank of England, instead of being reduced, stood higher than they did before the 25th of January last. As to the report of the committee on the affairs of the bank, it was, under every consideration, most desirable that it should be deferred until the committee were enabled to make a well-considered and judicious one. He had every expectation that the public would recover speedily from the unfounded alarm that had prevailed, and trust to the wisdom of the committee and the house against the adoption of any rash measure.

Mr. Manning said, there was not the smallest intention on the part of the bank to starve the circulation of the country, and whenever the house came to a decision on the report, it would be their duty to bow to it. The amount of issues was now 25,000,000*l.* about 200,000*l.* more than what it was in December last.

House of lords, March 2.—The earl of Liverpool, after dilating upon the successes which had attended the British arms in India, and eulogizing the councils which had planned and the talent which had carried those plans into execution, moved the thanks of the house to the marquis of Hastings and the generals and officers employed under him.

The marquis of Lansdown moved, as an addition to the votes, that the house gave no opinion respecting the execution of the killedar of Talneir, by order of sir T. Hislop; but the noble marquis agreed to withdraw it, upon its being stated that instructions had been sent out to make strict inquiry into the affair.

House of commons, March 2.—Sir James Mackintosh said, that he now rose, pursuant to the notice he had given, to move that a select committee be appointed to consider so much of the criminal law as ordained capital punishment, and to report their opinion to the house. In making this motion, he followed a precedent long established; for in 1770 the same authority had been delegated to a committee for the same purpose. He should immediately proceed to state the grounds and objects of his motion, but for the concessions and statements made by the noble lord—concessions and statements which appeared to him to

narrow the grounds of difference and to simplify the discussion on the present question. If it were only a question between him and the noble lord, the only subject of discussion would be, which of the modes of inquiry proposed was the most convenient; but because the house and every member of it was a party to the question, a few observations were necessary on this preliminary point. That the state of crimes themselves, unconnected with any other subject, called for investigation, was agreed. The noble lord included this investigation among the objects of his committee, thus admitting the necessity of inquiry, and also that that inquiry should be as extensive as he proposed by the present motion. The question here clearly was, which was the most convenient mode; for as to the necessity of inquiry, the appointment of a committee to inquire, and the inquiry being equally extensive, the noble lord concurred with him. These admissions brought the question betweeen them into a narrower compass.

These two material objections he had then to state against including his motion in the noble lord's. First, the physical impossibility of conducting the inquiry he proposed to any effect, if so included. The house had on all sides allowed, and the highest authority in the kingdom (we believe Mr. Buxton) had assured them, that the most laborious committee would require a whole session for the investigation of the state of gaols. The member who had last year presided in the committee for inquiring into the state of prisons (Mr. Bennet) had also stated, that that was a subject equal to the utmost exertions of any committee in one session. The state and merit of the criminal law, transportation, and the little adjunct of the hulks; these were the additions proposed by the noble lord, to be made to an inquiry, which of itself must outlive the longest session of parliament! It had been even admitted by the noble lord, that the committee must be subdivided into two or three committees. What was the inference from this admission? The noble lord had proposed a committee which must divide itself contrary to the usage of parliament. He proposed the appointment of a committee in the usual way. The noble lord had proposed an unconstitutional and unparliamentary course. He had even the authority which belonged to whatever was said from the chair for calling it unconstitutional and unparliamentary.—The noble lord, for the purpose of avoiding the impossibility of his plan, had proposed to invade the practice and usage of parliament. His second objection to his motion being included in the noble lord's was, that it was contrary to the usage of parliament. Upon this he had already in some measure animadverted. What was the object of his lordship's motion? It was to "inquire into the state and description of gaols and other places of confinement, and into the best method of providing for the reformation as well as the safe custody and punishment of offenders." It was "for the reformation as well as the custody of offenders." These must evidently be the same offenders.—They were the same offenders whose

whose reformation and whose custody and punishment were to be provided for. There was therefore a necessary exclusion of capital prisoners, since their reformation and punishment could not be contemporary. It was too plain to be stated, that this was the necessary meaning of the construction of the motion, and that the same persons were to be reformed and punished. It would, indeed, be a monstrous thing, in his estimation beyond all example, that in an inquiry into the state of gaols, the criminal law of England should skulk into that inquiry under one vague and equivocal word. Neither of their motions assumed more than this, that there was room for inquiry. The noble lord's motion assumed this; it assumed no more. His no more reflected on the laws and magistracy of the country than the noble lord's. How should it? for the noble lord's motion was contended to be as extensive as his. But in bringing forward this motion he had not been guided by his own feelings, nor had he trusted entirely to his own judgement. He had found examples which directed, guided, and assured his steps.

In the year 1750, there had been a committee appointed by the house on this momentous subject, in consequence of an alarm excited by the increase of crimes. The committee was instructed to examine and report as to the defects, amendments, or repeal of capital laws. What would the noble lord say to this attack on the laws of our ancestors? Was it made in bad times, by men of no note and of bad principles? It was sufficient defence to state, that of the committee, were Mr. Pelham, then chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Pitt, afterwards lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, afterwards lord Grenville, Mr. Charles Townshend, and Mr. Lloyd, both afterwards chancellors of the exchequer, and Mr. Dudley Ryder, names that should ever be distinguished by their country, as those of the best men, and wisest statesmen. Two sessions of parliament had been found necessary for the inquiry in that age, and the present age was surely far inferior to it in leading statesmen. Then, those great and enlightened statesmen had resolved, that it was reasonable to exchange the punishment of death for other punishments. This resolution was more general than he should now propose. They had been the first committee who denounced the poor laws as the nursery of crime; for at all times pauperism and criminality had advanced in parallel lines, and with equal steps. They had at that time imputed much evil to the divisions among parishes for the maintenance of the poor. These men, too, practical men as they were, had ascribed the increase of crimes in a great measure to the neglect of the education of the children of the poor. A bill had been brought in upon those principles. He would not go through its history. It was not rejected in that house. In the other house lord Hardwicke had not opposed it; nor had any lords of great authority opposed that bill, whose object was to substitute hard labour and imprisonment for death. On the 27th of November, 1770, another committee of the same kind,

among whom were sir W. Meredith and Mr. Fox, was appointed in consequence of the increase of a certain class of crimes.—That committee had been occupied more than two years with the same branch of inquiry which the noble lord proposed to add to the excessive labours of a committee on another subject. In the second session, a bill passed that house *nem. con.* abolishing eight capital statutes. He did not mean to enter into the history of this bill, but it had been thrown out in the lords. Neither lord Camden nor lord Mansfield, however, had opposed it. The names of its opponents were forgotten.

Upon those precedents he had formed and brought forward his motion. It could not be pretended even that the noble lord's motion could effect the purpose of the present motion, without invading the usage of parliament. He might make his stand here, and call upon the noble lord to remove him from this position. But he would proceed. Last night the noble lord, in proposing a committee which was to inquire into the state of the criminal law of England, had contented himself with stating the existence of the evil, but hinted nothing respecting a remedy. Nothing had been said of the course which the noble lord was to propose to the committee; nothing had been said of the defects of the criminal law. He had always understood that two things were to be proposed to every committee, to examine into the existence of the evil, and to judge of the probability of a remedy. Instead of aproaching the sacred fabric reard by our ancestors with lightness, as charged by the noble lord, he approached it with more solemnity and a greater reverence than his lordship. He would not dare to touch it without a prospect of applying a remedy. He could not, indeed, point out any certain remedy. But a probable remedy, which every man felt to be most desirable, it had been his lordship's bounden duty to have pointed out. That some remedy was expected, and ought to be expected, must be obvious to all. He should not be told that he was a wild and rash speculator, for believing a remedy practicable; for in that age which the noble lord called the golden age of crimes, sergeant Glyn, recorder of London, an officer that unhappily has the most extensive experience of the administration of criminal law in the world, both believed a remedy to be practicable, and recommended it as necessary. His object was not to introduce a new criminal code. The attempt to frame a new criminal code for England, whose laws have always been so admirable in their principles, would be too ridiculous to be for a moment listened to. Neither was it his object to abolish the punishment of death: that was a punishment to which society had a right, and which society required for its defence. It had been said, that he wished to deprive the crown of one of its most envied prerogatives: this was a mistake. He was most anxious to restore to it what the practice of modern times had taken away from it. He should say, that he aimed at realizing no universal principle, but only at approaching general rules that at all times had been found

most

most convenient. He did not hope or expect upon this subject to establish an uniformity, discoverable neither in works of art nor in the productions of nature. His object was to bring the letter of the law nearer to its practice. He was not so idle as to expect that it would be possible to attain a system where execution must inevitably follow the sentence; but he and the country had great reason to complain of the existing system, where the remission of punishment was the rule, and the enforcing of it the exception. His hope was to attain a state of things where a regular and steady system of punishment was established, where the hopes and fears of men were regular and steady, and so rendered by the regularity and steadiness with which the law was enforced. He wished to carry the reformation of the law no further than long experience and the humane practice of modern times fully justified.

In some particular inflictions, on which the feelings of good men were not in unison with the criminal law, (and which discord was one of the greatest possible calamities, because criminal law and virtuous feelings could not long be at variance without injury perhaps to both,) he hoped to see some salutary alterations introduced: all good men in a well regulated community ought to be ready and willing enforcers of the criminal law; and such an alteration would more than any thing else tend to restore that attachment to the laws which in the most tempestuous times of our history had distinguished the people of England among the nations of the world.

Having concluded his general remarks, he should now enter into a few illustrative details. He admitted the statement of the noble lord last night to be in the main just and candid; and he agreed that the crimes in which so rapid an increase was observable were not those of the blackest die, and of the most ferocious character, and that the ancient moral character of the nation was not stained or dishonoured: the crimes detailed in the documents were to be viewed rather as the result of the distresses than of the depravity of the community. He could not, however, concur in all that had fallen from the noble lord, on the subject of temporary causes.—Their discordance was in some cases a little whimsical, for the noble lord held those causes to be temporary which he (sir J. Mackintosh) considered permanent, and those permanent which he deemed temporary. For instance, in the crime of forgery, which he only mentioned by way of illustration, he (sir James Mackintosh) had hoped, that when cash-payments were restored, that offence would be diminished; but the noble lord discouraged any such expectation, by asserting that the withdrawing of such a mass of paper from circulation would be attended with no such beneficial consequence. The noble lord had also mentioned the growth of manufactures: this must also be placed among the permanent causes, while our manufactures continued to flourish: therefore, unless some remedy were found, our prosperity would be undermined by immorality. The noble lord had fallen into an error when speaking of the population of London: although it was positively larger now than in the year 1700,

1700, it was relatively smaller: it was not so populous now with reference to the population of the whole kingdom as in the reign of William III. Some other causes of criminality deserved attention, and most of all those which arose out of mistakes in measures of policy and legislation; among these might be noticed the erroneous spirit out of which the same laws had grown which had introduced a sort of contraband trade, and with it many of the seeds of vice had been sown. He hoped soon to see a remedy applied upon this subject by the member for Hertfordshire, who had given notice of a general measure. A smuggling traffic of another species, though with nearly the same effects, had been fostered by some of the existing laws relating to the revenue: unfortunately no tax could be spared that was productive; but many of those laws relating to drawbacks, and other matters of that kind, were an incumbrance upon the industry of the country, and, in truth, were wholly unproductive of any thing beneficial: poachers and smugglers were the great sources from which malefactors were recruited.

He did not assert that the system could be changed at once; but it was singular that we were now in the fourth year of peace, and not a single step had been taken to inquire into the necessity of continuing one of the existing prohibitory duties, which were the nurseries of crimes of the most atrocious and ferocious nature. One subject, under his convictions, it would be unpardonable to omit. A slight attention to the returns would show that the rapid increase of crimes commenced in the year 1808: after that date they had varied, but had never fallen lower than the standard then fixed; and it was extremely remarkable, and a most serious and alarming fact, that in that very year the great issues of the bank of England began. In a letter written to Mr. Peel, by an individual, who though he concealed his name could not conceal his talents and the rare union of ancient learning with modern science, great stress was laid upon the increase of paupers, and the augmentation of the poor-rates; a point also dwelt upon with great force by a right honourable gentleman, in a debate upon the affairs of the bank of England. Pauperism and criminality went hand in hand in this country, and they were both propelled by the immense issues of bank paper. Soon after 1808, these issues reduced the value of the pound-note to 14*s.*, and the labourer of course found his wages diminished, by no cause which he could discover or comprehend, at least in the proportion of one-third: the operation of the paper system was to him like the workings of some malignant fiend, which could only be traced in their effects. Was it possible to suppose that such a diminution of income among all classes had not produced a great increase of crime? The chief ground on which he arrived at the conclusion that the criminal law was not so efficacious as it ought to be, and might be by temperate and prudent measures, was, that the practice and the letter were not only deviating from, but actually at variance with, each other.

It was a well known fact that about

about 200 capital felonies were to be found in the law of England; but within the last 70 years executions had been enforced on only 25 of them: so that upon 175 capital felonies the punishment ordered by statute had not been inflicted. In England and Wales (as to which the returns did not come down to so recent a date) convictions, setting aside executions, had only proceeded upon thirty; so that there were no less than 170 felonies upon which no conviction ever had been had. In the mean time the discordance between the law and the practice had continued to increase, and had perhaps grown most rapidly in some of the most glorious periods of our history. The greatest change produced by the revolution in 1688 was what might be termed the establishment of a parliamentary government. Yet it had been attended with one important inconvenience, the unhappy facility afforded to legislation; the ease with which every member of parliament could indulge his whims and caprices; the little difficulty he found in obtaining measures to augment the number of capital felonies. An anecdote, confirmatory of this statement, was told by Mr. Burke in the early part of his public career: he was about to leave the house, when he was detained by a gentleman who wished him to remain. Mr. Burke pleaded urgent business, and the reply of the individual who held him was, that the subject on which the house was engaged would very soon be dismissed, as it was only upon the subject of a capital felony, without benefit of clergy. Mr. Burke had afterwards stated, that he had no doubt that he could, without difficulty, have obtained the assent of the house to any bill he brought in for capital punishment. This facility had greatly contributed to impair and enervate the whole system of the criminal law. With this augmentation of needless severity, the humanity of the government and of the nation had also advanced: both naturally revolted from the enforcement of laws which had been so inconsiderately obtained, and which was partially the result of a system of perverse and malignant accidents. This most singular and most injurious opposition of the enactments of the legislature, and the enforcement of those enactments, had attracted the attention of a distinguished individual, who was no longer a member of that house, but who united in himself all qualities to render himself one of its greatest ornaments; who at once was a master of reason and of the power of enforcing it; whose sound judgement was accompanied by the most perspicuous comprehension, and who only wanted the two vices of ostentation and ambition to render his high talents and attainments more useful and popular: they were, however, contemned by the retiring simplicity and noble modesty of his nature; that individual (we understood him to refer to sir W. Grant) had given his great authority for the assertion that the law and the practice were diametrically opposite.

On one occasion particularly, when his attention was called to the subject, he had said, that it was impossible that both the law and the practice could be right: one of the conflicting bodies must be wrong; and as the law might be brought to an accordance with the

the practice, but the practice could never be compelled to join in the severity of the law, the law ought to be altered for a wiser and more humane system. At another time the same individual had well observed, that there was a confederacy between judges, juries, counsel, prosecutors, witnesses, and the advisers of the crown, to prevent the execution of the criminal laws. Was it then fit that that system should continue, which the whole body of the intelligent community united and conspired to oppose as a disgrace to our nature and nation? He wished to advert shortly to what had fallen from the noble lord, on the point how far these crimes were occasioned by a change from a state of war: the result which his lordship had drawn from the returns was extremely questionable; it was not always true that crimes diminished during war, or increased after its conclusion. In the seven years' war, indeed, crimes augmented, and decreased after its termination; but they had been more numerous in the seven years preceding the American war, and continued to advance not only during those hostilities, but after peace had been restored. It was, however, quite correct to state, that there was no augmentation that much outran the progress of population until about the last 20 years; and that was capable of being accounted for without any loss to the ancient and peculiar probity of the British character. The most rapid increase had occurred within the last ten years, and lord Rosslyn was the first lord chancellor under whose administration the great diminution of executions as compared with the convictions was to be remarked. Under lord Thurlow, no material change in this respect was observable; but the gentle disposition and the liberality of the early principles of lord Rosslyn had induced him to recommend many to the mercy of the crown. Soon afterwards, the executions compared with the convictions were reduced to one-third, subsequently to half, and finally, to one-eleventh. There was one statement of the noble lord to which he (sir J. Mackintosh) wished here to advert. Dividing crimes into different kinds, it would be found that to eight or nine the diminution of executions did not apply; with regard to them, even now the executions usually amounted to about half the number of convictions: in the lesser felonies, the ratio was one in twenty, one in thirty, and even one in sixty.

He agreed that the discretion at present exercised ought to be continued to the crimes of burglary and highway robbery; but it was, on the part of the noble lord, doing injustice to the general argument, to throw together all degrees and sorts of felonies, and to deduce from the whole a general average: they ought to be divided into classes, and the last would be found to consist of a prodigious number of felonies on which there had been no executions at all. For the sake of clearness he would say, that he would separate the numerous felonies into three classes: the first would consist of murder and murderous offences; those that attacked life and limb, or put the former into imminent hazard: the second would be composed of arson,

arson, highway-robbery, piracy, and some other felonies of a similar degree of atrocity, upon which at present the law was carried into execution in a great many cases. Upon those two divisions, he would admit for the present, that it would be unsafe to propose any alteration; they ought still to be punished with death, and he believed that a patient and calm investigation would remove the objections of a number of well-meaning persons who were of a contrary opinion. But there was still a third class, some connected with frauds of various kinds, but others, nearly to the amount of 150, of a most frivolous and fantastic kind, which were never carried into execution, and it was absurd to suppose could in the present day be executed; when executed in one or two instances in former times, they had excited the disgust and horror of all good men. There could be no doubt, even the noble lord, he apprehended, would not dispute, that they ought to be expunged from the statute-book as a disgrace to our law, and as creating a false opinion, that it was much more sanguinary than it had ever been rendered in practice. Would any man now think of punishing with death the offence of cutting a hop-vine, or destroying an ornamental tree? The black-act, as it was called, created about 20 felonies, some of them of the most absurd description. Bearing particular weapons, having the face blacked, or being found disguised upon the road, was a capital crime; so that if a gentleman was going to a masquerade, and was obliged to pass along a highway, he was liable, when detected, to be hanged without benefit of clergy. In the same way, destroying the head of a fish-pond was a felony, and many others, the relics of barbarous times, and disgraceful to the character of a thinking and enlightened people. It ought to be recollected also, that for such offences as these punishments quite adequate and sufficiently numerous remained, that by the wisdom of parliament might be ordered to be inflicted. It could not be asserted that such capital inflictions were not needless in cases like those to which he had referred, and in many others; and he trusted that he (sir J. Mackintosh) should never live to see the day when any member would rise in that house and maintain that a punishment avowedly needless ought to be continued.

The debateable ground was afforded by a sort of middle class of offences, consisting of larcenies and frauds of a more heinous kind, though not accompanied with violence or terror. He was quite ready to allow that here some serious difficulties presented themselves; but still he argued that this division of crimes was clearly distinguishable from the other classes of felonies he had noticed. Upon such an extensive and important question he wished not to be understood as giving any decisive opinion: but he put this to the house, not that judicial discretion should be entirely taken away, for it ought to be allowed an extensive range, and nothing could be more unjust than an undeviating rule of law; but whether it was convenient, upon the whole view of the subject, that the discretion of judges should extend

extend to life and death, in cases where the ordinary punishment was transportation for life, or for limited periods? This question had been first started in parliament by his beloved and lamented friend, to whose memory justice had already been done in this house by an honourable member, whose kindred virtues and kindred eloquence peculiarly qualified him for the melancholy task. He (sir J. Mackintosh) hoped that the house would bear with him, if, when touching upon this subject, he could not restrain himself from feebly expressing his fervent admiration of the individual by whose benevolent efforts it had been consecrated; whose moral character was composed of an original sensibility, controlled by the most inflexible public principle, which nothing could bend unless it first overwhelmed. This quality was remarkably shown in his exertions regarding the criminal code. With all that ardour of temperament with which he unceasingly pursued the good of his country, never had there been a reformer of the law who was more circumspect in his means, or more considerate in his end. He had redeemed his country from a great disgrace, by at least putting a stop to that career of improvident and disgraceful legislation, which from session to session had multiplied capital felonies. The question with regard to the discretion that ought to be exercised was not as to the infliction of transportation, but as to the power of superadding death as a punishment in cases of an aggravated nature.

He did not mean to enter into any discussion of the principles maintained by Dr. Paley on this subject. They had not to consider whether some good might not be derived from the execution of a person of mischievous character and practices for some minor offence, but whether the whole good so derived to society was such as to exceed the evil. He might venture to express his conviction that the result of such an inquiry as he proposed would be to show that the balance of advantage was the other way. It had been argued on a former occasion, by the late chief justice of the common pleas, with reference to this question, that if one execution only out of sixty convictions for capital crimes took place, that one execution still served as a dreadful example, and diminished the chances of escape. He himself, on the contrary, was prepared to contend that such an example, so far from operating on the malefactor's mind as a source of alarm at the capital punishment, actually lessened the terrors of transportation. Exulting at his probable escape from the more dreadful infliction, his joy and satisfaction eclipsed and obscured those apprehensions with which he would otherwise contemplate the penalties which he was certainly to suffer. Exile appeared to him as it did to Cicero, not a punishment, but a refuge. In support of this opinion, he would quote the authority of one whom, if he could not describe him as an eminent lawyer, all would agree to have been deeply skilled in human nature, as well as a most active and experienced magistrate; he alluded to the celebrated Henry Fielding. In a work published by that gentleman, at the period when the first parliamentary

parliamentary inquiry was in progress, and entitled "A treatise on the causes of crime," there would be found this observation: "A single pardon excites a greater degree of hope in the minds of criminals than twenty executions do of fear." How much stronger must be this feeling of hope under the present administration of justice, and how strongly must it not influence the mind of the criminal to despise a doom so comparatively mild! But another most important consideration was the effect of such laws in deterring witnesses from coming forward with their evidence, and the injured from commencing prosecutions. The chances of escape were thus multiplied by a system that discouraged the prosecutor, and increased the temptations of the offender. The better part of mankind, in those grave and reflecting moments which the prosecution for a capital offence must always bring with it to their mind, shrunk frequently from the task imposed on them. The act of George II. for preserving bleaching grounds from depredation had been, from its excessive severity, seldom proceeded on.—Such was the case with several other acts, and more especially with the act relating to bankrupts concealing their effects. He might refer also to an act passed in 1812, for the purpose of consolidating the different acts which created offences against the revenue laws, and repealing all those not therein specified. This act he understood to have been passed at the instance of certain officers of the revenue. It had become manifest, he presumed, that, as lord Bacon had long since observed, great penalties always deadened the operation of the laws. Sir Archibald Macdonald, who had presided long and to his own honour in the principal revenue court of the kingdom, had been convinced of the truth of this principle.

Another point of great importance in considering the comparatively small number of cases in which death was ordinarily inflicted, was the effect which was produced by so frequently pronouncing the judgement. He feared that its effect was to impair, and sometimes wholly to remove, those solemn impressions which it was desirable should always be produced on such an occasion. Of what possible advantage could it be to pronounce a sentence which every one who heard it was satisfied would not be carried into execution? To him it appeared to be so much wanton subtraction from those terrors which formed the chief guardian of society, because without them neither life nor property could be secure. How could those terrors be sustained, if murder and burglary were levelled with offences deserving and receiving a much slighter punishment? The jurisdiction of life and death was an awful authority, which had been wisely intrusted to courts of judicature, in order to hold forth the wholesome example that justice might take away life, though power could not. But the law was deprived of its beneficent energy, and society of the protection which it needed, whenever that authority was disarmed of its terrors. For several years that effect had been gradually impaired, and such a change alone was, he felt persuaded, a fertile source of crime.

crime. He entirely concurred in the opinion of sir W. Grant, that the great utility of the punishment of death consisted in the horror which it was naturally calculated to excite; but that to produce this end effectually, all criminal laws should be in unison with public feeling. Whenever they were directly opposed to it, the end must be totally defeated. He brought to the support of this argument no less authorities than those of sir W. Blackstone, of Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt; to which he might add that of lord Grenville, who had maintained the same principles in a speech as distinguished by forcible reasoning as by profound political wisdom and majestic eloquence.

It must undoubtedly happen, in the best regulated conditions of society, that the laws should sometimes be at variance with the sentiments and feelings of good men. But that they should remain permanently in that state, not more inconsistent with obvious policy than repugnant to the opinions of all the enlightened and respectable, was scarcely credible in a country like Great Britain. Amongst all people, an agreement between the laws and the general feeling of those who were subject to them was essential to their efficacy. But this agreement became of unspeakable importance in a country where the charge of executing the laws was committed, in a great measure, to the people themselves. He knew not how to contemplate without serious apprehension the consequences that might attend the prolongation of a system like the present. It was with these views and opinions that he had been induced to propose a full inquiry into the state of the penal code, not for the purpose of throwing new impediments in the way of our civil government, but to remove those already existing before they become insuperable. His object was to make the laws popular, and to reclaim an habitual reverence for their administration. It was in order that their execution might be made easy, their terrors overwhelming, their efficacy irresistible, that he now implored the house to give this subject its most grave consideration. He would beg to remind it, that sir William Blackstone, in his classical work on the laws of England, had pointed out the indispensable necessity under which juries often laboured of committing what he called a pious perjury, in estimating the value of stolen property. This was another lamentable irregularity springing from the system.

The practice resorted to by one of the wisest institutions of the country, so clearly indicative as it was of public feeling, afforded an instructive lesson to a wise statesman. The administration of the law in all its branches was the great bond of society, the point at which authority and obedience met most nearly. If those who held the reins of government, instead of attempting a remedy, should content themselves with vain lamentations at the growth of crime; if they should refuse to conform the laws to the opinions and dispositions of the public, that growth must continue to spread a just alarm. He had reason to believe that in a few days many petitions from a body of men intimately connected with the administration of the law—he meant the magistracy of the country—

try—would be presented, praying for a general revision. Amongst that body he understood that but little difference of opinion prevailed; and that when their petitions should be examined, it would be seen that the names subscribed to them gave them an additional weight. He had not thought it right, however, to postpone his motion for an inquiry so important till those petitions were actually on the table. He should have felt indeed extreme regret if the consideration of this question had been preceded by petitions agreed to at clamorous and popular assemblies. He would never sacrifice an iota of the dignity of parliament, or of its deliberative capacity, to such applications, however earnest. But the petition from the city of London ought to be regarded in another light. It proceeded from magistrates accustomed to administer justice in a most populous metropolis, and who necessarily possessed very great experience. It proceeded from a body of most respectable traders, of men peculiarly exposed to those depredations against which capital punishment was denounced. An assembly so composed was one of weight and dignity, and its representations on this subject were entitled to the greater deference, inasmuch as the results of their experience appeared to be in direct opposition to their strongest prejudices. The disposition to destroy those who injured us was natural, but the city of London had been disabused of it. He would wish also to advert shortly to another petition which had been presented from the society of Quakers. This petition had been treated rather too harshly, and described as containing a very extravagant recommendation. It concluded, however, with simply praying that the house would adopt such a change as might be consistant with the ends of justice. It did certainly deviate into a speculation as to the future existence of some happier condition of society, when a mutual good will might render severe punishments unnecessary; but this was a speculation with which good and philosophical men had in all ages indulged and consoled themselves. The petitioners were, however, too enlightened not to know that with such questions statesmen and lawgivers had no concern. Their arrangements and regulations must be limited by a view of the actual state, and the necessary wants, of a community. And, whilst he made these remarks, he could not but recollect what that body was to whose petition he applied them—a body that sent neither paupers to their parishes, nor criminals to their gaols; a body that thought a spirit of benevolence an adequate security to mankind; a spirit which certainly wanted but the possibility of its being universal, to constitute the perfection of our nature; a body that had ever been foremost in undertaking every great and good work, and which had paved the way to an abolition of the slave trade. The aid of such a body must always be a source of hope and encouragement to those who aimed at effecting any amelioration in the laws and situation of the country. He should now conclude by moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire into and consider so much of the criminal

law as relates to capital felonies, and to report their opinions to the house.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that in rising to answer a speech of such length and variety as that of the honourable and learned gentleman, it was not his intention to take up much time in stating the impressions which it had left upon his mind. He should not, however, do justice to his own feelings, which he was sure accorded with those of the house, if he did not express his sense of the temperate and candid manner in which the question had been brought forward. It had been argued, too, with a precision which was to be expected from the general talents and legal knowledge of the honourable and learned mover. His own views did not differ to any great extent, but he was apprehensive that the motion and speech of the honourable and learned gentleman, although they could have no such effect on that house, might be construed elsewhere as casting a reproach, and ascribing a sanguinary character to the jurisprudence of the country. He knew that the objections, as stated, applied to the principle of legislating in a particular form, and not to the administrative practice which existed. It was with much satisfaction he had heard the intention of forming a new criminal code explicitly disclaimed, and that it was not in the honourable and learned gentleman's contemplation to propose the suppression of capital punishments altogether. It must be evident, in the circumstances of this country, that without this painful sacrifice to justice, there could be no sufficient protection for property, liberty, or life. He was also gratified to find, that no opinion was entertained that any interference with the exercise of mercy was expedient. The administration of law could never be attended with equal justice, without the free use of that prerogative. The true question on which he was at issue with the honourable and learned gentleman, did not relate to the course which might ultimately be taken, or the degree to which our penal enactments might be retrenched, but to that species of proceeding which would be most likely to lead to a wise and salutary result. He fully admitted that two important precedents had been adduced, and that they were the more deserving of consideration from the circumstance of the illustrious character of the persons by whom they were established. Even on the narrow issue which the honourable gentleman had assigned to his own question, it appeared that, with all the able and illustrious supporters who had given their assistance to the subject, the consideration of the criminal laws was not concluded in one session, but occupied the house for two entire sessions. And what was the result? They sent up their bill to the house of lords, and it did not pass. The honourable gentleman had not been able to prove that the number of felonies was at all diminished by the continuous labour of two years. If that honourable member's proposition for repressing a number of capital punishments was not accompanied by some measure by which a secondary punishment should be substituted for that of death, which punishment should produce the same effect of impressing

pressing offenders with a salutary terror, the house would certainly regard it as a proposition founded entirely on an abstract view of the laws; and it was that very abstract view which caused the failure of the measures taken in 1770: but the honourable and learned gentleman seemed resolutely disposed to prefer an abstract to a practical view of this important subject. But what was the result of that course of proceedings in 1770? The honourable gentleman had not shown that it led to any permanent amelioration of our criminal code. If he meant to disprove all that he had antecedently said, he could not adopt a better or more effective mode than by referring to the year 1770. The honourable and learned gentleman must permit him to say that modern times might have furnished him with more effective precedents. If that house meant to do any thing in this most grave and most important business, if they meant to devise, seriously, a secondary punishment to be substituted for death, he conjured them to banish every thing like abstract and visionary reasoning. The honourable and learned gentleman had mentioned a late member, who brought to this discussion legal talents to be rivalled only by the humanity of his intentions, and the zeal with which he had pushed his exertions in the cause. But of all the measures he projected, none ever received the sanction of the other house. Had those bills devised that species of secondary punishment to which he had alluded, and whose operation might produce effects equally salutary with the terror occasioned by the infliction of the capital penalty, it was most probable that some of them would not have miscarried in the upper house. He was most anxious that the house should proceed on practical, not on abstract principles; that they should not separate the theory from the practice of the law. He could not concur with the honourable gentleman in some of his reasonings; as, that they were driven to accelerate their proceedings, from a fear of that censure which he thought likely to be the result of their proceedings. The late sir S. Romilly submitted a bill to that house for the purpose of taking away the punishment of death for stealing privately from the person. What result ensued? He would beg leave to refer to the returns. The bill passed into a law four years ago. As far as he had been able, he (lord Castlereagh) had watched the progress of that offence for the last ten years, which was the best criterion at all times of the effect of legislation; and he found that so far from its having diminished in frequency, the increase was enormous. He would take two periods, one antecedent to the act, and the other subsequent, reckoning from the commencement of 1810. The number of convicts in that year was 136, and down to 1818, successively, as follows:—194, 224, 272, 311, 277, 402, 509, and 531. So that from those returns, which showed the proportion to be assigned generally to the increase of crimes, it would appear that this very offence, the immediate object of that enactment, had increased fivefold. For the number of convictions in the earlier period, taking each successive year, was 64, 81, 64, 63, 80, 133, 136, 134, 237, and 262. The honourable gentle-

man had asked, when he solicited the house to adopt his committee for an inquiry into particular punishments and the increase of crimes, what business had it to inquire into the subjects of transportation and secondary punishments? It would have every business in the world to do so; if it should not, it would effect nothing. Every one in that house knew that out of the 13,000 criminals who annually crowd our prisons, 10,000 were of the description alluded to by the honourable gentleman. It was especially necessary to consider the question of secondary punishments; for, take away the terror of the capital punishment, and substitute no other secondary penalty, whose influence might deter offenders, and the whole object of the law was left neutralized and invalid, and the repression of crime would become more precarious than ever. With respect to the penalties attached to burglary, robbery, &c., the honourable gentleman had not called in question the law on those subjects, viz. that it should be modified accordingly as the circumstances were of an aggravated or extenuated character: he had thought it better to leave the manner of its execution to that spirit of mercy and mitigation which distinguished, he must contend, a code of laws sometimes necessarily severe. The honourable gentleman had stated one circumstance which it was necessary to notice; he had informed them, that by the present laws, no less than 200 felonies were capital offences. He really did not think there had been so many; but would offer a few words on that point which might not be deemed irrelevant. With respect to the many which the learned member had described to be of a fantastical character, he could only say, that many of the laws on our statute books were of an obsolete character; but why they were so left, or whether they were or were not of an obsolete nature, it was not material now to inquire: he had mentioned one statute, however, which, related to "offences committed in black faces," as being a *masquerade* statute; but the fact was, that from the local circumstances attached to the commission of the depredations which that law went to curb, no character could be more descriptive of the desperadoes who were the objects of its enactments than that mentioned in the title of the act. With respect to the nature of other offences alluded to by him, such as larceny, embezzlement, &c. their consideration was undoubtedly of the first importance. But if ever there was a necessity of connecting the discussion of the offence with that of the punishment, it existed in regard to these cases: surely it was most important to know the history of the crime, before they proceeded to legislate upon its penalties; and these two objects, he must strenuously contend, ought to be confided to the same committee. Referring to the immediate objects, however, of that committee proposed by the honourable gentleman, he really thought that that house ought not to go into the duties and details of classing prisoners, and arranging the management of gaols: they ought to enter upon the subject with larger and more comprehensive views; and permit those duties to be imposed on others, whose habits and inquiries better qualified

fied them for the task. Whatever minuter and perhaps important branches grew out of their general inquiry, the committee might possibly at the time adopt a specific remedy for, where an evil was to be cured. Satisfied, as he was, that the result of his own motion would be, that a committee would proceed upon practical and not upon abstract principles, he must oppose the motion of the honourable and learned gentleman; protesting, that his opposition was not founded on any wish to dispute the progress of what he felt was their common cause, but only in the apprehension that the principle of that honourable gentleman's motion would not be productive of those results which he anticipated from the adoption of his own.

The speaker then proceeded to put the original question, when Mr. Buxton rose. He wished that the very important question this night agitated should not be confined to the committee proposed by the noble lord, for this reason—that all the talents, and all the labour, and all the zeal which that committee could bring into the house, would be wanting for the discharge of the important duties that would devolve upon them. Those duties he would beg leave to recapitulate: they would be, 1st, an inquiry into the present state of prisons; 2d, the means to be adopted for improving the system of their management; 3d, the state of the police throughout the whole of the united kingdom; 4th, the manner and nature of transportation; 5th, the state of the hulks; 6th, the state of convicts; 7th, the state of a colony of antipodes. The noble lord had said, that it would be necessary for the committee to consider the history of crime from beginning to end; but that was utterly impossible. One cause of the rapid and increasing growth of crime was to be found in the want of education among the lower classes: so when his hon. and learned friend (sir James Mackintosh) came forward and expressed a similar conviction, he was met by the noble lord, who immediately observed, that this was a most proper subject for a gaol committee. He had now to declare to that house his firm conviction, that the growth of crime was mainly attributable to our penal laws. He said this in the hearing of an hon. gentleman who had threatened to hold up to ridicule, and wreak the vengeance of his sarcastic irony on every man who should dare to advise an encroachment upon our existing laws; and, however he might lament that such a visitation should be threatened upon an individual whose talents were humble as his own, yet neither that threat nor any other inducement should now, or at any future time, deter him from openly and freely declaring his opinion. He would therefore repeat, that the increase of crime was owing to the gross impolicy of our present system of criminal laws.

The noble lord had declared, that this increase was owing to temporary causes, and had instanced a continued war as one of those causes. Now he was disposed to admit, that war, by habituating men to scenes of violence and bloodshed, rendered them less sensible to that repugnance to the commission of crime inherent in

our nature, and frequently operating to deter even the most hardened from the execution of meditated outrages. But he had, in order to ascertain the fact on this point, selected from the returns two distant periods of 10 years each; consisting of 7 years of peace, and 3 of war: in the first period, which he selected from the earliest of those returns, the number of capital convictions amounted to 329; in the last, which he extracted from the latest, to 1,402. The result of the comparison was, that our present penal code was at direct variance with the old law. He should next proceed to state the number of offences made capital, and the times at which they were made so, contrasting them with their present amount; beginning with the reign of king Edward III. and embracing a period of 450 years. In the first 150 years of that period, under the Plantagenets, from Edward III. to Henry VII., only six offences were first declared to be capital, in addition to those already declared so by the statute law at the commencement of king Edward's reign. Under the Tudors, from Henry VIII., to Elizabeth, only sixteen; under the Stuarts, from James I. to Charles II., only thirty; and under the Brunswicks, up to the present day, 156: so that more offences had been made capital under the Brunswicks alone, than under all the houses of Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stuart together!

These documents were important, inasmuch as they forcibly contrasted the humanity of our ancestors in legislating on these subjects, with the barbarity of our present criminal code; they were important, as they established the good policy of manifesting a tenderness for human life; they were important, as they tended to refute a calumny industriously propagated in regard to the object of his honourable and learned friend, which had been characterized as an attempt to overthrow the old law, in order to carry into effect a new theory: but it now appeared, that the new theory was at least as old as the Plantagenets, whereas that old law had grown up in the last century. It was a melancholy and dreadful consideration, that many persons were living at this moment, at the time of whose birth only 60 offences were capital, yet who had seen, in the short space of time allotted to the span of human life, that number quintupled; who had seen laws inflicting the awful penalty of death enacted by dozens and by scores, and levelled, not only at the most atrocious crimes, but even at the most trifling offences! Of those acts, passed at one and the same time, one was operative for maliciously shooting at a man, and another for shooting at rabbits, another for cutting down young trees, and another for cutting down the heads of fishponds. These were not the effects of ancient wisdom, but of our own times. The mischief was, that our present system was at variance with the old law of England, and equally so with natural justice.

The evidence of history, and the old lawgivers, had determined, that as there were different shades of guilt, so also there ought to be different gradations of punishment. Human reason and general feeling suggested the same

same idea, the proof of which was observable in cases of execution for murder, where the approbation of the crowd, at the penalty whose infliction they were assembled to behold, is visible and ardent, although not loud; the expression of their pleasure being restrained by the extremity of distress endured by the offender. But suppose a case of forgery; the reception the same crowd would give to the victim of the law would be very different; their feelings would be of a very contrary nature. So on a late occasion, continued the honourable member, in this very city, when the awful drop fell, which was to exclude the culprit for ever from this world, whose crime was forgery, the spectators, with the unanimity of conviction, loudly exclaimed "Murder." They temperately, justly, and fairly taxed the laws with murder; such, at least, was his own opinion; for he thought it a crime not to be punished with death. But it was time for him to leave discussion, in order to confine himself to facts. The severity of the law had raised up in this state, a power which abrogated law itself! In other countries, the whole office of executing the law devolved upon the crown, or upon many sets of officers appointed for that particular purpose: one set of them arrested the individual; another conducted him to prison; another procured and arranged the evidence: but to do justice to our criminal enactments, we should require a spy in every house, and a police officer in every street. Surely those deficiencies of the law might be much better supplied by securing the cordial co-operation of the public; whereas, at present the whole public was combined against the law. Prosecutors were repugnant to the permitting their prisoners to escape; but they were reluctant to proceed against them also. Witnesses felt a bias in their favour; juries commiserated them; and even the judges—for judges were but men, and had the feelings common to the human breast.

Even ministers themselves militated against the operation of the penal laws; for it would ill become him to tax those with inflexible adherence to a stern and sanguinary system, who had permitted him to intrude upon their privacies, to exert his humble efforts in favour of individuals whom a word or fortunate suggestion might vitally serve, and to make an appeal in behalf of those over whose devoted heads the vengeance of the law impended. But after all, what did this amount to? Why that we, who for centuries had made it our proudest boast that we were governed by law and not by will, were, by the interposition of those criminal laws, and their administration, manifestly and indisputably governed by will. He would, before he sat down, shortly adduce another instance to show how decidedly the severity of those laws defeated their intention. Every one who heard him, certainly must know how many fraudulent circumstances were connected with almost all the bankruptcies that now took place; and after a most careful examination, it had been declared, on the highest authority, that of the bankruptcies which occurred, by far the greater number were of a fraudulent description. He had

looked back to the operation of all the statutes enacted on this head since 1805, and he could not find a single instance of punishment under them, although their infringement was daily and notorious. The fact turned out to be, that the penalty was so severe, that the legislature were deterred from inflicting it; and thus a law, whose violation had ruined many a fair trader, could not be put in force from the severity of its enactments. As to forgeries, last year only two persons had been punished for committing it. How had it happened that, under statutes so fruitful in victims to their severity, there had been this paucity of punishment?—Because of the general reluctance that it should be punished with death.

Last autumn, he remembered, on calling upon a friend in the city, whose commercial transactions were not exceeded, either in extent or probity, by those of any ten men in the same profession, he told him that he had just discovered a forgery on himself, which he should not punish on that account; another gentleman came in to whom the same thing had occurred, and who even added, that he knew the man—that he was at that moment in the next street; but that as his death would ensue upon his conviction, he would not prosecute. After this, he (Mr. Buxton) had applied himself to collecting cases of this nature: the first man he spoke to of his intentions, told him he knew of about 1; the next, that he could help him to 4; another, to 50; and on applying to an honourable member for the city, he declared that he believed they were innumerable. He would ask, then, after this, whether it was not clear that persons were deterred from prosecuting for the minor offence by the extreme severity of the law? Cardinal Wolsey once declared that juries had an instinctive appetite for blood; and that had they sat, they would have found Abel guilty of the murder of Cain: this had some reference to what he should now advert to. Two men were tried, lately, by a jury for forgery; and although there was not a shadow of doubt as to their guilt, they were acquitted; two others were next tried by the same jury, for the minor offence, and were brought in guilty. And here he could not help recurring to the loss which the cause he was now attempting to advocate had sustained in a late legal member, who united zeal with ability, talent with integrity, and acquirements of the highest order with virtues of the noblest kind. Deeply as he was deplored by all who knew him, and fresh as his loss was and would be, till it should be supplied, it was now the more feelingly to be lamented, when his powerful aid would have been more effectual: and over his grave they might write with the Carthaginians, on the tomb of their general, "We lament him at all times, but chiefly we lament him in the day of battle." In another case of privately stealing two 10*l.* notes, and many others of a smaller amount, making together 100*l.*, a jury found the offenders guilty of stealing to the value of 39*s*; on which principle 100*l.* was rather less in value than 2*l.*

He had also in an old book met with a curious case, which he would repeat to the house. A man

man going to bed at an inn took the whole of his money and deposited it in the pocket of his breeches, which, for better security, he put under his pillow. As soon as he was asleep, a robber insinuated himself into his room, and extracting the money left the breeches in their former position. The man was discovered, and the jury found him guilty of stealing, but not in a dwelling-house! The commentator observes, that in order to make sense of this verdict, one must suppose the breeches to have got up in the middle of the night with a disposition to be robbed; that having quitted the apartment, and effected their purpose of being robbed, they returned to their former position, where they were next morning discovered by their owner, who little suspected their midnight truancy. Was it not better that the law should be altered, than that men should be obliged absolutely to perjure themselves to correct this glaring defect in the penal code? The integrity of a jury was not a matter of slight importance. It was upon the justness of its verdict that the whole case depended.

He had documents to show that a prisoner in a capital case had double the chance of escape to that of a prisoner charged with a minor offence. Every individual more or less had certain natural chances of escape from punishment: he might be suspected, and yet escape; he might be tried, and yet escape; and for his argument, it was of no consequence whether the chances were 2 to 1, 20 to 1, 200 to 1, or 2,000 to 1; but considering them only as 5 to 1, these chances were multiplied tenfold by the reluctance of the prosecutors to prosecute, making it 50 to 1; the chance against the conviction of the jury was double, making it 100 to 1; and it was a thousand to one that the criminal was not executed after all. The house might start at a proposition so extraordinary; he was not, indeed, surprised at it, because when he first heard it he was himself almost confounded at the statement. The house would, however, perceive by a consideration of the same premises, that it was five to one that the individual was charged, fifty to one that he was prosecuted, a hundred to one that he was convicted, and a thousand to one that he was executed. The effect of this notorious fact upon the minds of the criminals was dreadful; they were urged on to commit the most enormous crimes as it were by the love of hazard; this was their stimulus, and would continue to be so unless some radical change were made in the criminal law of the country. It had now arrived at such a pitch, that it had become an inverted lottery—detection, the blank, was almost impossible; and escape, the prize, was nearly a matter of course. With respect to the effect which an execution was supposed to have upon the minds of the criminals, he could assure the house that it was next to nothing; and if any gentleman would expose his feelings to the pain of seeing one of these dreadful exhibitions, the truth of his assertion would immediately appear. He believed there was not a single instance of an execution having taken place, without some robbery being committed at the same time under the gallows. Indeed, it had been admitted by one of the light-

light-fingered gang, that an execution was their harvest; as while people's eyes were open above, their pockets were open below. A lady, whose merits he would not now discuss, because he was debarred from doing so by being a near relative to that lady, and because he knew that the publicity of her labours in the cause of humanity would be disagreeable to her feelings, had told him that it was her opinion, founded on close and continual observation, that capital punishments had a bad effect upon the minds of the criminals, and that it tended much to harden their feelings.

When an execution took place, the common expression was "Well, we cannot pity him, he is gone to heaven." They had an idea that this last act of life was an atonement for all past sins. To place these facts in a stronger light, he would relate a curious circumstance, which would show the effect of one of these executions upon a gang of thieves. A boy was executed for snatching a watch in Whitechapel; two persons had the intrepidity to go to the place where the gang was assembled, to see if they could discover any thing in the boy's favour. The gang were then engaged in drinking, swearing, and gambling. The boy was hung on a Tuesday, and a very few days afterwards no fewer than thirteen of the gang were apprehended upon a charge of robbery at the very same place. There was another fact within his recollection, which, if possible, would place the matter in a stronger light. A man was executed in this metropolis for selling forged bank notes; his body was given over to his family, and it was taken home. The first feeling would be that of compassion towards his afflicted children, and a disconsolate widow; but the house would be shocked to hear, that this unhappy family and mourning friends were actually seized by the police-officers in the act of selling forged notes over the dead body. It was evident, therefore, that something ought to be done. The documents before the house clearly demonstrated that crime was daily increasing. Innumerable petitions had been presented praying for a revision of the criminal code, and they were founded not upon theory, but upon distinct facts. The corporation of London had among others petitioned to this effect; these petitioners were of all men the least theoretical, and would be acknowledged on all hands to be men of solid experience. What then was to be done? If the felonies were increased, the effect would be to alienate every prosecutor, witness, and juryman. He would even go further, and say, that if a man of honour, integrity, and feeling, were to be placed upon the bench, he would be compelled to protect the prisoner from the hardship of the laws. Feeling, therefore, as he did—entertaining the firmest persuasion that any delay in the revision of the criminal code would be a national grievance, he gave his hearty support to the motion of his honourable friend for a committee.

Mr. Courtenay concurred in the propriety of investigation, but thought that the course pursued by the honourable and learned gentleman (sir James Mackintosh) was not that which would conduce to the best consideration of this

this subject. He admitted the necessity of repealing some laws which now formed a portion of the criminal code; and in every instance, when an honourable member now no more (sir Samuel Romilly) had brought forward his measures for correcting the criminal law, he had met with his support. That lamented individual had, however, never proposed any entire revision of the criminal code. He neither thought the committee proposed by the noble lord, or that by the honourable member, could properly consider this question in the extended view he took of it. He was of opinion, that the house having received so much information from the documents laid before it, and from the honourable members, particularly the one who spoke last, the wisest mode of legislating would be to apply a remedy to each particular evil, without any reference to committees. On these grounds he should resist the motion of the honourable member.

Mr. Lawson spoke for the space of half an hour, in the midst of the most vehement coughing, and other most incessant symptoms of impatience. The honourable gentleman seemed to proceed with the utmost indifference, and showed none of that sensibility which is generally a characteristic of young and new members. We understood that he opposed the motion.

Sir Charles Mordaunt thought the subject before the house of such high importance, as to require the undivided attention of one committee, and that it ought not to be referred to that little family of committees which they were told were to branch out of the committee of the noble lord. He was convinced that it would be hopeless to look for any satisfactory report from any committee that was not exclusively occupied with this important and complicated question.

Mr. J. Smith rose chiefly to allude to some cases that had come within his own knowledge, and which showed that the penalties of the crime of forgery were often incurred by persons whom neither the law nor moral justice could have contemplated as fit objects for the extreme punishment of death. He had seen and known boys of 15 and 16 who had committed the crimes of forgery; boys simple and uneducated, and whose only capacity for the offence consisted in the being able to write, and who were absolutely unacquainted with the consequences, either to themselves or others, of the act which they had been instructed to perpetrate. The honourable member for Weymouth in a speech, which for facts, for argument, and for eloquence, was unanswerable, and which reflected the highest credit on his character, though that indeed required no additional lustre, that honourable gentleman had been perfectly correct in his reference to fraudulent bankrupts. Instances of the sentence being executed on such offenders were so rare, that they could scarcely be said to have occurred at all: and instances of prosecution were almost as rare. Yet it had appeared in the evidence before the bankrupt committee, that no offence was more common or more injurious than that of fraudulent bankrupt-

cy;

cy; but creditors, however aggrieved, could not bring themselves to inflict the punishment of death.

Mr. E. Littleton had at first taken a different view of the subject; but the eloquent and argumentative speeches of the honourable and learned mover, and of another honourable gentleman on the same side (Mr. Buxton), had carried such conviction to his mind, that he should act most unconscientiously if he did not give his vote for the original motion. Much as he deprecated in general any intermeddling with our established laws, yet he could not but see that there were good grounds for inquiry in the present case; and he could not approve the suggestion of an honourable and learned gentleman below him, that it might be left to the discretion of any individual to bring forward, as occasion might arise, a specific remedy for each specific abuse: the consequence of such a plan would be, that the country might for years go on with a system acknowledged to be faulty, and nothing effectual might be done at last. He gave every credit to the noble lord (Castlereagh) for his motives in the appointment of his committee; but many sessions, and even some parliaments, might pass away, before such a committee could make such reports as would satisfy the country on all the subjects submitted to its inquiry. It was indeed a committee "*de omnibus rebus et de quibusdam aliis.*"

Mr. Protheroe made several strong observations in favour of the original motion: and after stating the general feeling of the country, concluded by exclaiming, "If indeed we are, as we are said to be, the representatives of the people of England, we are bound to give our vote in favour of the original motion."

Mr. Wilmot began by saying, that he did not presume to congratulate the house, but he must congratulate himself on the eloquent lesson of moral wisdom which had been read that night from the other side of the house. The honourable mover had well redeemed his pledge, that he would not reflect either on the laws or on the administrators of them. The honourable gentleman then followed the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman point by point, assenting to some of his propositions, and dissenting from others. He concluded nearly to the following effect:—With respect to the sentencing persons to the hulks as a commutation for the punishment of death, he conceived it an extremely erroneous policy, and was in fact little else than a bonus upon crime. The great and important alteration which he wished to see made was, that amelioration of the law by which the system of secondary punishment might be abolished. That, he conceived, to have had the worst effects in the incentive which it held out to the commission of crime. It was one reason why he thought a committee necessary; and therefore, unless in the course of the debate he heard that a separate committee was intended at no distant day, to inquire into the criminal law, he should feel it his duty to support the honourable and learned gentleman's motion; but if he should find that such committee was in contemplation,

contemplation, he would vote for the previous question.

Mr. Wilberforce felt that it was almost unnecessary for him to trespass on the attention of the house, after what they had already heard upon this important subject, and he feared that any observations of his, in support of his honourable and learned friend's motion, would weaken the effect of those arguments by which he himself had pressed it upon the house. He could say with truth, that in his long experience of that house, he never had heard a more able address, a more splendid display of profound knowledge of the subject, with such forcible reasoning from the facts which that knowledge had called forth. It was that kind of reasoning which was most calculated to convince—reasoning deduced from facts and from long experience. He not only derived great pleasure from what he had heard, but also from what he had not heard in the course of discussion, from not hearing those arguments, or rather those objections, against alterations of, or inquiry into, old laws and customs, which had been so vehemently urged at former periods. It was a pleasure to him to find (that which every man acquainted with life must have seen) that the opinions of prejudice faded before truth, like the dusk before the more perfect light of day. He remembered once to have heard opinions urged against (we believe) alterations of sanguinary laws, which were urged with as much apparent fear as if the person proposing those alterations were about to introduce the horrors of the French revolution. He had heard opinions at that time which any man would blush to hold at the present day. No such objections were, however, made on this occasion; and the only one to the motion of his honourable and learned friend was, that it would be better to refer the matter to the committee proposed by his noble friend (lord Castlereagh). And here he could not but express regret at the concluding part of the honourable gentleman's speech who last addressed the house. He had said, that unless he heard that a particular committee was intended to be appointed in a short time, he would vote for the honourable and learned gentleman's motion. By this he had admitted the very principle at issue, he admitted the necessity of a particular inquiry; and if so, how was it that he could not support the motion, which would go directly and immediately to the very point he wished? Why should he prefer the expectation of a committee, when he might have one at the present moment, when there were so many reasons urging to the immediate inquiry? Should it be said that any one had a respect for the laws who would not wish to wipe from them that code of blood, which though bearing with it all the authority of legislative enactment, no one had the heart to execute? Why should not some alteration be made which would take from a jury the painful task which they had so often to perform at present? And yet that could be done by an alteration of the laws.

His noble friend had said he would not go into detail on this question. It was also his (Mr. Wilber-

Wilberforce's) intention to abstain from it; that detail would come better in the committee on the gaols; but it was not necessary to go into it at present. The question of secondary punishments had been decided; there was no difference upon it: if then the object was to aim rather at removing the cause of crime, the examination of our laws, with a view of seeing where the punishment of death could be avoided, might be safely gone into. It had been said, that our laws had not been made all at once, but had been the result of gradual legislation. That was the fact, but it argued nothing against his honourable and learned friend's motion. Our penal laws were certainly the result of gradual legislation, because when a crime was found to exist, it was conceived to be a much easier mode of checking it, to enact a severe statute against it, than to stop and inquire into its cause, or to look for a more lenient way of preventing it. It was thought to be a safe way of checking the crime, to fix the penalty of death in the statute-book against its commission. But that this was a most erroneous mode of legislation experience had taught; and it should be recollected now, that this method would not do for those with whom we had to deal. They were persons who were careless as well of this life as of the life to come, and seemed as little to consult that which concerned their lives as their eternal welfare. They looked not to the enormity of the crime, but to the chance of escaping the punishment; and in this gambling with life they were encouraged by the number whom they daily saw condemned to, but who were, with very few exceptions, redeemed from the highest punishment of the law. Was then the system to be continued which this very principle brought into action? If not, there was the very best reason for a committee. It should be recollected, that by having it as soon as possible, some person might be saved. He would say to those unfortunate men who calculated upon the chances of comparative impunity, The whole system upon which you have hitherto been treated is stale—it shall be altered—you shall be subjected to a punishment which you dread as much as death itself—to solitude. He did not mean by solitude, that kind of arbitrary and continued solitary confinement, but that kind of confinement where a man would be left to his own reflections, and to a sort of communion with his conscience, which could not fail to point out to him the evils of his former course of life.

He remembered very well the mode which was suggested by Mr. Bentham, for whose able opinions on this subject the country was so much indebted; and in speaking of his great merits, he could not omit to notice another gentleman who had also written upon the subject—Mr. Basil Montagu. To both those gentlemen the country owed much for what they had written on this subject; and when he found such men, in the present day, supported by such authorities as sir T. More, Erasmus, Bacon, and lord Coke—when he found all these condemning and describing as extremely erroneous, the system of severe punishment, instead of the mild course of endeavouring to remove

remove the crime—when he heard such opinions from such men, he could not but think, that instead of being considered hasty in their desire for a committee on this subject, they ought rather to be accused of being tardy in not having called for it before, and the legislature was rather to blame in having so long neglected a matter where human life was at stake. He begged pardon for taking up so much of the time of the house, but could not avoid expressing his opinion in favour of his honourable and learned friend's motion, from a conviction of its necessity. He also should express the pleasure he felt that this important question of the laws of England had fallen into the hands of one who was so well qualified to take it up in the able manner in which it had been introduced by a late honourable member (sir S. Romilly) whose loss all must equally lament. The great principle on which they (the house) should proceed was—how far crime might be lessened by making punishment certain. The honourable gentleman then adverted to the means which had been resorted to with success in America, in order to render crime less frequent, by taking pains to educate the lower orders, and at the same time to lessen those inducements to criminality which abounded so much in this country. He feared that the committee of his noble friend (lord Castlereagh) would necessarily omit a great detail on many important points, from the complication of the subjects which it embraced. He would mention New South Wales, for instance, which, in his opinion, was of sufficient importance to demand a separate inquiry.

Mr. Wilmot explained.

Mr. Canning.—The speech of his honourable friend, the member for Bramber (Mr. Wilberforce), and that of his honourable friend (Mr. Wilmot) who preceded him, had put the question in a fair point of view before the house. He was happy to say, that in almost every opinion of theirs he agreed, and in none more fully than in their unqualified admiration of the manner in which the question had been introduced to the house by the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman—a speech not less remarkable for its many excellencies than for the omission of those defects which on such a subject might have been expected in the most accurate. The question before the house was not so much whether a committee should be appointed, as how and in what manner the inquiry could best be done. He was of opinion that it should embrace as large and comprehensive a view as possible of the state of crime and punishment in the country; not of crime and capital punishment only, but of crime and punishment generally, in such a manner as might produce the most beneficial results to the country.

He was gratified to find, that the honourable gentleman did not propose to take away the punishment of death for crimes affecting life and dwelling. Thus a great branch of crime, it was admitted, did not require any inquiry; and in proportion as the range of inquiry was diminished, the necessity for the appointment of a committee must also be diminished.

Was

Was not the house as well qualified now to judge of the propriety of the repeal of any particular law, as they could be after a committee had inquired and reported? It was true the predecessor of the learned gentleman had taken that course, and it was said his motions had failed, sometimes in that and sometimes in the other house.

In general, however, they had been supported in that house. He himself had always supported that gentleman's motions. He had not done so merely by silent votes; for in looking into a published report, which was given with singular fidelity, he found that he had taken a part in the debate on one of sir S. Romilly's motions. His support to sir S. Romilly was given on this ground—that the motion was insulated, and not brought forward with that sweeping generality which had the effect of lowering the institutions of the country in the eyes of the public. As to repeals having failed in another place, he did not see what security the sweeping repeal by a committee possessed against a similar failure. But all the repeals did not fail in the other house. One succeeded; and what had been the practical result? In 1810 stealing privately ceased to be a capital crime, and the number of crimes, instead of diminishing, had progressively increased. In 1810 the number of convictions was 64, and it had gradually increased every year till 1818, when it amounted to 282. The argument of the honourable member for Weymouth was therefore fallacious: part of his argument was, "Repeal part of the criminal law, and the number of crimes will diminish." Here part of the criminal law had been repealed, and the consequence had been an increase of crime nearly fivefold. But, said they, that was owing to the greater number of prosecutions. He would not say that there was nothing in that argument; but the gentlemen could not avail themselves of both parts of the argument; they could not first say, that if a penal law were repealed, the number of crimes would be reduced; and then say, after the penal sanction had been taken away, and it had been found that the number of crimes had increased, that prosecutions for minor offences must be more numerous. As to what had been said about the operation of the fear of death on the human mind, when the sentence of death was not always carried into execution, and its operation when capital convictions were less numerous; but the sentence more sure to be executed, he would not pretend to decide. But he was astonished that any one should hold the opinion, that any terror could operate so powerfully as the fear of death.

He was most sincere when he stated his conviction, that the fear of death was the greatest moral sanction that could be applied to the human mind; for the desire of saving life was the strongest feeling of nature. He would venture to say, that even with some uncertainty, the fear of death was greater than any other sanction. Let him not be understood to say that this sanction ought to be retained where inferior penalties could do; but if they repealed it at present, they destroyed one sanction before they had provided another. As to the course pursued

sued by the honourable and learned gentleman of appointing a committee to inquire into the penal laws, one could not but know that in effect, such a vote would be considered an admission on the part of parliament that the system was bad. And what, as his honourable friend had said, would be the case of a man who should suffer in the mean time? Those who read the arguments of his learned friend would conclude that the house thought the penal laws an evil not to be endured, and after such a vote the laws would be considered obsolete.

As the member for Weymouth had said, the committee last night appointed could not examine every gaol in the kingdom. What he should suppose the proper course would be, with the assistance of able men,—and none were more able to give such assistance than the learned gentleman,—was to make a proper classification of crimes; and then, by an address to the crown, to establish commissioners to take a practical survey of the gaols throughout the kingdom. He did not expect to satisfy the amiable enthusiasm, he used the expression in its most honourable sense, of the member who sat below his learned friend; but he trusted that the honourable member for Bramber would be satisfied with the result. He had thus stated shortly his views of the subject. They were all desirous to uphold reverence for the laws, and to purge them of impurities. They were not, for the sake of obtaining a little popularity, to act contrary to these views.

Mr. Scarlett then rose; he complimented sir James Mackintosh on the able manner in which he had brought his motion before the house, and most heartily and feelingly concurred with him in the eulogium which he had so eloquently passed upon a late illustrious member of their body. Had that individual, whom all in common with him deplored, been yet alive, he would have had the satisfaction to witness at the present moment the triumph of humanity over prejudice, and also would have had the satisfaction to consider that he had been the chief instrument under providence in achieving it. In treating on this topic he scarcely knew how to regulate his feelings: and yet it became him more than any other individual to be temperate in his praise, as he had been honoured by the friendship of that excellent man, even from his earliest years. He could say of him, that when he first undertook his long and arduous labours in the cause of humanity, he had given credit to mankind for greater knowledge, liberality, and feeling than he afterwards found them to possess. He could say of him, that the chief object for which he lived was the amendment of the penal code; and he was certain that the honourable mover was acting in a manner most congenial to the wishes of their departed friend, in proposing the present investigation into the state of the penal laws. The principles which that lamented statesman had been the first to propound to the house, though once most vigorously and vehemently disputed, had been that night complimented by men of all parties.

The first bill which sir S. Ro-

milly had introduced into parliament, contained the remarkable preamble, that the excess of severity did not prevent the commission of crimes; he introduced the bill with that preamble, in order that his sentiments might be recorded in this sanctuary of legislation; and the consequence of it was, that though the bill was passed, the preamble was rejected. In laying down that principle, he had gone far beyond his age and generation; and it was only by perpetual efforts, by sometimes passing one law in one session and another in another, that he so far enlightened the public mind, and improved the public opinion, as it was at the present moment enlightened and improved. It was consoling to reflect, that the very last action of sir S. Romilly's public life was to get that very preamble passed, which on its first introduction to the house had been so rudely rejected; and that he had the satisfaction to see recorded, as the sentiments of the commons of England, his favourite principle, that excess of severity did not prevent crime. He (Mr. Scarlett) did not exactly know how to explain the principle on which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) acted; for though he supported the honourable mover's arguments in some points, he did not support them in all.

He could not help considering it as one of the triumphs of the evening, that they had to boast of the right honourable gentleman as a proselyte, though not so far a proselyte as to accord with the wishes of the house and the people, which had been expressed in a manner too strong to be mistaken. Their opponents, among whom the right honourable gentleman was to be classed, had first of all disputed the justice of the law which had passed. Then they said that sir S. Romilly's bill did not accord with the expectations which had been raised regarding it. On this point he was happy to state that they were far from rightly informed. Nobody indeed expected that the crime of privately stealing from the person would immediately be lessened by the new enactments; and yet it would be found that, if the comparative increase of crimes were taken into consideration, it had suffered considerable diminution. For instance, the convictions for privately stealing from the person in 1811, were 85; in 1817, 257; the convictions for burglary in 1811, were 76, and in 1817 were 374: from which any person might see, that if the comparative increase of crimes were considered, burglaries had become more, and private stealings from the person less numerous.

He had not now to contend for the propriety of altering the enactments of certain obsolete laws, as that was universally granted; the question now before the house was, which of the two committees was best. He thought that ministers ought not to be now coming to the house with motions for committees to inquire into the state of the gaols; but that they ought on their own responsibility long since to have come forward with remedies calculated to remove the evils and miseries which had given rise to such a general complaint. After the circulation of an excellent pamphlet, to which allusion had often been made in the course of the

the evening—a pamphlet which he had himself read with mingled sensations of pain and pleasure—pleasure, from the talents which its author displayed—pain, from the miseries which he depicted—he was surprised that the noble lord had dared to come down to the house without any specific plans; that he had dealt so completely in generals, and had done nothing else but propose a committee for a purpose so universal.

He was still more surprised to find, that the noble lord had added another important subject to the labours of that committee—he meant the criminal law. The prisons were, it was true, connected with the criminal law of the country; but if these two subjects were joined together, it appeared to him that all ideas of classifying the prisoners, all ideas of enacting those rules which would make a prison the school of morality, would be entirely omitted. The continuance of the obsolete punishments enacted by the laws, or of those punishments which, though adjudged by the legislature, were seldom or never inflicted by the executive government, was well worthy of their serious attention, because he had no hesitation in saying that it multiplied in the prisoner's mind the chances of escape, the chances of mercy, and every other accident on which a culprit could calculate. Let then your prisons be the dreadful dungeons which they are represented to be, or the imaginary paradise which they ought not to be, the question remains still the same; and he would therefore ask them whether they had any right to continue on their statute book those laws which were never executed?

The right honourable gentleman had forcibly urged that the repeal of these laws would destroy the apprehension of death: he however differed widely from him in opinion, as the house was not called to repeal the terror of death, which was too firmly fixed in the human mind: but the dead letter of the law, which was no punishment at all. He had seen examples in the course of his practice, in which the prosecutor, the witnesses, the judge, and the jury, had all joined in an amiable conspiracy to screen the delinquent; and therefore, if it was the opinion of the house that excess of severity did not prevent the commission of crime, he would ask whether it was consonant with the dignity of the house to let the question remain in doubt till another committee shall have finished its sittings? The honourable gentleman then proceeded to argue, that as the grand object of punishment was example, the penal laws ought to form a grand moral code, and that every conviction ought to be a lesson of instruction to those who witnessed it; whereas, in 99 cases out of 100, the sentence which the judge passed upon the criminal was a mockery of law, was a mockery of religion, was a mockery of all the best feelings of human nature.

He would beg the house to figure to themselves what he and many other individuals in it must have frequently seen—a long line of 30 or 40 criminals brought up at the end of an assize to receive sentence of condemnation: the judge might pass sentence of death

upon each individually, or upon the whole in the mass; and yet, he would ask, was there any one of the spectators, nay was there any one of the criminals, who expected that sweeping condemnation would ever be executed? If then the sentence of condemnation had become a mere mockery, he should advise them to make the theory and practice of the law of England to coincide; for if there was any country where the law was mildly administered towards criminals, it was England; and if there was any which was more disgraced by sanguinary enactments than another, it was likewise England. The honourable member for Newcastle had said, that he would vote for his learned friend's (sir James Mackintosh's) motion, in case our inquiry was a real inquiry, and not set up for delusion: he would take that honourable member at his word, and would congratulate his learned friend on having obtained the acquisition of his vote to his motion. For his own part he must declare, that if he had come into the house a perfect stranger to the question, and had heard the member for Weymouth's assertion, that the investigation into the state of the gaols would form sufficient employment for one committee, his mind would have been immediately made up to vote for his learned friend's motion. The object of that motion was to make the house re-acknowledge the principle that excess of severity did not prevent the commission of crime; he herefore hoped, that when the house considered the importance of the subject, it would not vote for the previous question.

Mr. Canning and Mr. Scarlett mutually explained.

Alderman Wood then rose, amid a general cry of Question. He said a few words, which we were not able distinctly to hear, owing to several strangers in the gallery making a tumultuous rush to the doors.

The attorney-general made a few observations in so low a tone of voice, and amid such noise, that we could not hear him in a continuous and distinct manner in the gallery.

Sir James Mackintosh replied at some length. If he were but to read the names of his committee, it would be admitted that it was as fair a selection of all parties and denominations as could be made. Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Scarlett, the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, Mr. Wilberforce, lord Nugent, Mr. Abercromby, honourable G. J. Vernon, Mr. alderman Wood, Mr. Finlay, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Macdonald, Dr. Phillimore, Mr. Littleton, lord Althorp, and Mr. Howorth.

The house then divided.

Ayes for the motion .	147
Noes	128
Majority against ministers	19

House of lords, March 4.—Lord Holland having observed, that clergymen of the established church would not go to the West Indies to administer religious instruction to the slaves upon a salary of 300*l.* currency, and recommending Moravian teachers for that purpose, the bishop of London said, that on his representation, the stipend had been raised

raised by the colonial legislatures to 260*l.* sterling each individual.

In the commons, the same day, lord Nugent presented a petition from the catholics of England, praying for a repeal of the disqualifications they endured from the operation of the penal laws. The petition was simple and concise. It stated the general disabilities they endured; and without attempting to dictate the particular measure of relief, they submitted their cause entirely to the wisdom of the legislature.

The noble lord stated, that the question affecting the general catholics of the empire would be shortly brought forward by Mr. Grattan, and the subject then discussed as a whole, and not taken upon the separate petition of any part of the aggrieved body.

Mr. Canning, after reciting a history of the late campaign in India, from its origin to its termination, moved votes of thanks to the marquis of Hastings, sir T. Hislop, sir John Malcolm, general Smith, and the officers and men of the Indian army. The votes were agreed to; it being understood that the conduct of sir T. Hislop in putting to death the killedar of Talneir, after the place had surrendered, would undergo investigation.

March 8.—A new writ being moved for Penryn, in Cornwall, in the room of Mr. Henry Swann, who had been declared by the committee unduly elected, on account of bribery,

Sir Charles Burrell declared the corruption of the borough was so gross, that, in his opinion, the house ought to adopt some special proceeding upon the subject. Sir Charles then read from the minutes of evidence the examinations of several witnesses. The honourable baronet concluded by moving that the issuing of a new writ should be postponed till this day month.

The chancellor of the exchequer was averse to this motion, and could not consent to entertain the idea of disfranchising the electors of the borough under consideration, by throwing it open to the adjoining district, or transferring the rights of that borough to any other district whatever.

Sir J. Mackintosh thought that an investigation upon this subject was imperatively called for.

Sir Francis Burdett could not partake in that common indignation that so many honourable members felt, at a transaction which throughout the boroughs in England was known to be as "notorious as the sun at noonday."

The honourable William Brand declared that he must protest against the strange inference of the worthy baronet (sir Francis Burdett). If the great question of reform had few advocates in that house; if its progress had been impeded, and its sincere supporters disappointed in their sanguine expectations, all these consequences might be safely imputed to those wild, fantastical, and extravagant doctrines which were broached by wild and extravagant visionaries, both there and out of doors, on the question of reform. Friendly as he was to a general investigation of the system of the representation, was he therefore to act upon the view of the worthy baronet, and suffer a

case of notorious, most flagitious, and abandoned bribery and corruption to escape with impunity? He agreed with his honourable friend the member for Surrey (Mr. Denison), that it would be a most excellent plan of reform to transfer the right of return from those boroughs whose corruptions disqualified them, to populous places, such as Manchester, Birmingham, or the east riding of Yorkshire.

After some observations by Mr. Banks, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Calvert,

Sir C. Burrell then said that he would agree to an amendment suspending the issuing of the writ for one fortnight.

The house having gone into a committee on the exchequer consolidation acts, Mr. Vansittart proposed a resolution, authorizing the treasury, instead of the bank, to draw from the exchequer the daily balances on account of the consolidated fund, and to deposit exchequer bills for the amount. These balances accumulated by the end of the quarter to 6,000,000*l.*, the growing interest on which would accrue to the public. For the present quarter, however, only 3,000,000*l.* would be available, as the other 3,000,000*l.* would be appropriated to the payment of the same sum due to the bank.

Mr. Maberley considered that the country was fast approaching a crisis which the shifts and fallacies of the system now pursued could not ward off. It was to be apprehended that the exchequer bills, being now at a discount, would be paid in to discharge the claims of the revenue.

Mr. Tierney enforced the observations of Mr. Maberley, and blamed ministers for not openly stating the difficulties of the country, and boldly facing the danger. Our situation was desperate, and so must be the remedy. The delay afforded an opportunity to stock-brokers and jobbers to carry on a system of plunder on the unsuspicious and unwary, never before equalled, he believed, in this or any other country.

After some observations from Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Grenfell, and others, the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Brand moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws for the preservation of game. The principle to be, to make game the property of the person on whose ground it should be found.

Mr. D. W. Harvey addressed the house at some length, on the grievances arising from the system of prosecutions in the exchequer, by which such enormous expenses were incurred, as frequently to induce even the innocent to enter into compromises, and to occasion the total ruin of such as, sometimes from negligence, rather than any intention of defrauding the revenue, had verdicts given against them. There were in all cases in the exchequer no less than five counsel and a special jury employed. He detailed several cases of great hardship, and moved that there be laid before the house a return of the number of all informations filed at the instance of the commissioners of excise and customs, from the 1st of January 1818 to the 1st of January 1819, together with the date of each information, and the verdict, or the cost paid upon such as were compromised, distinguishing

distinguishing those paid to the solicitor by the crown from those paid by the defendant.

The attorney-general, in opposing the motion, controverted the statements of the preceding speaker, and vindicated his own character, and that of the other public officers employed in exchequer prosecutions, against the imputations implied in those statements.

Mr. Waithman supported the motion. He had himself experienced that persons were dragged into the court of exchequer without knowing for what. It was talked of all over the city, that informations had been laid against him for 40,000*l.* penalties before he knew any thing of the matter. It turned out that a person in his employment had brought into his premises a piece of East India handkerchiefs, and for this he was obliged to pay a composition of 100*l.* and 150*l.* costs.

In the sequel of the discussion, Mr. Tierney, sir M. W. Ridley, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. W. Williams, supported the motion; which was opposed by the solicitor-general, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Lushington.

House of lords, March 15.—Lord Auckland moved the order of the day for committing the chimney-sweepers' regulation bill. As a proof of the perfection to which the mode of sweeping chimneys by machines had been brought, his lordship stated, that out of 61 chimneys connected with the house of commons, 60 had been swept by the machine.

Lord Lauderdale, in opening the measure, relied on the evidence of the surveyor-general, who had stated that the total abolition of climbing boys was at present impracticable, and could not be attempted without endangering the general safety of the metropolis. The merits of the present bill might, perhaps, be illustrated by a story which he would tell their lordships:—The physician who had attended him in his late illness had prescribed large doses of calomel; so much indeed that he thought it necessary to ask him the reason. "Oh! (said the physician) I can easily prove to you the advantage of my practice. The calomel is like the climbing boys, it finds its way into every corner and cranny of the frame, and sweeps every deleterious particle clean out; whereas the other sort of medicines resemble the machines, and accordingly do the business very imperfectly. They do not follow all angles and turnings, but pass over many important parts untouched, and leave heaps of matter, which afterwards kindle into mischief." If this story had any effect in explaining the policy of the measure, he might relate another, which perhaps would serve to render its humanity more intelligible: In some parts of Ireland, it had been the practice, instead of employing climbing boys, to tie a rope round the neck of a goose, and thus drag the bird up the chimney, which was cleaned by the fluttering of its wings. This practice so much interested the feelings of many persons, that for the sake of protecting the goose, they seemed ready to give up all humanity towards other animals. A man in a country village having one day, according to the old custom, availed himself of the aid of a goose, was accused by his neighbour of inhu-

manity. In answer to the remonstrances of his accuser, he observed, that he must have his chimney swept. "Yes (replied the humane friend of the goose), to be sure you must sweep your chimney; but, you cruel *baist* you, why don't you take two ducks? they would do the job as well." The zealots for this bill had, in their blind eagerness to relieve a partial suffering, as completely forgotten the general interests of society, as the poor Irishman had disregarded the ducks in his anxiety to save the geese. He certainly should be happy to see the use of climbing boys totally abolished; but if a machine can be invented to sweep chimneys, that invention could not be promoted by this bill. He must, therefore, oppose it altogether, and therefore moved as an amendment, that, instead of now, the bill be committed for this day six months.

After some observations by lord Harrowby in support of the bill, lord Auckland's motion was negatived, on a division, by 37 to 20, and lord Lauderdale's amendment was carried.

CHAPTER III.

Board of Admiralty—London Clergy—Bank of England—Irish Clergy—Salt Duties—Illicit Distillation in Ireland—Catholic Claims—Lotteries—Army Estimates.

HOUSE of commons, March 18.—Sir M. W. Ridley addressed the house on the subject of the board of admiralty, repeating the arguments urged on a former occasion for reducing the two lay lords. He concluded with moving an address to the prince regent, praying that he might be graciously pleased, in consideration of the present state of the country, and from a due regard to the principles of economy, to give directions that the commissioners of the board of admiralty may be reduced to such number as the exigencies of the public service require in a time of profound peace.

Sir G. Cockburn opposed the motion, and contended, that by the reduction of 12 admirals on different stations, the business of the board was considerably increased in time of peace, as all communications relative to the naval improvements, astronomical inventions, &c. were addressed directly to the board. He had himself been so occupied, that he sometimes had not half an hour's walk for ten days in succession. If there were not lay lords to attend to the duties of a civil nature, he could not have given this attention to professional matters.

Sir J. Coffin thought the lay lords a useless incumbrance. They were young men who spent their time in riding in the parks, while their naval colleagues were engaged in the business of the office.

In the sequel of the discussion the motion was supported by Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Graham, and lord John Russell, and opposed by Mr. Cumming and Mr. W. Pole; and, on a division, it was negatived by 245 to 164.

March 19.—Mr. Lushington, in

in reply to a question from Mr. alderman Waithman, said that a bill to suppress mock auctions, free from the objectionable clauses contained in that of last year, would receive the support of his majesty's ministers.

Several petitions having been presented on the subject of the coal duties, Mr. Vansittart wished it to be understood, as the opinion of ministers, that an alteration in these duties, at the present time, would be neither desirable nor beneficial to the public.

The report of the committee of supply on the civil contingencies deficiency having been taken into consideration, Mr. C. Hutchinson objected to several charges as most extravagant, and moved a resolution, that the sum of 22,500*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* for presents to foreign ministers was extravagant, and ought not again to be incurred.

Lord Castlereagh assured the house, that so far as he was personally concerned with any of the items in the account, every thing had been conducted with the utmost attention to economy. The account for snuff-boxes, it should be observed, was for two years and a half, and did not exceed those of former periods. Such presents had long been customary on the exchange of treaties. Out of 22 presents of this kind from foreign courts in the last two years, only five had come to his share, and they should certainly be transmitted to his heirs, as memorials of the transactions wherein he had been engaged.

Sir M. W. Ridley, in objecting to several of the charges, gave the noble lord credit for having, on one occasion, considerably lessened the expense of presents, by exchanging one only in the lieu of many.

Mr. Canning said the circumstance alluded to occurred at Vienna, when the noble lord had made an arrangement that only one present should be exchanged, instead of 45.

Mr. C. Hutchinson's resolution was negatived without a division.

March 22.—Mr. Lambton presented a petition from the London booksellers, for a repeal of the copy-right act. He said, during the four last years Messrs. Longman and co. had lost upwards of 3000*l.* and Mr. Murray 1275*l.* by the delivery of the eleven copies required by the act.

Mr. J. Smith brought up a bill to alter and amend the bankrupt laws, which was read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

The report of the committee appointed to inquire into the proceedings at the Penryn election was agreed to; and, on the motion of Mr. A. Wright, it was ordered that the attorney-general should prosecute Mr. Swann for various acts of bribery, and John Goodyer, Henry Dunsford, and Abraham Winn, for corrupt practices during the said election.

In a committee of supply, various sums were voted for making good various deficiencies in the votes of last year for the contingent expenses of the treasury, the secretaries of state, the privy council, and the lord chamberlain's departments. On a resolution being proposed for 60,000*l.* towards the completion of the penitentiary at Milbank, Mr. alderman Wood objected to the expense charged

charged for a steam engine, and to the general scale of the expenditure, and moved to reduce the grant to 40,000*l.*; but, after a long and general conversation, he withdrew the amendment, and the original resolution was agreed to.

The sum of 5000*l.* for completing the Caledonian canal was also voted, after some opposition from lord Carhampton.

On the question for the third reading of the bill for repealing the trial by battle, and the right of appeal, sir R. Wilson opposed it, as removing a great bulwark against the introduction of a military government, and consummating the infringement made on the constitution by the riot act.

Alderman Wood also opposed it. On a division, the question was carried in the affirmative by 64 to 2, and the bill was passed.

House of lords, March 28.—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the mutiny bill, the marine mutiny bill, the indemnity bill, the aliens' and denizens' bill, the steam vessels' tonnage bill, the plate glass bill, the exchequer bills bill, and a number of private bills.

March 24.—Sir J. Graham addressed the house on the case of the London clergy. Though their petition had been by a committee declared unfounded, he had ascertained its accuracy as to the claim which, but for the passing of the fire act, they had under an act of Henry VIII. and a decree of the court of chancery. The augmentation which they had received in 1804 was not sufficient to support them in that rank of life in which it was their lot to move. He concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend an act passed in the 44th year of his present majesty, entitled "An act for the relief of certain incumbents of livings in the city of London."

Mr. D. W. Harvey contended, that the committee had come to a proper decision. The act of Henry VIII. was inoperative, the decree given under it not having been enrolled in the terms of the act; and it had been foisted into the petition for no other purpose than to serve as a screen for the rapacity of the clergy, whose object was, by degrees to exact one-sixth of the rack rental of the city of London.

After a considerable discussion, in which Mr. Dent, Mr. alderman Wood, and Mr. alderman Waithman, opposed the motion, and Mr. Wrottesley, sir W. Curtis, Mr. Gipps, sir T. Baring, Mr. Williams Wynn, Mr. Peel, Mr. Plunkett, and Mr. Wilberforce, gave it their support, the motion was agreed to.

March 25.—Mr. S. Bourne, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the settlement of the poor, stated the hardships to which the poor were in several cases subjected by the present law of settlement, and the expense to which parishes were put by the litigations arising out of it. He should propose that a settlement should be gained by a three years' residence; but, if others were for five years, he should not object to it. The period of absence to defeat a settlement, he would fix at 90 days.

After some observations from Mr. Atkins, Mr. Wright, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Western, the motion was agreed to.

Mr. S. Bourne, after some further

ther conversation, also obtained leave to bring in a bill to prevent the misapplication of the poors' rates, by giving, as practised at present in several places, parochial relief in part payment of wages to labourers.

March 29.—Sir J. Graham moved for the second reading of the London clergy bill.

Mr. Bennet, Mr. F. Douglas, and Mr. Waithman objected to the step as too precipitate, as numerous petitions were about to be presented against the measure.

Sir W. Curtis repeated his assertion, that the clergyman who held the living of St. Peter's, Cornhill, only received 300*l.* a year, and not 600*l.* as had been stated on a former evening. He hoped that some honourable gentlemen who spoke on the previous night had repented of the character they then gave the city clergy.

Mr. alderman Wood said the stipend was 200*l.* and the glebe was worth 432*l.* a year.

After several other members had spoken in favour of postponement,

Sir J. Graham insisted, that the fullest notice had been given: as to the amount of stipends, he should himself vote against any increase, unless the clergymen resided and performed the duties of the several parishes; he had told them so, and that he would not support any extravagant proposition. The motion for reading the bill a second time was carried by 82 to 34.

Mr. Waithman presented a petition from the inhabitants of the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw in the city of London, against the claims of the clergy of the city. The honourable alderman said that he did not see that the condition of the London clergy alone ought to be ameliorated. If no other member would undertake the task, he would bring the situation of the whole of the clergy in the kingdom under the consideration of parliament.

On the motion of sir Robert Wilson, the matter of complaint against Mr. Quin was gone into. Mr. Quin then rose, and gave a detail of the transactions between himself and Mr. Grady. In conclusion, he declared he had never intended to act corruptly or immorally; if he had in the course of the transaction acted wrong, he hoped it would be attributed to an error of his judgement. He should throw himself with confidence on the candour of the house, and retire.

Sir Robert Wilson, having commented at some length upon the examinations taken at the bar, moved several resolutions, which went to declare that Mr. Quin had violated the purity of election, the privileges of parliament, and the duties of custos rotulorum.

Mr. Bootle Wilbraham moved counter resolutions, tending to negative every thing criminative in those of sir R. Wilson: they were to the effect that though Mr. Quin had promised 200*l.* a year to the petitioner out of the receipts of the office, it was unconnected with any condition for political support—that that demand was first made by Mr. Carew Smyth in September, but withdrawn on the 11th of October following. That house could not pass over the existence of such an intention, or the demand of such support, without expressing its disapprobation; and that if the demand

demand had been persisted in, an offence would have been committed, which that house would not fail to have visited with the severest reprobation.

Mr. F. Douglas remarked, that the disposition or resolution of Mr. Quin to commit this offence was, through the minute addressed by Mr. Carew Smyth, as clearly established as any fact could be where only two parties were concerned.

Sir James Mackintosh contrasted the evidence of Mr. Carew Smyth with that given by Mr. Goold. The former had delivered his statement in so clear and satisfactory a manner, as to produce in his behalf the most favourable impression. Whereas that of the latter, whether wilful or unintentional, was so extremely defective that it must be struck out altogether.

Messrs. Plunkett and Grattan endeavoured to exculpate Mr. Quin. The speech of the former produced an extraordinary impression on the house.

Messrs. John Smith, Brougham, Wynn, and sir J. Newport spoke in favour of sir R. Wilson's motion.

The first three resolutions of sir R. Wilson were then agreed to. On the fourth, Mr. Wilbraham's amendment was carried by 162 to 73.

Mr. Lambton then moved that Mr. Goold, having prevaricated in his evidence, be committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms.

Mr. Brougham attributed that gentleman's contradictory statement to a lapse of memory.

Lord Nugent thought Mr. Goold guilty of deliberate falsehood.

On a division, this motion was negatived by 134 to 8.

House of lords, March 30.—The bill regulating the Windsor establishment went through a committee. The grant of 10,000*l.* per annum to the duke of York as custos, caused some discussion: earl Grey, lord Darnley, lord King and the marquis of Lansdown, warmly opposed it.

The earl of Lauderdale spoke in favour of the grant, not on the ground of its being a salary, but as a remuneration for the extraordinary expenses to which the acceptance of such a trust exposed the duke of York. The earl of Liverpool and lord Eldon followed on the same side. The grant was agreed to without a division, and the bill passed through a committee.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. M. A. Taylor, after some observations on the number of causes in arrear in the courts of equity, and the propriety of separating the cognisance of questions of bankruptcy from the jurisdiction of the great seal, moved for "an account of the money of suitors in the court of chancery lying in the bank of England in the name of the accountant general in the year 1750, at the end of every ten years subsequently, and in the year 1818."

The motion, after some observations from the solicitor-general, was agreed to.

House of lords, March 31.—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the consolidated fund produce bill, the exchequer bills in aid bill, the husbandry horses' bill, the Netherland slave trade bill, and several other bills.

April

April 1.—Lord Archibald Hamilton, after noticing the flagrant abuses which prevailed in the burghs of Scotland, moved for some papers tending to prove the corruption of the burgh of Aberdeen in the election of its magistrates in 1818.

The lord advocate of Scotland and lord Castlereagh warmly opposed the motion.

On a division, the motion was negatived by 110 to 105. The announcement of the numbers was greeted by loud cheers from the opposition; and lord A. Hamilton, anticipating a future triumph from the high number of the minority, gave notice, that after the holidays he should move for other papers upon the subject.

April 2.—Mr. Bennet presented a petition from the rector and churchwardens of Ilchester. It stated, that the proprietor of the borough thought a small number of constituents more advantageous; and to accomplish this object he had pulled down a number of houses, by which about 100 families had been driven from their homes, and were received into a temporary poor-house, where they were sheltered for a time; yet only 18 or 20 of them had been paupers, the rest maintaining themselves by honest industry. Notice, however, was given, in consequence of prevailing political dissentions, that these unhappy families would be deprived even of that shelter. The parish resisted, and an ejectment being brought, they were turned out. Thus 163 men, women, and children, had been driven into the open streets in the most inclement season; some had screened themselves from the cold with straw and hurdles; some had taken refuge in open stalls, or in the neighbouring fields; and a considerable number of old and young of both sexes, decrepit old people, with helpless infants, and women in the last stage of pregnancy, had been huddled together in the town hall without distinction.

Mr. Merest and Mr. Dickinson confirmed the statement of the petitioners.

Mr. Wynn did not see how the house could interfere between a landlord and his tenants.

Lord Castlereagh recommended that the petition should be withdrawn; with which suggestion, after a few words from sir J. Newport, Mr. Bennet complied.

On the motion of Mr. Wynn, it was ordered that the attorney-general should prosecute sir M. M. Lopez for bribery.

House of lords, April 5.—The earl of Harrowby presented a report from the committee on bank affairs, to the same purport as that in the commons.

House of commons, April 5.—Mr. Peel appeared at the bar with a special report from the committee of secrecy appointed to inquire into the state of the bank. The report was brought up and read. It stated that the committee were engaged in deliberating on their report, which they hoped they should be able to present on an early day after the recess: and also to fix the period at which the restriction on cash payments might be removed; but they were of opinion that that period would be prolonged by the bank's being obliged at present to issue gold for all notes under 5*l.* dated previously to the 1st of January 1817; and that the committee therefore thought it would be expedient to pass a bill

for

for preventing such issues of gold until the report should be completed. He said the object of the bill was to restrain the bank from issuing gold for certain notes under 5*l*. On the 1st of September 1817, the governors of the bank had given notice that cash would be issued for all their notes for sums under 5*l*. and dated previously to the 1st of January 1817. In consequence of this notice, a considerable decrease of specie had taken place. The issues from January 1817 till January 1819, amounted to 4,500,000*l*.; and since the latter period 700,000*l*. had been issued; so that the whole drain of specie amounted to 5,200,000*l*. The issue of that treasure, he conceived, had been productive of no good effect whatever. Unless it had been attended by a corresponding decrease of bank notes, that coin would all disappear from the country, and go into other channels. Since this notice of the bank had been acted on, it appeared that the sum of 121,000,000 francs had been coined in France; and the committee had reason to believe, that three-fourths of that sum, amounting to 5,000,000*l*. sterling, were derived from coin exported from England. The object of the bill was to restrain the issue of such coin during the present session of parliament. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for restraining the governor and company of the bank of England from making payment in cash, under certain notices given by them.

The motion having been put from the chair,

Mr. Peel begged leave to add, that it was necessary the bill should pass through its several stages with as little delay as possible.

Mr. Brougham said his objection to the measure was, that ministers had not issued an order in council, and allowed it to be discussed at leisure, and with all the information that could be obtained on the subject. There were two grounds only, on one or both of which this measure could be deemed expedient: it must either be necessary for the immediate protection of the bank, or it must be necessary to enable the bank to resume cash payments at some future period. With respect to the first of these, the necessity of the measure to the bank itself, if it rested solely on that ground, he should certainly give all the opposition in his power to a measure which put the forms of the house into the hands of ministers. As to the other point, it ought to be remembered that the committee were not certain what the result of their inquiry might be, but they thought it probable it might be the proposal of some new measure, to which the present measure would be subservient. If the committee thought the measure in contemplation (the removal of the restrictions) could not be carried into effect without this bill, he should not perhaps oppose its principle. But unless ministers would take on themselves to say that such would be the case, he for one could not consent to the violation of the standing orders of the house.

Lord Castlereagh said, the credit of the bank had always stood so high, that it must be known that it was only on grounds of public good that parliament interfered between it and its creditors. With

With respect to the course of proceeding, he admitted that it was unbecoming his right honourable friend to propose, or parliament to receive, any proposal for departing from the usual course, if the house did not at once see the necessity of doing so. But he apprehended it must be obvious, that if it were necessary to pass such a bill, it was necessary to pass it with all possible rapidity.—Let it be remembered, that this proposal came from the committee in the very spirit of the recommendation of the house, to facilitate by every possible means the resumption of cash payments. The honourable and learned gentleman must understand, that in whatever degree the drain upon the bank was made, in that proportion the period of resumption would be retarded. The drain would occasion no inconvenience to the bank, but it would occasion inconvenience to the public. With respect to the extent of the drain, it had already been considerable. The statement made by the right honourable gentleman was from the papers before the house, which represented only the payment in sovereigns; but besides these, there had been a very large number of guineas and half-guineas in the possession of the bank. Since June or July 1817, the bank had not paid less than nine millions sterling, including the guineas and half-guineas. To-morrow or next day the quarterly payments of the dividends would take place; of these payments a considerable portion would be paid in fractional payments. Therefore if the bill were not passed as rapidly as possible, they might expect a drain to this amount. No interval should, therefore, take place between the introduction and the passing of the bill.

Mr. Tierney considered this one of the most important measures that had ever come before parliament. As to the quarterly payment of the dividends, the bank had been in the practice of paying fractional parts of dividends for years in gold. Individuals had collected those fractional notes, not for the purpose of carrying them into the bank, but of holding what the promise of the bank and the faith of parliament made equivalent to gold; but neither the one nor the other, it now appeared, was to be trusted. All who preferred gold to these notes had a right to get gold for them. But how came the necessity of the measure? Let the house consider this alleged necessity. In September 1817, the bank had given notice that they were ready to pay all their fractional notes, prior to January 1817, in gold. The drain continued from that time to July last. It did nothing else, however, but enable the chancellor of the exchequer to make a speech upon the bank having resumed payment.—In June last, the restriction was continued, and ministers and the directors, with their eyes wide open, continued the drain. When they had taken the alarm he could not tell; he believed it was not till twelve o'clock that morning. (This was denied from the treasury bench.) At least, he could confidently affirm that not one of them had heard, felt, or expressed any thing of the alarm till Saturday last. He had heard of it yesterday morning. The right honourable gentleman had stated that the drain since the first

of

of January last was 700,000*l.* The right honourable gentleman had seen no document to this effect; the committee had seen none: he had heard it in whisper, and so had the right honourable gentleman too. No communication, he ventured to say, had taken place on the subject between the two chairs. The difference, according to the present value of gold, between holding the fractional notes and the gold which must be given for them, was the difference between 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* and 4*l.* 10*s.* The report stated that there was a plan for the resumption of payment. He had not yet agreed to any such plan. Something of that kind had been thrown out, and remained for consideration. What was the time fixed for resuming payment? No gentleman in the house could tell that. If cash payments were to be resumed in three months, a small sum would be important; but lengthen the period, and you diminish this importance till it entirely disappears. He was not prepared to say that the bill ought not to pass, because it was evident that the more money the bank possessed, the better able would it be to resume cash payments. But besides the breach of faith it involved, it appeared quite unnecessary. Since the 1st of January, the drain had amounted to 700,000*l.* If then this measure were delayed till the report should be given in, this could not occasion a greater delay than six weeks; and if the drain during that delay were to continue as great as since the 1st of January, it would be only 350,000*l.* The effect of this did not deserve any interference on the part of the legislature.

Mr. Ricardo thought the measure ought to have been adopted long ago. The only payments in specie would be to those persons who, contrary to law, exported gold or melted it into bullion, and they did not at all deserve that they should be protected from the consequences of this measure.

Mr. Manning said this measure was recommended, after the minutest attention to all its relations, and from the sincerest desire, according to the statement of their right honourable chairman, of forming an arrangement for the ultimate resumption of cash payments.

Mr. Davies considered the measure as intended only for the convenience of the bank, and at the expense of the country.

Sir J. Newport said, if he was an advocate for the continuance of the restriction, he would most certainly oppose the present motion; but he would support it, because he wished for the eventual abolition of the restriction, because he did not give credit to the bank for sincerity in their declared willingness to resume payments, and because he wished that measure to be pressed on them.

Mr. Canning said, the particular grounds of the measure could not be stated, as that would tend to destroy the very object which the committee had in view. The mode was only adopted, in order to procure that celerity in its progress which could not otherwise be acquired.

Mr. Huskisson said it was in contemplation to bring forward other measures, which would compel the bank to provide itself gold, and would also compel it to guard against the evil consequences arising

ing from letting that gold go out of the country.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, at the time of passing the bill last year, he entertained hopes that the exchanges might come round. They were, however, as unfavourable now as they had been at the former period.

Mr. Peel having explained, the house resolved itself into a committee; after which the bill was read a first and second time, and then committed. After a short interval it was read a third time, and passed.

Lord Castlereagh said, that in moving the order of the day for the second reading of the Claims upon France bill, his object was that it should undergo certain amendments in a committee to-morrow; that it should then be re-printed, and that the further consideration of it be postponed till after the holidays. The noble lord then stated the measures that had been taken on the part of the French government, for liquidating the claims of British subjects: by which it appeared, that a sum amounting to 8,000,000*l.* of our money had been appropriated to that purpose, and that out of 1046 claimants, the claims of 311 persons had been already adjusted.—The question being carried, the bill was read a second time.

April 22.—Sir J. Newport called the attention of the house to the union of parishes and residence of the clergy in Ireland. He read a letter, which stated, that many parishes were never visited by their clergy, except for collecting the tithes. Some diocesans did their duty in enforcing residence, and it is but justice to mention the name of the archbishop of Cashel in their number. In many parts of Ireland, however, 10 or 11 vicarages had been formed into one; and there were benefices which comprehended a space of 20 miles square. He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, that he would be pleased to direct an inquiry to be made into the state of the church of Ireland, in communication with the archbishops and bishops, similar in its details to the inquiry instituted in 1806, and of which a report was presented to the house in July 1807, in order that, by a comparison of their results, it might be seen how far the recommendations of the former report had been carried into effect, and the benevolent intentions of his majesty realized, for securing to the people of Ireland the benefits of public worship and a resident clergy.

April 26.—Dr. Phillimore moved the order of the day for the further consideration of the report on the marriage act amendment bill.

Sir C. Robinson, at some length, opposed the principle of the bill, which he conceived to be both impolitic and unnecessary; and concluded by moving an amendment, that the report be taken into further consideration that day six months.

Mr. sergeant Onslow and sir J. Mackintosh defended the bill.

The solicitor general objected to it.

On a division, Dr. Phillimore's motion was carried by 97 to 33.

April. 29.—Dr. Phillimore entered at some length into the proceedings of the late and previous

committees on the salt duties, and concluded with moving a resolution to the following effect:—That, considering the severe pressure of the salt duties on the lower orders, and the advantages to be derived from a more extensive use of that article, the gradual reduction and total repeal of those duties, as far as such measures were compatible with the public revenue, were, in his opinion, highly expedient.

Mr. Davenport, Mr. Curwen, and lord Ebrington, supported the resolution; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Vansittart opposed it, and the latter moved the previous question; which, after some further discussion, was carried by 127 to 50.

April 30.—General Hart being called upon by the speaker, moved that the house resolve itself into a committee on the laws relating to illicit distillation in Ireland. On the question from the speaker, who seconded the motion,

Mr. Dawson regretted that he was under the necessity of placing himself in opposition to the Irish government and the right honourable gentleman who had recently filled the office of chief secretary. The law which imposed fines upon town lands was, however, of such an odious nature, that he was urged by a sense of public duty to exert his utmost endeavours to procure its repeal. In fact, nothing could be more calculated to excite the indignation of the lovers of the British constitution than this most extraordinary violation of its first principles. He trusted therefore that this appeal to parliament against the act of 1814 would not be in vain. That act imposed a fine of 20*l.* for the first offence, 40*l.* for the second, and 60*l.* for the third offence, upon all town lands where any article used in illicit distillation was discovered. The districts of the town lands varied from 200 to 2000 acres, but on an average they might be taken at 1000 acres; and if the worm of a still, or any more minute article of the kind, were found within that space, all the inhabitants were liable to the payment of the fine. Irrational and unjust as the law was, the mode in which it was carried into execution was even worse. In England, if any error were found in the indictment, the defendant was benefited by it: thus, if the *venue* were laid in a wrong county, the defendant was acquitted; but in Ireland the prosecution might be renewed, and no mistake was allowed to operate against the prosecutor. It was a maxim of English law, *Nemo testis esse debet in propria causa*; but in Ireland a revenue officer, who was to obtain a considerable portion of the fine, was allowed to be a witness, and in nine cases out of ten the conviction proceeded solely upon his testimony. Illicit distilleries were usually set up in places not ascertained to belong to any township, or in the suburb of a city or town; so that if the head of a still were found in an obscure part of Dublin, the chief justice, and even the members for that capital, would be called on to pay a portion of the fine which was imposed, even if a cask were found, and an officer hardy enough to swear. The mode in which the law was executed rendered it still more objectionable; and in order to establish this part of his argument,

argument, the honourable member begged to refer the house to several cases which proved that the inferior officers of the excise had been guilty of mal-practices and collusion. The first was that of two men of the name of Daniel, prosecuted by an officer named Hinching, and awarded to pay a fine of 40*l*. It afterwards turned out that the Daniels were not guilty, and application was made to the commissioners of excise to remit the fine. The officer, of course, reported againt the remission, but secretly offered to take 30*l*., and to use his kind offices; and though this fact had come to the ears of the board, Hinching had merely been censured, but not removed. Another case was that of John Colquhoun, who had procured the suppression of six illicit stills upon town lands, and who had been cruelly beaten by some of the inhabitants: the excise officers, in gratitude for what he had done for them, seized all his cattle, and would not leave him a cow to give milk for his infant family. A third case regarded a person named Lowry, who had taken a farm under the assurance that all fines due had been paid, yet soon afterwards had been deprived of three horses and four cows, which were collusively sold among the officers for only 3*l*. In the report of Mr. Terry, one of the commissioners of excise in Ireland, it was stated, that upon 10,000*l*. of penalties the incidental expenses amounted to 20,000*l*. He was sorry to trespass so long on the time of the house, but must still request its attention to the contents of a letter written by an Irish judge, equally distinguished for his learning and for his integrity. —In this letter the learned judge observed that the system of which he complained was as repugnant to the principles of justice and to the common sense of mankind as it was to the general spirit of British law. It appeared to have originated in a desperate attempt to collect revenue by any means and at any sacrifice. Among its other evils it violated the first rule of evidence, by allowing a party interested to prove his own case; it encouraged perjury, and induced juries to find verdicts against the clearest evidence. The excise officer, seeking merely to put money into his own pocket, connived at the illicit still, and entered into stipulations; the effect of which was, that some old worn-out still should be seized, and the town be prosecuted for the fine. Not only civil trespasses, but perjuries, conspiracies, and assassinations were multiplied to a frightful degree: for in the county of Donegal nearly the whole of the business, public and private, arose from this source. This was the evidence of a learned judge, speaking from long experience, and upon mature consideration.—How the system of small stills, which was found so advantageous in Scotland, should not be equally beneficial in Ireland, surpassed his comprehension. He should conclude by seconding the motion for a committee, and by expressing his feeling, that unless the chancellor of the exchequer should apply some remedy to this enormous evil, he would be responsible in the eyes of God and man for all the consequences.

Mr. Leslie Foster said, the

question was important in every respect, and it was right the house should be aware that on its decision depended one-fourth of the Irish revenue. In the last year the amount of this branch of it was 1,300,000*l.*, being 19 per cent. or 239,000*l.* excess above the produce of the preceding year. This improvement was a great financial recommendation, although it had certainly no bearing on the moral part of the question. In the course of last year 1300 illicit stills had been destroyed; but during the prevalence in 1811, 12, and 13, of the system of small stills, which it was now proposed to renew, 6588 private stills had been destroyed in one of those years, and scarcely any left in the country. Yet in the following year upwards of 6000 were again destroyed, and more than 5000 in the following. The mischief was before so extensive, that the commercial chambers of Belfast and other towns presented petitions, stating that the regular distilleries could not be carried on, and that the morals of the people were greatly deteriorated by the dangerous practices which prevailed. These petitions were referred to a committee, which was of opinion, that the only efficacious mode of collecting the revenue was the system of fining town-lands; and a bill to that effect was accordingly introduced by an honourable namesake of his, in the year 1814, and passed into a law. There was one other point to which he must advert. It had been said that the system of small stills was likely to cure this evil, and the example of Scotland had been adduced in support of that opinion. In Scotland there were 39 small stills licensed, each paying upwards of 500*l.*, and yielding a total revenue of 20,000*l.* Now, in Ireland there were 12 small stills, larger indeed than the Scotch, but paying 9600*l.* a-piece, and producing a gross revenue of 115,200*l.* There was certainly something in this which he could not understand. He had a great respect for Scotland, and did not wish to cast any reflection on the manner in which the revenue was collected in that country; but he could not shut his eyes—he could not but observe, that the revenue derived from the Scotch stills was far less than was derived from the Irish. If the house were prepared to introduce the system of small stills into Ireland, and to renounce the revenue altogether, the only consequence would be, that they would have the country filled with smugglers with licenses, instead of smugglers without them.

Sir H. Parnell spoke at considerable length in favour of the motion.

Mr. L. Foster explained.

Mr. W. Pole said, it was very remarkable, that those very Irish members who almost obtained the act by acclamation in 1812, should now come forward with equal vehemence against it.

Lord Mount-Charles said, that at the recent assizes in one part of Ireland there were no less than 300 town-lands fines trials. In the late presentments of the grand jury, application was made for a certain sum of money for the enlargement of the county gaols, which had become necessary in consequence of the numbers confined from inability to pay the fines.

Mr.

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald opposed the motion.

Mr. French said, if every judge in Ireland did not concur in the demoralizing effects of the system, he would never open his mouth more in the house of commons.

Mr. Peel said, he must rise to state his conscientious conviction, although he was assured that in doing so he was acting against the opinion of the majority of the Irish members. The present question presented merely a choice of difficulties; but when the immense evils of illicit distillation were considered, it would be admitted, that the system which restrained it, though accompanied with some severities, was the less evil of the two. He allowed the hardships of the law, but he contended, nevertheless, that it had succeeded, and that the two counties where it had partially failed were very insufficient to prove its general inefficacy. The complaints of severity, which were most loud in these counties, had been caused by the abuse of individuals, which was no argument against the system. These severities, besides, had occurred principally before 1816, when the system was inquired into, and its continuance recommended. In contending against a law the execution of which was attended with some hardships, gentlemen ought to consider that which it had succeeded, and that which it was proposed to re-enact in its stead. More evil might result from changes than from a continuance of the system; and past experience led us to believe, that if now repealed, it might be necessary soon to re-establish it.

Colonel Barry recommended a general abandonment of the system, and the encouragement of small stills. The small stills had in fact never been encouraged; and he was convinced, that were attention paid to this point, it would have a most beneficial effect.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought it would be most wise for the house to adopt the suggestion of the honourable member who spoke last, because he thought the encouragement of the small stills would have the effect of gradually driving out the smuggler. Feeling deeply responsible for the care of the revenue of the united kingdom, he should certainly think it his duty to resist any innovation which he considered dangerous to the revenue; but he should give his support to the motion for the appointment of the committee, reserving to himself the power of proposing any measure which he might think advisable for the protection of the revenue.

Sir J. Newport professed he could not account for the most extraordinary conduct of ministers this night. He would ask the right honourable gentleman whether he came down to the house entertaining the same opinions as he now expressed? How did it happen that ministers this night differed in opinion with each other? It was indeed most extraordinary that the right honourable gentleman should have expressed his willingness to go into a committee, without having made up his mind as to what course he intended subsequently to pursue. He (sir John Newport) should not be deterred by any thing

which might come from the other side of the house, from giving his unbiassed opinion upon the question. The right honourable gentleman seemed to consider the revenue of much importance as affecting this question; but that indeed ought to be a minor consideration. He was ready to admit that some evils had followed the execution of these laws; but he considered that by this gross neglect of the gentry, the people had been tempted to become illicit distillers. He concluded by recommending ministers to act firmly and decidedly upon a question of such vital importance to the welfare of Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh thought the honourable baronet was scarcely warranted by the rule of decorum and decency in the attack he had made on his right honourable friend. His lordship was anxious to know whether his honourable and gallant friend meant simply to propose the repeal of the law, or to introduce modifications which might render the system less pernicious. But the whole question could be better argued on a future occasion.

Mr. Bennet said, that ministers had taken the present unusual course, because they knew that they must be left in a minority by adopting any other, so great was the horror and detestation which the system of rapine in Ireland had excited in the minds of a great number of the members of that house.

Mr. Parnell said, the honourable member for Oxford (Mr. R. Peel) was the apologist of every thing intolerant, illiberal, and intolerable.

Mr. Peel felt it his duty, in consequence of such expressions, to call for an explanation; yet there seemed about the honourable member who had uttered them a tone of good nature that disarmed all hostility on his part.

Mr. Parnell said, he entertained towards the honourable member, personally, no feeling but that of respect.

General Hart then shortly replied; and the question having been put, was carried without a division.

May 3.—Mr. Grattan, on presenting several petitions in favour of the catholic claims, addressed the house at great length upon the subject. He expressed an ardent hope that the petitioners would be successful; and thus, that the two religions, bearing to each other the strongest similitude—having the same hope, the same Redeemer, the same gospel, the same God, and, in fact, resembling in nearly all respects but forms and sacraments—should be united under the same roof, and that roof the British empire; that the professors of each should have liberty to worship their common God according to their consciences, according to their different modes and ceremonies, with all the uncontrolled varieties belonging to them, but with one indissoluble bond of union and concord—attachment to the constitution under which so many blessings were enjoyed. The petitioners submitted, with respectful firmness, that they had a common-law right of eligibility to parliament and to office; from this right they were excluded, and the causes of disqualification were of three kinds:—1. The combination of the catholics. 2. The danger of a pretender. 3. The power

power of the pope. He insisted, that not only all these causes had ceased, but the consequences annexed to them were no more; even the oppositions founded upon them were destroyed and annihilated. That the objections commonly made to the catholics were totally unfounded, was proved by the oaths which they took in protestant states, by the answers of six foreign universities, by the many votes of parliament expressing its gratitude to catholic regiments for the courage they had displayed, the battles they had won, and the blessings they had conquered, and by the recent letter of cardinal Gonsalvi on the subject of the nomination of catholic bishops.—The catholics advanced no fantastical claims, no chimerical pretensions: they said first, that until parliament took it away, they had a common-law right. Next, that parliament had no right to call upon them to abjure their religion. Thirdly, that popery, or more properly catholicity, was not evidence of perfidy, or imperfect allegiance; and fourthly, that catholics were called upon to abjure that which did not fall under the cognisance of parliament. When it was maintained that under the Roman catholic religion the professors were incapable of the moral obligation of an oath, and of the duty of allegiance, it was asserting neither more nor less than that the religion was not divine. To say that the christian religion had not reached France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and a great part of Germany, was to deprive it of one great proof of its divinity. Was it meant to be urged, that christian principles were only maintained by protestants? that Roman catholics were unchristian? They would disqualify one-fifth of the king's subjects, and disobeying the precepts of the gospel, insist that they could only give an imperfect allegiance. The reply to that was, that those who made the charge did not believe it. They did not believe it in the 17th of the king, when Roman catholics were declared good and loyal subjects: they did not believe it when they gave catholics the right of voting: they did not believe it when, two years ago, they gave them commissions and commands in the army and navy: they did not believe it when the right of legislating was given to catholics in our colonies: in short, to answer the purpose of the day, the pope had been carried upon our backs, had been represented as a mighty and dangerous power capable of withdrawing the allegiance of the king's subjects; and then again as a poor driveller, incapable of bringing a musket to his defence, and strapped to the war-horse of a great captain, as a means of conquest and an instrument of delusion. The antagonists of the catholics did not believe their own argument, when they aided in the restoration of the house of Bourbon, and made catholicity formidable, by securing it to one of the most powerful nations of the world. It was clear, therefore, that they had not at all times held the catholic as a faithless and perfidious church, but had preferred it as a better and safer guide of human action than a rueful and desperate philosophy: they had thought Christianity, even with certain forms and ceremonies, better than irreligion and infidelity. The reign of such

philosophers was evidence of the necessity of religion. At that time, those who were now opposed to catholicity wished for its restoration, not as a faithless and perfidious religion, but as a bond of concord, and as a means of peace. Accordingly, the different princes of Europe, catholic as well as protestant, combined together to revive it. By what were they united? By Christian fraternity. For what were they united? To maintain the common religion of Europe. Were foreigners then to be supported in the exercise of their religion, while those who practised it among our own country were to be persecuted and punished? Were the catholics of Italy to be encouraged, and those of Ireland to be repressed? To do so was to declare to mankind, that all religion was an artifice, useful to support the power of kings and controul the liberty of subjects—to make a monarch mighty and his people miserable. Mr. Grattan then ridiculed the pretended fears, that the catholics, if their claims were granted, would exert themselves to exterminate protestantism, and restore the ascendancy of popery. He deeply lamented the opposition which the clergy of the church of England had given to the question, more for themselves than for any effect it would have upon the result of the debate. He loved the mild spirit of the English church; it had a home comfort about it that made it dear to all classes; it was the consolation of sickness, the cradle of age, and its own divinity would be its sufficient security, if its advocates were discreet and temperate: it had a modest humble grandeur about it, equally distant from poverty and ostentation; while the dim cathedral and responsive sound of the human voice gave a soul to worship, and swayed the senses to the side of salvation. One of the wisest and at the same time one of the most penetrating men that ever lived, sir Isaac Newton, had felt it; and Locke, who best understood the operations of the human mind, had acknowledged it. He should think ill, however, of the professions of any man, who, to support the protestant church, would destroy the catholic religion. If men were accustomed to see God only through a particular medium, destroy that medium, and they would perhaps not see him at all. He wished the toleration of all religions, and that toleration would produce a conformity that would establish unity of action, though not of belief. It had been asserted, that should the catholics succeed in their object, they would demand a share in the temporalties of the protestant church; but the case was quite the reverse. The Irish protestants wished to give the catholics an establishment, which the catholics declined. The protestant church was consequently in no kind of danger. Upon the death of the pretender, some of the penal statutes had been abolished. The present was the favourable time for the repeal of the remainder; and as there was a political conformity in Europe, there should also be a religious comprehension. Mr. Grattan then proceed to argue, that there was nothing in the revolution settlement, nor in that of the unions with Scotland and Ireland, which the parties to these transactions

actions considered as a final and perpetual exclusion of the catholics from the privileges of the constitution. The elements of the British constitution were not necessarily protestant. The house of lords was not necessarily protestant, nor was the house of commons. Of the two oaths, that of supremacy and abjuration, which now excluded the catholics, the former might be repealed, and the latter might be so explained as to remove any difficulty as to taking it. As to those who maintained the impossibility of a catholic being attached to the British constitution, he would desire them to go to the Tower, where Magna Charta was deposited, and examine the signatures annexed to that act. There were two families that traced themselves to ancestors who had signed Magna Charta, and they now petitioned the house to grant them a share of that liberty which their ancestors had given to the members of that house. As to the security of the protestant church, that certainly could not be endangered, when it was considered that the proportion of the protestant population was to that of the catholic as six to one. The measure which had been rejected in 1807, for opening the army and navy to catholics, passed two years ago without a single objection, and yet the Tower of London stood where it did before; and the spires even of Oxford and Cambridge maintained their places. The right honourable gentleman concluded his speech by moving for a committee of the whole house, "to consider the state of the laws relating to the Roman catholics of this kingdom, and also the oaths and declarations required to be taken by them in order for the enjoyment of civil offices, and the exercise of civil functions, so far as affects catholic subjects, and to report how far it may be expedient, and in what manner, to alter and amend these laws."

Mr. Croker supported the motion, and contended that, in removing the disabilities which, by various acts, affected the catholics, parliament would only openly and avowedly confer upon them those privileges which they might even now covertly enjoy under the provisions of the annual indemnity act. Whilst that should continue to be renewed, as it had been every year for more than a century, not only were the subordinate posts in the army and navy open to a Roman catholic, but he might be privy counsellor, a judge, a lord chancellor, a lord high admiral, or a commander-in-chief. The practice of putting the particular oaths which excluded catholics from various situations had been long disused; and if they were put, the act of indemnity gave the party six months longer time to take them; and when that period arrived, there was then, by the renewal of the act, a further extension given. The honourable gentleman concluded his speech by reading an extract from Blackstone's Commentaries, in which, after citing the opinion of Montesquieu, he observed, that if there should at any time be no longer a popish pretender, and the power of the pope become frivolous and contemptible, the laws against the catholics might be greatly softened, or repealed. He wanted no new laws, but only to give effect to the old.

Mr. Leslie Foster maintained that

that the relief given by the indemnity act was not meant to operate in favour of catholics. He was adverse to going into a committee, from which no practical benefit could result. Let the house look to the strong protestant feeling which had been manifested in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He was satisfied that a committee could produce nothing conciliatory as to the protestant or catholic clergy of Ireland. In 1792 the catholics only asked for four concessions; that they should be allowed to become grand jurymen, should rise at the bar, become magistrates, or vote at county elections, when holding freeholds to the amount of 20*l.* a year. The desires of men were not to be satisfied, for that which is granted them to-day would only make them ask for more to-morrow. If the time should come that three-fourths of the influence in Ireland should become Roman catholic, he would ask what might be expected?—For one, therefore, he thought the thing was fraught with danger to the interests of the established church in Ireland. Besides, there was another danger he apprehended from further concessions to the catholics of Ireland, which was, the chance of its separating the two islands. This was still more to be dreaded, when it was to be considered that the catholic religion, of all others, would not bear a rival.

In the sequel of the discussion the motion was supported by lord Normanby, Mr. Becher, and sir R. Wilson; and opposed by Mr. Brownlow and lord Lowther. Amidst a general cry of Question, Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Peel rose at the same time, but during a pause the question was put, and the speaker determined that the "Noes had it." A division then took place, when the numbers appeared to be,—For the committee, 242,—Against it, 248. Some members having entered the house who were not present when the question was put, their votes were disallowed. The state of the numbers then was, For the motion, 241, Against it, 243. Majority against the claims, two.

May 4.—Mr. Grenfell gave notice, that to-morrow se'nnight he should bring before the house the question of applying the sinking fund in aid of any loans that might be raised for the service of the year.

Mr. W. H. Lyttleton observed, that no substantial arguments had been brought forward in favour of lotteries. In consequence of the discussions that had taken place, an impression had been made which ultimately afforded a fair hope of success. In that house, indeed, the question had been disposed of in a summary mode, not by the strength of the arguments, but by the number of the votes. In all questions of a moral nature, in a free country, and from the influence of free discussion, and a free press, success, though slow, was ultimately sure. Upon the present occasion he should decline making any personal appeal to the chancellor of the exchequer, as he had, from former experience, found that these appeals were unavailing; and the *argumentum ad hominem* was good for nothing, if the *homo* did not mind what was said.—Upon every ground, whether of a moral, a financial, or a constitutional nature, the system of lotteries was wholly indefensible.

From

From the incentives it held out to gambling, the immoral nature of the transaction was perfectly obvious. Such incentives would be regarded as unfair in private life, and were still more so in public. It might be said that the transaction respecting the lottery did not arise from ministers themselves. But it was an old and true maxim, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*; and it was a shame and a scandal that the house or the government should sanction such proceedings. The system was also bad as a measure of finance; for what was morally wrong could never be politically right. Direct plunder was little worse than this mode, by which a man was made to pay 100*l.* for 1*l.* that he received. The system was also unconstitutional, from the powers intrusted to the agents of the lottery; as numbers were imprisoned in consequence of the communications of common informers. The system was also pregnant with fraud. Should a lottery be to be drawn in three days, the natural impression was, that one-third of the tickets should be drawn each day. But in the lottery of 1818, out of 8000 tickets, 300 only were drawn the first day, though the price had been raised on the second day from 19*l.* a ticket to 20*l.* 14*s.*; and on the second day only 1250 tickets had been drawn, leaving 6400 to be drawn on the third day, though on that day the price had been raised to 29*l.* 10*s.* the ticket. The tickets had formerly been drawn by two blue-coat boys, but the governors of Christ's Hospital had interfered, and put a stop to the practice. He had been lately at Coopers' Hall, and saw two boys in the dress of the scholars of Christ's Hospital, but was strongly inclined to think it was a deception on the public. The system of the lottery also led to gross superstition, from the lists handed about of lucky numbers. In lottery schemes, that was called a prize where a man had only lost half his money; and a man was said to gain a prize when for 20*l.* he received 10*l.* In a lottery, of a given number of tickets the number of prizes had been stated at 2865, but of that number 2810 were prizes of 10*l.*; the real number of prizes was only 55. Every year the public was plundered to the amount of 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.*, and the advantage to the revenue bore no proportion whatever to the injury done to the public. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving a resolution expressive of the opinion of the house on lotteries; namely, that they encouraged gaming, and were destructive of the morals of the people; and, therefore, that the house would not, in future, sanction lotteries under any regulations whatever.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought the house were obliged to the honourable gentleman for a very entertaining speech. It had not however convinced him, nor did he believe it would convince the house, that in the present state of the finances of the country, we could afford to give up a tax which the public imposed voluntarily on themselves, and which produced near 300,000*l.* a-year. He could not see any objection to a system by which the mechanic was allowed to risk a small portion of his earnings or his savings in a speculation in which he had the chance of great gain,

gain. On a view of the subject, and a due consideration of the honourable gentleman's speech, he could not agree to relinquish so large a portion of the revenue at the present moment.

Mr. Ellis spoke in favour of the resolution, as did also Mr. Parnell and Mr. alderman Wood; the latter remarking, with reference to the evils of the lottery schemes, that the chancellor of the exchequer had lately given 100,000*l.* to build churches with, and now he was encouraging a system which, in many instances, did not leave the poor a garment to go to church in.

Mr. Wilberforce, too, strongly reprobated the system of lotteries, as one which encouraged gambling, and crime of every description. He was of opinion no revenue drawn from it could make amends for the evils of which it was productive; but he thought it would be unfair to ask the chancellor of the exchequer, under existing circumstances, to give up so productive a tax without pointing out another to be adopted in its stead.

Mr. Canning differed widely from his honourable friend who spoke last, in the view he took of this subject. The house should consider that this tax did not originate with the present chancellor of the exchequer; it was of very old standing; he had adopted it as he found it, and he was not therefore exposed to the blame of instituting a measure which had given rise to so much obloquy. This was more a subject of detail than of eloquence, and the house should see how the revenue of the country stood. Notices of motions were given for the repeal of the salt tax: that pressed upon the agriculture, the interests and the morals of the people. Then came the leather tax: that operated upon the health, the interests of the people. The Irish window-tax was also a grievance; and the Irish spirit tax, it seemed, deeply affected the morals of the people. Not one word had been said against this tax, which could not with equal force be alleged against the salt and leather tax. His honourable friend merely recollected Hogarth's celebrated pictures of Beer-street and Gin-lane, which were painted for the avowed object of discouraging the use of beer and spirits. It had been objected against lotteries, that the shares were too small. He recollected, when the tickets were divided into 64th shares, they had been done away; and if it was contended that the practice of dividing tickets into 16ths should be put an end to, he believed his right honourable friend had no objection to such an amendment of the system.

Mr. Wodehouse would consent to a modified property tax; but he never would consent to a lottery tax, which not only demoralized the people, but even led them to the commission of suicide. He could not consider the tax on brothels, which prevailed on the continent, as near so objectionable.

Mr. Plunkett said, his right honourable friend (Mr. Canning) had not denied the fact, that crime arose out of this tax; but he had said the State wanted money, and therefore must submit to the crime. He denied this. The question was not one of revenue, but

but one of the morality of the house of commons. His right honourable friend had talked of the age of the tax, and of the crime, and said it had existed since the revolution. If it had existed since the foundation of the world, he could not consider that as a reason why a house of commons should still, obsequious to the wishes or necessities of a minister, continue it.

Lord Castlereagh denied that the system of lotteries was in itself a crime, though crime might arise out of it. So might crime and abuse arise out of any tax; and if gentlemen would thus study to discover objections to taxes, they might find so many, that the revenue, and with it the vigour of the state, would also disappear. He was as ready as any man could be to acknowledge it was the duty of government to uphold the morals of the country; but it was also their duty to protect the revenue; upon doing which, he would also contend, that the morals of the country mainly depended.

Mr. F. Douglas supported the resolution now moved, and fully agreed in all the objections against the tax. Gentlemen on his side of the house had been accused of not proposing any thing in lieu of this tax; they had done so four years ago, when they proposed a reduction of the army, and the introduction of economy into the public expenditure. This tax had been likened to a tax upon gaming houses, which prevailed generally abroad. But the case was different there; the tax was imposed on the keeper of the gaming house. Here the chancellor of the exchequer was himself the keeper of the gaming house.

Mr. Ricardo supported the resolution. He considered lotteries as most destructive to the morals of the lower classes of the community.

Mr. Tierney, on the best consideration he could give to the subject, could not but consider a sum of 250,000*l.* thus purchased, as badly, not to say disgracefully, obtained, as far as the character of the country was concerned.—He would be sorry to take any thing from the government at this time; but, in fact, the sum in question was nothing in comparison to our expenditure. If this tax was given up for the sake of the character of the country, let the loan for the year be 20,250,000*l.* instead of 20,000,000*l.*, and all inconvenience would be at an end. The right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) had, however, drawn a great prize in the lottery to-night; a greater than if he had got the 20,000*l.*; he had drawn on himself the admiration of the president of the board of controul. The right honourable chancellor of the exchequer might be induced to depend on this great prize; but he would, if he did, find it a *little-go*; and one in which if he embarked he might live to repent. Another extraordinary circumstance also attended this discussion. It was the first in which his majesty's ministers had, during the present session, been found to agree; and on what question was it on which this unanimity prevailed? why, a question in which the moral character of the country was put in one scale and 250,000*l.* in the other; and the unanimity was in the favour of the latter.

Mr. Huskisson opposed the resolution. He could not agree to a diminution

a diminution of the revenue and an increase of the loan. If this easy way of raising the sum in question was now adopted, the proposition on the next question would be to add 900,000*l.* more to the loan, and thus get rid of that disagreeable impost the window tax in Ireland.

The house then divided,

For the motion . . .	84
Against it	133
Majority . .	49

May 6.—Lord A. Hamilton addressed the house at some length on the grievances under which the Scotch burghs laboured from the present system of electing their magistrates. It had been truly said by the burgesses of Irvine, that they had no more concern in electing a magistrate than in electing an emperor of Morocco. Yet, for the debts contracted by these self-elected and uncontrolled magistrates the burgesses were made liable. All that was wanted was, to give to the whole of the burghs such a constitution as ministers themselves had thought proper to give to Montrose. He concluded by moving, "That the several petitions presented during the present session of parliament from the royal burghs of Scotland, be referred to a committee to examine the matter thereof, and to report their opinion thereon accordingly."

Mr. W. Dundas, Mr. Boswell, lord Binning, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Canning, opposed the motion, as in reality involving the question of parliamentary reform. Mr. Primrose, Mr. W. Douglas, Mr. J. P. Grant, and Mr. W. Wynn, supported it, being of opinion that the petitioners had no other object in view than what they professed—a reform in the mode of electing their magistrates. On a division, the motion was carried by 149 to 144.

Mr. Peel brought up the report of the bank committee. The first part entered into a variety of details respecting the transactions betwixt the government and the bank; and stated that a great part of the advances made to government had been repaid. The second part referred to the sentiments of the committee on the subject of cash payments, and contained their opinion that cash payments could not be resumed at the period at present fixed by law.

Mr. J. P. Grant thought it highly necessary that the first part should be read.

The report was then read, and stated that the committee had called for an account of the funds in the possession of the bank, to discharge the demands that might be made upon them. The committee had ascertained that the bank was in possession of funds to the amount of thirty-nine millions, exclusive of five millions due to them from government; and that there had been a large sum in cash and bullion in the possession of the bank since 1797. The bank had lately bought gold bullion at the rate of 3*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, and there was no other buyer in the market. The bank had paid their notes of certain dates in specie, and the issue of gold on that account had been 1,596,000*l.* in guineas and half-guineas, and nearly 4 millions and a half of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. The total amount of the gold issued for the payment of notes of certain dates, and the fractional parts of dividends, had been

been about six millions and a half; and almost the whole of that sum had been disposed of in foreign countries. It appeared, from the evidence of Mr. Baring, that a sum equal to 125 millions of francs, or five millions sterling, had been imported into France, three-fourths of which had been exported from England. In making that partial payment, the committee had been aware that the bank had been actuated by the best motives; but a different effect had been produced from what had been contemplated, as the price of gold had risen in consequence. The committee was of opinion that it would be more advisable for the bank to have contracted the issue of their notes, and that it was inexpedient to have made a partial payment in specie. The committee had therefore formerly recommended a total suspension of partial cash payments; as such partial payments would have retarded the general resumption of payment in cash.

The report then adverted to the subject of government securities, and to the amount of the debt due from the public to the bank, stating, that a large portion of the advances on the part of the bank was under the head of exchequer bills. The report then entered into a very full detail of the transactions between the government and the bank for a series of years, and the half-yearly amount of bank notes from 1814 down to the present year. In May 1818, it had been proposed to repay, by instalments of one million at a time, the debt due by the public to the bank, with a view to the resumption of cash payments. The debt was not above five millions, and a million due as interest. The governor and directors of the bank thought the repayment of the money lent to government necessary to enable them to resume payments in cash, and that the bank would thus have a controul over its circulating paper. The committee were of opinion, that an allowance should be made to the public, on account of the balances in the hands of the bank. Upwards of eleven millions had lately been in the hands of the bank, and then the bank had advanced to government the sum of three millions without interest. The bank had stated that they wanted ten millions, and the committee recommend a gradual repayment of the debt due from the bank to the public.

The next consideration of the committee was, the expediency of resuming cash payments at the time fixed by law. The bank had made a great reduction of their outstanding notes; and should cash payments be resumed in July, the bank would be necessitated to make such a further reduction as would be very prejudicial to the commercial interest of the country. It was the opinion of Mr. Baring, that the bank ought not to be called upon to pay in specie, without having such controul over the specie so issued as to secure its remaining in the country.

The report then adverted to the evidence given before the committee by Mr. Elderman, who recommended that, preparatory to the resumption of cash payments, the bank should reduce its circulation by degrees, at least three or four millions. Upon a full consideration of all the evidence on the subject, the committee were

were of opinion that the bank should not resume cash payments on the 5th of July next.

The committee had then turned its consideration to the steps it would be necessary to adopt, to enable the bank to resume its payments in cash at some future period. The first question was, as to the quantity of metallic currency which would be required to effect this object. The committee had not been able to ascertain accurately what was the amount of gold in circulation at the time the suspension of cash payments took place in 1797. It was agreed, however, that previous to the war the amount was 30,000,000*l.* Mr. Harman stated, that, in his opinion, the amount in circulation in 1797 was about 20 millions. Mr. Rose stated it much higher. The committee, however, would take it at the first sum, and on that estimate Mr. Harman supposed from 40 to 45 millions would now be necessary. Half of that sum would be required at the commencement of cash payments, and this sum could not well be provided in less than five years. The committee, however, considered this as rather an over-statement. In 1816 and 1817, when the bank paid gold partially, there appeared an absolute indifference on the part of the public. Many persons took gold to the bank, instead of drawing it out; and this indifference continued till the financial arrangements were entered into with France. It appeared in evidence before the committee, that in 1817 a person brought up to town a thousand guineas which he wished to lodge with his banker, and take paper for it. The latter expressed a wish to decline taking it, and stating as a reason, that he had lately had to take gold so frequently to the bank, he found it troublesome, especially as the bank refused all guineas which were not of the full weight.

The committee proceeded to state its opinion, that the bank would be able to procure gold to resume cash payments; though, as the governments on the continent were endeavouring to return to cash payments, this made gold more scarce, and a greater exertion necessary on the part of the bank of England to procure it.

The committee then adverted to the subject of foreign exchanges, which would have a very considerable effect on the resumption of cash payments: full information upon this subject would be found in the appendix to the report. In 1817, the exchanges were in favour of this country; but the continental financial arrangements had affected them to the disadvantage of Great Britain. The committee were of opinion, however, the bank would find no difficulty so to watch over the exchanges, and regulate its own issues, as circumstances should require, that at a period to be pointed out by the committee they would be prepared to resume cash payments.

The report next adverted to the amount of British property in the foreign funds as affecting the exchange. Mr. Rogers, in his evidence, estimated the amount of British property in foreign funds at ten millions five hundred thousand pounds, of which sum he considered seven millions as being in the French funds. Mr. Holland, a partner in Baring's house,

house, considered the estimation of Mr. Rogers, as to the total amount, as correct, but was of opinion that not more than three millions were in the French funds, and that little more would in future be placed there. Mr. Rothschild was of opinion that, with the influence which our foreign trade and connexions gave us, no difficulty would be found in obtaining sufficient bullion to resume cash payments when the fit time for doing so should arrive.—The committee agreed in this opinion, and saw no reason why the bank should postpone making immediate preparation for doing so.

The committee then proceeded to recommend the adoption of a plan to facilitate the resumption of cash payments, which would be best accomplished by degrees. As one step towards a general resumption of cash payments, the committee recommended, that after the 1st of February 1820 the bank should pay all notes above the value of 60 ounces of gold, in stamped standard gold, at the rate of 4*l.* 1*s.* per ounce; this scale should continue up to October the 1st in 1820, when the payments should be made at the rate of 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, from that time up to the 1st of May 1821; from which period the bank should make its payments to the amount of 60 ounces of gold as before, but at the standard price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce. This might continue for three years, at the end of which period the committee saw no reason why cash payments should not be resumed generally. This plan had been submitted to the consideration of Mr. Baring, who was of opinion, that by this gradual resumption much public inconvenience would be done away, and the bank would not require more than five or six millions to commence with. The committee were aware that it might be made an objection to this plan, that by it the small 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes would still continue in circulation, and the temptation to forgery be as great as ever. The committee trusted, however, this objection would be done away, as the plan proposed by the committee to prevent forgeries would in all probability be in full operation in three months from this time, and sir J. Banks and Dr. Wollaston were confident it would effectually operate to put an end to the forgeries of bank notes in future. Should the house adopt the plan recommended by the committee, the act passed this session to prevent payment in cash of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes must be continued. The chairman of the bank of Ireland had communicated that in six months after cash payments were resumed in England, the bank of Ireland would also resume them. The report then referred to the circulation of country bank paper, which, by the most accurate information the bank had been able to obtain, amounted on the average of the last five years to nine millions a year; the reduction of which would depend much on the reduction of bank of England notes, and the increase of cash in circulation. The report then adverts to the bank of Scotland; and concludes with some general observations on the subject to which the labours of the committee had been directed.

The clerk having concluded reading the report,

Mr. Peel moved that it should lie on the table; which motion was agreed to.

Mr. Tierney wished to know from the chancellor of the exchequer, whether he was now prepared to state any period at which he would submit any motion to the house on the subject of the present state of the finances of the country.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he was not prepared to give the right honourable gentleman any other answer than that which he had formerly given him, namely, that he would only have to submit, as was usual, the budget for the year to the consideration of the house.

Mr. Tierney observed, if this was the only answer the right honourable gentleman had to give, he should feel it his duty now to give notice, that on Tuesday the 18th of May he should submit to the house a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the nation.

House of commons, May 7.—Lord Palmerston, on rising to move the army estimates, said, upon a general view of the number of men proposed to be voted for the present year, and the number which had been voted last year, the house would perceive that, taking the comparative establishments of the two years, there would be a diminution this year of upwards of 9800 men; and if they compared the total amount of the army in the beginning of the present year with the total amount in the beginning of last, it would appear that there had been a diminution of 26,000 men. He mentioned that as the amount of the reduction effected since the beginning of last year. This diminution of the number of the army would perhaps lead the house to expect a corresponding diminution of expense; but they must remember that a very considerable expense had fallen on this country in consequence of the allied powers withdrawing their troops from France. The number of half pay officers turned on this country in consequence of the reductions had made an increase of 250,000*l.* on that branch of the expenditure, although the reductions made since last year had so far met that increase as to reduce the 250,000*l.* to 87,398*l.* The whole of that charge could not be considered of a temporary nature, for it was evident that the expense must continue after the reduction had been made. In the course of the present year the half pay officers and pensioners of Chelsea would merge in the account of these reductions, so that a saving of expense would be effected to meet the increase of half pay officers arising from the reduction of the army of occupation. If they looked at the whole expense of this year's establishment, as compared with that of last year, they would find that a reduction of 763,000*l.* had been effected; it certainly was not an unimportant fact, that 763,000*l.* disappeared from the public expenditure in the estimates submitted to the house. He wished to draw the attention of the committee to one point; in the department of pensioners and persons discharged, the estimate amounted to 9,379,548*l.* and the persons for whom this charge was incurred were officers and men who had been disabled in the service of their

their country, the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in battle. The house, he was convinced, would feel the justice of their claims, and would be ready to respect their meritorious services. —On comparing the permanent force now established with that of 1817, it appeared that there was a reduction of 41,298 men; and in the expense a diminution of 1,336,000*l.* He would not detain the committee longer at present, but should reserve any further remarks till the resolutions came to be discussed.

The first resolution, that the sum of 2,258,776*l.* be granted for the charges of the land forces of Great Britain, having been put by the chairman,

Colonel Davies thought a saving of 127,000*l.* might be effected by certain reductions both in the cavalry and infantry regiments. He could not help remarking the difference between the staff establishment in Ireland and in this country. In Scotland, Guernsey, and Jersey, there were only seven general officers exclusive of the commander in chief; but in Ireland there were not fewer than ten. In the adjutant's department there were here only five, while in Ireland there were eleven, and in the quartermaster-general's department while there were only six here, there were eleven in Ireland. It was said that the general officers in Ireland had severe duty to perform, on account of the frequent occasion there was in that country for the interference of the military; but it was not a general officer's duty to be employed in detecting smugglers. He could not help remarking also the high charge for the military college. As far as his own knowledge went, that institution was of little use either to the army or to the country. He was there himself before he went to the army. At that time, when the country was at war, there were only 200 cadets at the college; but now during profound peace there were upwards of 300. When the report should be brought up, he would certainly take the sense of the house on the motion that 120,000*l.* be deducted from the sum proposed, and he should then show the method by which he proposed to effect this reduction.

Mr. Hume complained that the committee on finance, in forming the estimate for our peace establishment, had compared the expenditure and force of the present year with those of 1818, instead of comparing them with the estimates of 1792, to which he thought they ought to approximate. The noble lord had omitted to state that the expenditure of this year exceeded that of the last by 84,000*l.* It was a melancholy thing that the army estimates for 1820 were not to be 100*l.* less than the estimates of this year. The staff establishment was too large, and open to much animadversion, but he would pass it over. But the state of the military college called imperiously for the attention of the committee. In the course of three years this establishment supplied 76 officers to the army; 20 by purchase, 56 without purchase. The establishment cost the public 25,000*l.* consequently each officer thus educated cost the country 1,063*l.* per annum. After 1816, while ministers were making every exertion to make those reductions which the general voice of the nation called for, 294 officers were put into

the army without purchase. In the course of three years, just so many officers were put on half pay at 3*s.* per day. There was another charge which he considered objectionable; it was that of the royal asylum, for which the sum of 36,000*l.* was stated in the estimates.

Mr. Bennet said, that the committee had nothing to do with the comparison of a war establishment with a peace establishment. The only question was, whether the establishment as now before them was not too large. In 1819, in the time of profound peace, 29,353 men were kept up in Great Britain. This was a force quite unnecessary. Neither the internal tranquillity of the country, nor its defence against a sudden threat of foreign force, required such an army. The committee should recollect, too, that there was a large establishment of volunteers quite adequate to any sudden emergency. There were also, it appeared, 20,560 men to be kept up in Ireland. What reason could be assigned for this he knew not, unless it was that it had been agreed at the congress of Vienna to assimilate our government to the cruel despotisms of the continent, and to substitute military parade and military terror, for the people's love and the people's happiness. There was one subject in particular to which he wished to advert, viz. the distribution of that money which had been so liberally voted by that house to the surviving sufferers at Waterloo. Many officers were forced into a share of the bounty who had no part in the battle, while corps who defended the flanks of the army got nothing. Others who had not landed till the battle was fought, nay, many who were walking in St. James's during the fight and the bloodshed, and who afterwards proceeded to Paris, as he or any other gentleman might do, in barouches, received a part of the bounty due to the wounded. It was notorious that French servants, in many instances, partook of the donation designed for the brave conquerors of French ambition. But the medical gentlemen, who had the care of persons of all nations, to the number of 10,000, were cut off from all share of the prize-money.

Sir A. Hope would not expatiate upon how much care ought to be bestowed upon the education of commanding officers. He regretted that not more of the gentlemen educated at the military college received commissions.

Lord Palmerston rose to reply. With respect to the military college he would observe, that this was an establishment which it was of the highest consequence to keep up, as well in peace as in war time. Gentlemen must be informed of the very serious consequences which resulted on the breaking out of the last war, from the want of officers sufficiently conversant with those tactics and professional details that could only be acquired by experience or by a long military education. Courage, it was certain, was not sufficient to command success. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) had pressed the case of half pay officers on the consideration of the house. He had not indeed gone the length of saying, that all new or vacant commissions should be filled up from the half pay list, but he did not appear to imagine that their services were sufficiently considered.

It afforded him, however, great pleasure to state, that the illustrious person who had the disposal of these commissons, always considered their claims with the utmost impartiality. From the year 1795 to the last year, taking the salaries of the whole number of officers on the military establishment at twelve years purchase, a sum of no less than 2,678,000*l.* had been saved to the country by appointing half pay officers to full pay. As to the military asylum, if there was one of the estimates more likely to meet with the approbation of the house than another, he should imagine it would be that about which so much had been said. With respect to its internal administration, he would venture to say it was one of the very first in Europe. The objects of its protection were most of them the orphans of those who had fought and perished in their country's battles. As to the distribution of the Waterloo prize-money, the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Bennet) had complained that there had been an unfair exclusion of those in garrison at Brussels, who, with the medical staff, had been employed in taking care of the sick and wounded after the battle. Now, the gratuity in question was given in consideration expressly of the battle of Waterloo, and of the capture of Paris, the immediate result of it. The garrison of Brussels had nothing to do with the battle of Waterloo; and when the honourable gentleman talked of protecting the flanks of the army, he would find, on consulting the geographical situation of the place, that they could produce no such effect.

General Gascoyne contended that the medical staff had as much right to share in the grant as any officers whatever in the army. In regard to half pay officers, in the particular regiment which he had the honour to command, of five vacancies which had occurred, he could state that every one of the commissions was given to half pay officers. In the new appointments particular attention was paid to the sons of officers who had fallen in battle.

Sir Robert Wilson, after highly eulogizing the character, services, and merit of the medical staff, and contending for a right to a participation in the Waterloo grants, particularly in the case in question, where they were exposed to considerable personal risk, proceeded to put a question to the noble lord. He observed in the army list the names of the officers continued four years, yet having a mark against them to denote that they had only temporary rank. Now he thought it would be very unfair and injurious to the service, if they were to be permitted to count this part of their time, and so be enabled eventually to dispose of their commissions.

Lord Palmerston replied, it was the usage of the service to confer this honorary distinction on particular individuals; but they held no commissions in our army, nor, of course, derived any emolument from that honour. It was purely, indeed, honorary, and had been in the present case conferred on some distinguished foreigners as a mark of favour.

Sir R. Wilson asked if any of the officers alluded to as standing on the army list without a commission did not receive pay.

Lord Palmerston said he believed not.

Mr. Bennet, again adverting to the subject of prize money to medical officers, said the distinction by the noble lord regarding the medical officers at Brussels and those on the field at the battle of Waterloo did not hold in other cases, as the medical officers in garrison at Lisbon had received prize money on the retreat of the French from before Torres Vedras, though at a great distance from the scene of action.

The resolutions for the different items of supply were then successively put and agreed to.

The principal votes were for the daily pay, allowances, &c. of commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, composing the forces of Great Britain, exclusive of India, Ireland, and the troops on foreign stations, 1,260,228*l.*

For the same to the troops abroad, 998,548*l.*

For the troops in Ireland, 749,937*l.*

For the pay, &c. of staff-officers, 118,021*l.*

For the pay of general and staff-officers for Ireland, 34,784*l.*

Charge of medicines and surgical materials, hospital contingencies, &c. for Great Britain, 29,035*l.*

For the royal military college, 25,172*l.*

Pay of general officers, 175,641*l.*

Garrisons at home and abroad, for Great Britain 27,380*l.*, for Ireland 6178*l.*

For retired officers in Great Britain and Ireland, 127,437*l.*

For half pay and military allowances to reduced officers on the establishment of the two countries, 770,161*l.*

Half pay and reduced allowances to officers of disbanded foreign corps, pensions to wounded foreign officers, &c. 129,750*l.*

For in-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, 58,581*l.*

Out-pensioners of the same, 1,173,648*l.*

Royal military asylum at Chelsea, 36,482*l.*

Pensions to widows of officers, &c. 104,122*l.*

Allowances on the compassionate list, 168,532*l.*

The several other heads of army supply were proposed and agreed to.

Mr. Arbuthnot proposed the grant of the sum of 380,900*l.* for the commissariat. The honourable gentleman then proposed various resolutions for supplies of a civil nature at home, and for the colonies. Among them was a grant of 10,000*l.* for continuing the building of the college of Edinburgh.

The next resolution was, that the sum of 16,250*l.* should be granted to his majesty, for the colony of New South Wales.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proposed, that the sum of 8,046,876*l.* should be granted in exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1818, now outstanding and unprovided for. This motion being carried, some further sums were voted, according to annual custom, for our settlements.

May 10.—The report of the committee of supply, including the army estimates for the year, was brought up; and after a short conversation, the resolutions were agreed to.

The report of Mr. Sturges Bourne's poor settlement bill was taken into consideration.

General Gascoyne objected to some of the provisions of the bill, particularly to the limited time necessary

necessary to give a settlement. He suggested that five years should be substituted for three, in conferring a right to a settlement for all persons who were natives of England, and seven for foreigners. He would extend the regulation applicable to foreigners to sea-faring people, who claimed a settlement in port-towns. He moved that the bill be re-committed.

Col. Wood, Mr. Geo. Lamb, and Mr. C. Phillips, objected to the proposed alterations. Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Canning, and lord Milton, spoke in favour of the bill. Messrs. W. Smith, A. Wright, and Mr. Mildmay against it. On a division, the re-commitment was negatived by 92 to 62.

Mr. Stuart Wortley presented petitions from various parts of the country, signed by shopkeepers, praying that the laws for collecting the assessed taxes might be duly executed or amended.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the law as it now stood afforded a remedy in case the children of a shopkeeper were assessed for assisting him in his business. That part of the petitions which related to the house and window duty, was of more difficult decision: in London, shops had always been assessed as a part of the house, and the windows were numbered with those of the house; but in the country a contrary practice had prevailed, and perhaps some revision of the law might be expedient: whenever a counting-house formed part of the dwelling-house, it was assessed.

CHAPTER IV.

Committee of Supply—Finance Resolutions—Foreign Enlistment Bill—Debate on the Finance Resolutions.

HOUSE of commons, June 2. —In a committee of supply, sir G. Warrender moved the sum of 2,483,013*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* for the ordinary establishment of the navy.

Mr. Calcraft reprobated the reduction of the navy, whilst a land force of 100,000 men was kept up. He also blamed the economy recommended by the finance committee with regard to the naval asylum, whilst no reduction was recommended as to the military colleges and asylums.

Sir M. W. Ridley made some observations in a similar strain, and objected to the retaining of the two lay lords and more than one secretary of the admiralty. He moved an amendment, making a reduction of 200,000*l.* on the estimate.

After some observations from sir G. Warrender, lord Compton, Mr. F. Douglas, and sir G. Cockburn, the amendment was negatived by 164 to 97, and the original resolution was carried.

The remaining sums for the navy, and those for the ordnance, were then voted, after some conversation on several of the items.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved for a grant of 8,595,600*l.* in exchequer bills, to pay off an equal sum charged on last year's

supplies, and now unprovided for.

Mr. Grenfell repeated his argument in favour of applying the sinking fund to the supplies of the year, and contended, that had this course been followed with regard to the loans of 1813, 14, and 15, the saving to the public would have been about 6,000,000*l.*

Mr. C. Grant obtained leave to bring in a bill to ensure an easier and better administration of justice in the court of chancery in Ireland; and another for a similar purpose, with regard to the Irish court of exchequer.

Lord Althorp moved the second reading of the insolvent debtors' bill.

Mr. alderman Waithman said, the present subject was one of the utmost importance. In the course of four years, persons had been discharged whose debts had amounted to ten millions; and the act had wholly failed in its operations, as upon the sum of ten millions, only 60,000*l.* had been received in the shape of dividends.

June 3.—The chancellor of the exchequer submitted to the house, in a committee on public income and expenditure, the following resolutions:

"That since the termination of the war in 1815, the property-tax in Great Britain, and other taxes in Great Britain and Ireland, which yielded a revenue of upwards of 18,000,000*l.* per annum, have expired, or been repealed or reduced.

"That by an act passed in the 56th Geo. III. c. 98, the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland were consolidated from the 5th of January 1817; and that in the year preceding the said consolidation, the net separate revenue of Ireland was 4,561,353*l.* and the charge of the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland was 6,446,825*l.*, including therein the sum of 2,434,124*l.* as the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the debt, which charge exceeded the whole net revenue of Ireland by the sum of 1,885,472*l.*, without affording any provision for the civil list and other permanent charges, or for the proportion of supplies to be defrayed by that part of the united kingdom; and that no provision has been made by parliament to supply this deficiency.

"That the supplies to be voted for the present year by parliament may be estimated at twenty millions five hundred thousand pounds.

"That the existing revenue applicable to the supplies cannot possibly be estimated at more than 7,000,000*l.*, leaving the sum of 13,500,000*l.* to be raised by loan, or other extraordinary resource.

"That the sinking fund applicable to the national debt in the present year may be estimated at about 15,500,000*l.*, exceeding the above sum necessary to be raised for the service of the year by about 2,000,000*l.* only.

"That to provide for the exigencies of the public service, to make such progressive reduction of the national debt as may adequately support public credit, and to afford to the country a prospect of future relief from a part of its present burdens, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a clear surplus of the income of the country, beyond the expenditure, of not less than five millions; and that with a view to the

the attainment of this important object, it is expedient now to increase the income of the country by the imposition of taxes to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* per ann."

Mr. Mellish presented a petition from the merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and ship-owners in Poplar, Limehouse, and Ratcliffe-highway, against the foreign enlistment bill.—Laid on the table.

The attorney-general moved the order of the day for the second reading of this bill.

Sir Robert Wilson said, that when the attorney-general asked leave to bring in this bill, the learned gentleman had stated that he introduced the measure solely on his own responsibility; but the noble lord, in his speech on that occasion, had declared that the measure was intimately connected with our relation to foreign powers. To make the bill appear the more desirable, it had been pretended that it was brought in to supersede the other acts of which the penalties were more severe. Before he showed the house that the bill was not entitled to their support on account of its pretended humanity, it would be necessary for him to give a short historical account of the several acts that had been passed on the subject. The gallant general then explained the peculiar circumstances under which the first act which it was intended to abolish had been passed in the year 1736. The next act was passed in 1756, when the situation of the country was very different from the present. The French had seized on all the British shipping in their ports. In the month of March the king sent a message down to parliament, informing them, that he understood an invasion was intended: and let it be remembered that the pretender was then in France. In little more than a fortnight after this message had been sent to the parliament, the act of the 59th was passed, preventing British subjects from entering into foreign service, and confirming the act of the 29th. It was evident, therefore, that these two acts had been made under special circumstances, and to meet special difficulties. The first act on the subject was that of James I., and the very title of that bill showed its object. There was a clause in it which stated that its object was not to prevent subjects from entering foreign service, but to preserve their religion. The second was passed in the time of James II.; and king William also made a similar law to prevent subjects from enlisting in the naval service of foreign powers: but it was necessary to bear in mind, that at the time the latter act was passed James was in Ireland; and thus the necessity of the measure was evident. In no instance had such a measure been adopted, but when England was either a principal in a quarrel, or had accepted the office of negotiating between the contending parties. Besides, from the moment that the royal assent had been given to these acts, they had been consigned to the tomb—they had become a dead letter. He believed that no trial had ever taken place under the acts of Geo. II. Whenever a subject had been tried for the offence provided against in these acts, the trial had proceeded under the military law of the land, as had recently been the case with the British subjects sent home from

from the Mauritius. In the seven years' war which began in 1756, we fought at the battle of Minden against many Irish officers. This was after the two acts against foreign enlistment had passed. Irish officers had been engaged not only in the French armies, but also in the service of the Austrians and other states. Of 120 Austrian companies, not less than 70 were commanded by Irish officers. The battle of Culloden was fought in 1746. After that battle the French corps which had accompanied the prince surrendered, and among them were several Irish officers. How were they treated? Were they punished as felons? Nothing of the kind was attempted. They were treated as prisoners of war. In the years 1793 and 1794 general O'Hara and his party were taken prisoners, and condemned to death by the French convention, for having co-operated with the British at Toulon. The duke of York was then commander-in-chief, and sent an officer, whose name would convey a higher eulogy than he was able to pronounce —he sent lord Hutchinson to protest against the proceeding of the convention, as contrary to the conduct of the British government towards those Irish officers found in the French service in 1746. They were not put to death; they were saved by the very contravention of the acts in question. In the French revolution an Irish brigade in the French service were taken by us. How were they treated? We took them into our service to the number of five or six regiments. We did the same in Spain. Innumerable instances to the same purpose might be mentioned. General La Fayette had engaged in the Austrian service. Sir Sydney Smith had co-operated with the Swedes. The Russian navy was full of Scotch officers in all its wars with the Porte. In our own navy, Danes, Swedes, and Russians, had fought and assisted us in getting and maintaining the command of the seas. Was this, then, the return we were to make? Was this the bounty which we offered in return? Were we, after so much experience of the salutary effects of a contrary practice, to pass an act so cruel to many thousands, and so hostile to our own interest? He would not trouble the house with any quotations from Puffendorff or Grotius, in order to show what the law of nations was upon this subject. He would only state, that it had ever been recognised as the law, that every neutral power should suffer its subjects to engage with any of the belligerents. In 1756 we had Russian corps, and also Hessians, Hanoverians, and others in our service, without in the least embroiling those states in war. The Swiss were notoriously stipendiary troops at the command of contending powers; yet Switzerland had never on that account been involved in war. But America was now referred to as our authority in this case. He cherished a peculiar partiality and attachment for America; he considered America as a vast and impregnable citadel of freedom, which threw wide open its gates for the reception and protection of the oppressed. But freedom and justice should go together. He was not so blinded by his love of America as not to see that she aspired too

too much after her own aggrandizement. She had at first encouraged the South Americans; the two finest frigates that could be seen at sea had been fitted out in her ports for their service; she had sent commissioners, if not to negotiate a treaty, at least to inspire hope and energy; she had established a strong force in Taxis, the province next to Mexico. Spain, seeing all these symptoms of co-operation with the colonies, said, "Desist, and we will give you the Floridas." The Floridas were, in fact, surrendered to America. He would not pretend to be a prophet, especially in times like the past, but the result of all those proceedings might be easily foreseen. America, having poured her population into the Floridas, having occupied the ports adjacent to the West Indies, would next demand Cuba. She would without much difficulty obtain Cuba. Having thus extended her power to Mexico, and established her commerce from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, she would laugh at England for her simplicity and acquiescence. But what right had Spain to make this demand upon us? She was preparing an expedition against her colonies at the port of Cadiz, the same port from which an expedition had sailed against this country, of which specimens might be seen in the Tower of London. Did this constitute a claim upon our co-operation? Yet we were called upon to pass a law which, at the same time that it would retard our commerce, would place thousands of our fellow-subjects, whenever they touched their native land, at the mercy of any mercenary and wicked informer, who could arrest them as criminals, and send them to gaol as malefactors. It surely would be enough to refer those who might be disposed to enlist in the service of the South Americans to the ordinance made by Ferdinand, in Madrid, a few months ago, devoting all who should engage in this service to the most ignominious death. But must it further be enacted by a British parliament, that our fellow subjects, who may reach their native shores, shall spend their lives in British gaols? He must describe this bill, a bill not called for, a bill which policy rejected and humanity condemned, a bill in favour of Ferdinand and inauspicious to liberty. If they were to rake up the ashes of the acts 9 and 20 Geo. II., it ought to be in order to consign them for ever to the grave. He would trouble the house with no further observations, but he moved, as an amendment, that this bill be read a second time this day six months.

The attorney general said, that the first part of the gallant general's argument went to establish the right of the subjects of one state to enlist in the service of another state, and even if that state should be at war with their state. The instances to which the gallant general referred went to establish that principle. He was not disposed to quarrel with the mercy and humanity extended to the Irish brigade who were engaged in a service directly hostile to this country. Their faults were pardoned, and they were treated as a foreign enemy. With this clemency he did not quarrel; but when instances of this kind were stated as arguments affecting the present question

tion, he must contend that they went to establish the principle, that subjects should be suffered to enlist in hostile armies. The other part of the gallant general's argument went to the principle, that by national and municipal law every individual had a right to enlist in the service of another power against the policy of the state itself. He was ready to show, on the contrary, that an individual had not a right to enlist so as to break that neutrality which the state wished to preserve. Where a state was in amity with another state, it had a right to prohibit its subjects from engaging in war against it without the consent of the sovereign. That was the principle for which he contended. The sovereign power of a state was entitled to compel the obedience of all its subjects in this point. On that account it was, that the sovereign in this country was invested with the power of recalling all subjects who were abroad: and by the earliest laws, the sovereign had the right to prevent subjects from going abroad, because the individual was identified with the state on all the principles of policy and safety, and on all the principles of social intercourse and national intercourse. The state would become a mere cipher if large bodies of its subjects could act independent of its policy; if an individual or bodies could say, "I, or any number of us, can erect ourselves into a body of individuals, and we shall contravene your wishes and your views. When you profess yourselves neutral, we have a right to beat up for volunteers in every town of the kingdom, and you have no right to pass a law against it." He would ask whether any intercourse could be maintained between nation and nation on such principles. When he said so, he was looking at the bill now before them, which said, "Without a misdemeanour you shall not enlist yourselves, or suffer yourselves to be enlisted, without a license, that is, without the consent of the king." This was the principle of the bill. It was founded on the principles of the common law. He was aware that it might be replied, If it was so, why not leave it to the operation of the common law? why introduce a new statute? If it was so founded, the principle of the gallant general, that every individual had a right to enlist in the service of a foreign power, must be given up. But although the right was founded on the common law, there was no absolute power—he did not mean absolute in an obnoxious sense—there was no specific power to prevent individuals from enlisting, or to take any steps till they were gone, and the act was committed. Without the acts which made foreign enlistment a felony, or an act like the one now proposed for making it a misdemeanour, there was no specific power of preventing foreign enlistment. Those gentlemen who had done him the honour of cheering him seemed to admit that the right was founded on common law. He wished then to ask one question: If foreign enlistment, at one's own pleasure, was contrary to law, why not prevent it? Why not, by the medium of an act of parliament, prevent what was contrary to law? That question he wished to ask. Why should the insurgents—he was anxious to avoid any offence to them, and to make use of no harsh

harsh terms—why should the insurgents, as they were called, why should the revolted provinces of South America be in a better state than recognised states? Did the gallant general contend that they had a right which no recognised state had till this period? Surely they ought to be in the same state with recognised states in this respect. It was contrary to every principle of municipal or national law to make a distinction in their favour.

With respect to the ships fitted out in this country for the assistance of the Spanish insurgents, and the argument which had been adduced in defence of such equipments, he thought it fit to say only a few words. It was his opinion that such equipments ought by no means to be tolerated, let what would be the side with which they were intended to co-operate; and therefore he had no hesitation in saying, that when the gallant general had alluded to the possibility of ships being hired by Spain in this country to oppose the insurgents, he had alluded to a case which never would happen, and which it was the express object of this bill to prevent from happening: for the bill applied not to ships employed in the service of this or that particular power, but to ships employed in the service of any power whatsoever without a license from the British government. Such an enactment was required by every principle of justice; for when the state says, "We will have nothing to do with the war waged between two separate powers," and the subjects in opposition to it say, "We will, however, interfere in it," surely the house would see the necessity of enacting some penal statutes to prevent them doing so, unless indeed it was to be contended that the state and the subjects who composed that state might take distinct and opposite sides in the quarrel. He should now allude to the petitions which had that evening been presented to the house against the bill now before it: and here he could not but observe that they had either totally misunderstood or else totally misrepresented its intended object. They had stated, that it was calculated to check the commercial transactions and to injure the commercial interests of this country. If by the words "commercial interests" and "commercial transactions" were meant "warlike adventures," he allowed that it would; but if it were intended to argue that it would diminish a fair and legal and pacific commerce, he must enter his protest against any such doctrines. Now he maintained, that as war was actually carried on against Spain by what the petitioners called commercial transactions, it was the duty of the house to check and injure them as speedily as was possible.

He did not expect that any member would contend, that individuals were not bound by the acts of the state under whose protection they lived; or that any member would argue, that the country which allowed soldiers to be enlisted by beat of drum and sound of trumpet to serve in the ranks of one out of two contending parties, was preserving a strict neutrality towards them both; and yet, unless such arguments were to be used, the present bill must appear to every impartial man to be founded upon principles of true

state

state policy, and upon maxims of the most undeniable municipal law.

The gallant general had also alluded to the particular situation of the Spanish government: he did not see how that subject could be made to bear upon the present, because if the British government thought that the Spanish provinces ought to be abetted in their present efforts, the nature of the question was entirely changed; but if it professed neutrality, then it ought to adopt a policy consistent with that neutrality, which would be most effectually done by reviving the old law of the country, and by mitigating the severity of the penalties which it enacted.

The statute of Geo. II. prohibited the entrance of a British subject into the service of any "foreign state, power, or potentate:" now it was evident that these words could only allude to states, powers, or potentates, that had been acknowledged by the other governments of Europe; and he would therefore ask whether it was fair that subjects who were rebels, states which had revolted and were not acknowledged, men whose existence as a distinct nation was totally unknown, should be placed beyond the operations of those civil and municipal laws which affected nations and princes whose claims to being treated as such had long existed and had long been acknowledged. He would also ask, whether it was fair to allow men to enlist into the service of the unacknowledged state, and to debar them from the right of enlisting into the service of the acknowledged one. For his own part, he thought that nobody could contend for the fairness or impartiality of such policy; and therefore, as this bill was founded on the common law, and was absolutely necessary for declaring what was the law on the subject to those who were inclined to embark their fortunes in this struggle, he should give it his most willing and decided support. It was to apply not merely to those who enlisted in the service of the Spanish insurgents, but to those who enlisted without a license from the crown in the service of any power whatsoever. There was a provision in it to prevent its affecting those who were already in the service of the insurgents, which he considered to be no less than what was required by justice and policy: those who entered into it hereafter would enter into it with a full knowledge of the pains and penalties which they incurred by doing so; and, if they sinned against the law at all, would be sinning against it with their eyes open. Thinking, then, as he did, that the bill was not only absolutely just, but positively necessary, he must again repeat that the house in enacting it would do nothing more than what justice and its own high character demanded that it should perform.

Mr. Denman could not help observing, that the answer which had been just attempted to be given to the arguments of his honourable and gallant friend was any thing in the world but clear and satisfactory. He would as a lawyer maintain, that if not all, at least the majority of the legal arguments adduced by his gallant friend against the principle of this bill were substantially correct and well founded. He had urged most forcibly, and in such a manner

ner as could not fail to carry conviction to the house, that the acts which were passed in the years 1736 and 1756, and which it was now intended, if possible, to revive, had never in any single instance been carried into execution. He had never, however, argued as the learned gentleman opposite had done for him, that the sovereign had not a right to punish those of his subjects who would not pursue that line of policy which had been prescribed by the state; but he had stated that the common feelings of mankind, and the general policy of all nations, would render all such acts totally nugatory, and, he might therefore add, totally unnecessary. These acts were not founded on any such principles as the learned gentleman had maintained, but were deduced from the old law of treason, to which they bore a very striking affinity.

He (Mr. Denman) was at a loss to conceive how the honourable and learned gentleman could say that this bill was intended to preserve the neutrality of the country. Could it be truly said, that any state was neutral which prevented assistance from going to one of the contending parties, and allowing it to go without any hindrance or impediment to the other? That such was the case in the present instance no man in his senses could doubt—not indeed by the enactments proposed, but by the virtual effect which they would have, if they should happen to be carried. Was it right to pass such enactments, because the government were inclined to speculate that its subjects would fly with more alacrity to the standard of liberty than they would to that which was opposed to it, the standard of oppression? There was not a man in the country, who possessed the heart of an Englishman, that did not ardently pray for the success of the Spanish Independents; and if this bill was intended, as he had no doubt that it was, to impede that success, it was taking up the mask of humanity, in order to conceal the destructive intentions which were harboured against the cause of liberty. Ministers had said, that this was an act which would press equally on both the belligerents. Supposing this to be true, he could not perceive the necessity of enacting it. If, by the late law, any English subject had been precluded from enlisting in the service of the king of Spain, he might have allowed that there was some reason for doubting our neutrality; but even such a circumstance would not have rendered a new law like the present absolutely necessary, as our neutrality might have been equally supported by repealing the former law. He would therefore, under such circumstances, if neutrality was the object intended to be accomplished, say to the government, "Repeal your former law; you will then hold the balance between the two belligerents even, and will get rid of that severe punishment of death, which you now hold forth as one of your reasons for introducing the present bill." As, however, he did not conceive that the object which the promoters of this bill professed to have in view was their real one, he should quit this part of the subject, and advert to a question which the honourable and learned gentleman had put to the house, and which he

he could not help denominating as one of a very extraordinary nature.

The honourable gentleman had asked, whether the house would allow soldiers to be raised in this country for a foreign power, and to be marched up the Haymarket and paraded in St. James's with beat of drum and sound of trumpet? Before he answered such a question, he might be allowed to ask another—"Had any thing like this ever existed, or did any thing like it exist at present?" If there did not, was it proper that England should depart from her old policy, especially when she was at peace, if not in alliance, with every foreign country? At the time the bills of 1736 and 1756 were brought into parliament, there was a pretender to the throne, who was in alliance with every continental power with whom we were either then engaged in war, or from whom we were expecting hostilities; so that their enactments only ordered, in more distinct terms, no individual to bear arms against his country. Was there any similarity between the state of the country when those acts were originally devised, and the state of the country now that it was intended to revive them? If there was none, and he thought that no person would say that there was any, would they, for a mere temporary expediency, pass a permanent act of so extraordinary a nature as the present, affecting too, as it did, the rights of neutral belligerents? But then, says the learned gentleman, this alteration is only in furtherance of the common law. He (Mr. Denman) said so too. But was it either wise or necessary?

There was a writ called *se exeat regno*, to prevent any individual leaving the country, and there was another which enabled his majesty to recall those who had left it; and therefore, if the ministers of the crown wished to recall to their homes those natives of Great Britain who had entered into the independent service, and if they chose to take so great a responsibility upon themselves as such a step would inevitably draw upon them, they had it in their power to do so at any moment that they thought fit to issue the mandate. Indeed, if such a measure was right and expedient, if circumstances demanded that it should be adopted, why had not they previously taken it? why did they hesitate to take it now? and why did they call upon parliament to do for them what it was their duty to have done long ago? If, however, it was impolitic, why was parliament to be urged to enforce a plan, which was any thing else than beneficial to the interests of the empire? "But then," he supposed that it would be said, "such a preventive as you recommend would be totally inefficient." He denied any such statement: it was a method frequently resorted to with success in cases between private individuals, and he did not see any reason why it should be unsuccessful in a public emergency.

Besides, if the issuing of a *se exeat regno* was impolitic, why should they recommend to parliament the adoption of a measure which, as it would be far more general, would be also far more impolitic? If no English subject was to be allowed to embark in the service of a foreign power without a license

license from the crown, the granting of such a license by the crown would be the commission of an act of hostility against whatever power the individual who had obtained it was intending to act. Till such a license was granted, there might be no hostility between the two countries; but the very moment it was granted, tranquillity would be disturbed, harmony would cease, and hostilities would commence.

The learned gentleman had said, that there was no clause in the bill which tended to injure the commercial interests of the country. His gallant friend, in presenting the petition which he had that evening laid before the house, and which, if he had been earlier in the house, he would have found not to be a solitary one against the bill, had clearly pointed out some of the injuries which the country would receive from it in a commercial point of view, if it were passed into a law.

He would beg leave to call the attention of his gallant friend, and along with his attention the attention of the whole house, to a clause which, in his humble opinion, was more pregnant with mischief than any clause which he had ever read in any act. It was the following:—"And be it further enacted, that if any vessel in any port of this realm shall have on board any person or persons" (it might, for instance, be a South American, and not a British subject,) "with the intention of enlisting in the service of any power, &c. any subject or subjects of this realm, or any persons actually enlisted, &c., it shall be lawful for any officer of customs at that port, or, if there be no officer of customs there, for any individual whatsoever, to detain, or to cause to be detained, such vessel, until such person or persons shall be given up to the municipal authorities:" so that by the mere word of an informer, any vessel ready for sea might be detained for a considerable time, under a suspicion which it would be very difficult indeed to disprove. The honourable member then read another clause, from which it appeared, that the master of the ship containing any such persons was liable to be seized, was subjected to a heavy fine, and was obliged to give bail, if he intended to appeal against it; and also that if any action was brought against the informer, he was to be protected in the same manner as the officers of the customs and excise. He (Mr. Denman) did not perfectly understand what the latter part of this clause alluded to; he had, however, found out, that one half the penalty to be levied was to go to the common informer, and the other to the crown; so that there was a premium offered for the detention of every vessel in his majesty's harbours; and yet it was argued that no injury could accrue from this bill to the commerce of the country! So extraordinary were some of its particulars, that he was perfectly convinced, that even though the principle should be admitted, all of them could not be passed. Still they were of some use, as his gallant friend had well observed, because they showed the *animus* in which the bill had been framed. He would object less to the former act than he would to the present act on this subject.

It had been said, that, like the

former act, the present might remain a dead letter in the statute-book: but he was quite certain that this statement was incorrect, as no act ever could remain a dead letter which contained such clauses as he had just read to them. Before he concluded, he had another remark to offer upon this bill: never had there been any thing so ungracious as the circumstances under which it had been brought before the house. The events of the late war had rendered a great part of the population militant; many of its members were unfitted for any thing else but war, by the military habits which they had contracted: and now a measure was proposed to the house which would cut them off from a service in which all their military enthusiasm might be freely indulged, and all their military ardour safely exercised. This was not the only evil which would ensue from this bill; all the ties which lead to commerce would be disturbed and broken. He did not mean to say, that the direct consequence of the act would be the total annihilation of our commerce with the Spanish colonies; he only meant to say, that if the British government threw its weight into the scale of Spain, it would prevent those ties of affection, and those delightful affinities which endear man to man, from being formed between this country and the independent provinces, which would be so useful in promoting the commerce of them both. It was perhaps better that he should not say a word regarding the king of Spain; but if this bill had originated from any communication from him, he thought the house were imperatively called upon to receive it with suspicion: if it had originated from a still higher quarter, if it had come from those who had arrogated to themselves the right of disposing of the fates of kingdoms and empires, they ought, if possible, to receive it with still greater suspicion. On every principle he considered that this bill called for the most determined hostility of the house.

Mr. Wynn observed, that the bill now under discussion ought to be passed, if the country wished to preserve a strict neutrality in the present war between Spain and its colonies. But the opponents of the bill said, "Show us a single instance in which any individual has been prevented enlisting in the service of Spain, and then we shall be convinced of the propriety of adopting some new measures." He would tell them very shortly why he could not show them a single instance of what they called for: the existing law prevented enlistment into the service of any acknowledged European state, by the severity of the penalties which it enacted: for he was sorry to say, that it was not the government alone which had the power of carrying this law into execution, but any individual who chose to enforce it. Would it not therefore be the bounden duty of the American agent, if he saw the agent of Spain raising levies in this country, to put a stop to his proceedings by preferring an indictment against him? This consideration was a sufficient answer to this argument of the honourable gentlemen who opposed this bill. Their next argument was, that this law had been a dead letter ever since it had been originally passed.

passed. This he denied: he did not know the number of executions which had taken place under it; but if he was to trust to those records of the times, the magazines, some executions had most undoubtedly taken place.

The honourable member then took a short review of the history of the times in which Englishmen had fought in the ranks of other monarchs than their own, and said that the cases which had been cited of their so doing, and which were the war of the United Provinces, the 40 years' in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus, and the war of the Hugonots in France, were totally dissimilar and inapplicable to the present case. He argued that if a person could lay down his allegiance to his own government, and enter into the service of another state whenever he chose, there would be an end of the control of the king over his subjects. In the case of the Swiss, it was true, a liberty was granted of entering into the service of foreign states which might be at war with each other; but was this license desirable? Was it desirable to allow enlisting to go on openly in the country for the rival services of foreign states? to see our fellow subjects selling their assistance to the highest bidder, and engaging to point their bayonets at each other's breasts in a foreign contest?

But it was asked, why, though we opposed the policy of the Swiss, carry the provisions of the present bill into a law, as the common law was sufficient to prevent the evils against which it was directed, and a writ of *ne exeat regno* would keep our subjects at home? In answer to this he would observe, that the common law could not be enforced in every case where the prohibition was likely to be transgressed. The writ of *ne exeat regno* required names to be mentioned, and legal forms to be gone through in the case of every individual. Hitherto it had been said, that only individual officers had gone out to South America; and if the case had been so, he should have had no great objection to their conduct, nor seen much ground for the present bill. But was this the whole of the evil? Was it not, on the contrary, notorious that great bodies had been assembled, and that enlisting had gone on in a manner and to an extent disgraceful to his majesty's ministers? He had lately been told by an officer, that out of a battalion disbanded at Chatham no less number than 300 had enlisted in the service of the South Americans.

Besides preventing those practices and repealing the laws of the 9th and 29th Geo. II., he thought the present bill should repeal three Irish statutes that were still in force regarding foreign enlistments. Those who had objected to the principle of the bill had argued, that if it passed into a law, no person could leave the country without the consent of the crown; and the consent of the crown to their departure, to join one foreign power against another, would be equivalent to a breach of neutrality towards the latter. He denied this inference, at the same time contending that cases existed where the consent of the crown was so granted to individuals, without a breach of neutrality. Returning to the principle of the measure, he argued, that Spain,

or any other power in alliance with us, had a right to say, "No ships should leave your harbours carrying out your subjects to fight against us—no regiments should be formed to join our enemies—no enlisting should be permitted for their assistance." On looking back at our own history, we should find that we had not been inattentive to such conduct as this bill was intended to check, or deficient in asserting our right of remonstrance against it. In the lifetime of the Pretender, when we heard of any ships having been engaged in his service in the ports of France, or of any body of Frenchmen joining his standard, this government was not slow in presenting memorials and making remonstrance to the French cabinet, which, though at that time not remarkable for its good faith or strict regard to alliances or engagements, never failed to interfere and to check the projected armament.

It was not a satisfactory answer to a foreign power, which complained of a breach of neutrality, to say, that our existing laws could not prevent British subjects from joining the standard of its enemies. That power might immediately reply, If your present laws are not sufficient, render them so. It was not the duty of foreigners to inquire into the arrangements of our internal policy, the source of our legislative power, or the obstacles which our constitution might present to any alteration in our laws; they could not stop to consider whether our government was an absolute monarchy, whether we were governed by a parliament or states general; but they had a right to say, "The defects of your laws, or your negligence in improving them, shall not be allowed to injure us;" and as the rights of neutrality had been transgressed to a great extent, means should be taken to prevent further violations of them. The honourable gentleman concluded by supporting the bill.

Mr. F. Douglas said, he did not expect that his majesty's ministers would have receded from the present measure from any regard to its impolicy or injurious consequences, but he did hope that the opposition of the country would not have been without its effect. In the contest of the South Americans against the oppressions of Spain, there was more English feeling engaged, and more British interest involved, than in any other contest that had for a long time occurred. This was owing not only to the nature of the tyranny against which they struggled, the rights which they strove to establish, and the commercial advantages which their liberty would enable them to extend to us, but to a recollection of our former intercourse with them. We could not forget that we first invited them to throw off the yoke which our government was now trying to reimpose, and that the birth of their independence took place under the protection of England.

We had been accused of encouraging a spirit of freedom when it suited our views, and of repressing it when the noble lord (Castlereagh) commenced his negotiations, and found that his policy no longer required its assistance. The change had been realized in the conduct of this government towards South America, but he trusted the legislature would not permit

permit it to be realized in the policy of the nation. We had formed an alliance with Spain without stipulating for a change in our laws. Let Spain have the fulfilment of her bond from the noble lord, and let English feeling and English heroism be allowed to exert themselves in favour of the liberty and independence of the states rising from under her oppression. The noble lord could only pledge himself to answer the demand of Spain in so far as the laws of his country allowed him—he could only agree to prevent the enlistment of soldiers, or the sailing of armaments, by the powers which the laws and constitution put into his hands; he could not stipulate with a foreign state to alter these laws, or engage to do any thing that implied a legislative change. The honourable and learned gentleman who had last spoken had said that the principle of the present bill was recognised in the policy of every other state but this, and that we should be singular in refusing to accede to it. Such a singularity was a thing not at all alarming: he should be more alarmed at a conformity with the policy of foreign states. A minister of this country, when pressed to do any thing inconsistent with the laws, in order to please foreign despots, should answer, "I cannot."

Our policy had always been peculiar as our character, our genius, and our constitution; and while to that peculiarity we owed our liberty, our glory, and our greatness, it ought not to be a matter of much concern with us how it was viewed in our foreign relations. So far from maintaining the principles of neutrality, this bill would do quite the reverse; while the noble lord himself would allow that its provisions were in direct opposition to our commercial policy. In our present commercial distress, while our trade was in a state of stagnation, and our manufacturers were suffering almost intolerable hardships from the want of sale for the produce of their industry, providence seemed to have opened to us the markets of South America—a country of immense extent, and of unlimited wealth, whose resources would grow with the growth of its independence, and in a short time enable it to purchase and consume whatever we could export for its use. The disposition of the people of the new states ought therefore to be consulted, as the means of promoting an intercourse so beneficial. Fashion ruled in states as much as among individuals. The South Americans were habituated to consider us as friends and models; they wished to obtain the approbation of freemen, and to enter into political relations with freemen. Such a disposition we should foster, not only for the advantage it might bring, but for the evils which it might prevent; for let the house consider what might be the consequence of rejecting a union with states, which from that rejection might be thrown into the arms of the North American republic, and thus compose along with it an alliance of incalculable strength, possessing a country of immense extent, full of resources, disposed by its geographical position for the most extensive commerce and the closest intercourse, and combined to employ all its energies against the trade and power of this country from ancient

jealousy or contemned friendship. We should therefore draw the bonds of affection closer between ourselves and the South Americans, by allowing those who had bled in the service of their own country, and who could not now find subsistence or employment at home, to go out to their assistance, to acquire additional experience in the new world, and to promote the progress of human happiness and freedom. They there would learn, not to support the dominion of continental despotism, but to co-operate with freemen in the recovery of their rights, and would return home, not only better soldiers, but better citizens, and better Englishmen. They would be taught in the same school with our Raleighs and Essexes, who had learned the art of war in combating the despotism of Spain in a similar cause. He should therefore oppose the bill, because he would not consent to alter our internal policy to meet our foreign relations, and because he was convinced that its principle was dictated by a set of sovereigns who were the enemies of freedom.

Mr. Marryat said, that as the honourable and learned gentleman who introduced the bill had mentioned that it was founded on the common law, he did not see any reason for this measure at the present moment. It appeared to him that this was a most inexpedient period for altering our former policy. He happened to have seen the government of Spain in South America; and in the few observations which he should make, he could speak from personal knowledge and considerable experience. In some countries, governments sustained the monopoly of particular branches of trade; but here the government not only exercised but sold the monopoly. The merchants of Cadiz enjoyed it. The consequence was, that every commodity, before it reached the consumer, was taxed 300 per cent.

But the high price of commodities consequent on the monopoly was the least of the evils which the colonists had to endure. All places of honour and emolument were shut against them. They were filled by the natives of old Spain, and nobody born in the colonies could aspire to them. The judges were chosen in like manner, and the very sources of justice were purchased. If, after the decision of a cause, any of the parties chose to complain to a higher tribunal, the appeal was founded on a statement drawn up by the judge who had tried it, without any power of altering it. No political information could be received till the events of 1808. The cortes then sent out accounts of the revolution in Spain. In 1811, the local government of Venezuela, having established itself, issued a proclamation, in which they claimed to have representatives in the cortes of old Spain, and to be allowed to sell elsewhere the merchandise for which they could not procure a market in the mother country. In less than two months afterwards, this declaration was revoked by the intrigues of the merchants of Cadiz, and it was declared by the authorities at home, that those who persevered in such demands should be judged guilty of high treason. Many submitted, and others resisted this arbitrary mandate: a civil war was the consequence, which proceeded until the restoration

restoration of Ferdinand VII., who sent out other proclamations of a similar character, and took steps which had exposed him and his government to the execration of all good men: yet it was this man and this system that the present bill was to support.

It was also fit to consider the probable success of the cause; and here he might remark, that it seemed part of the law of nature that the colonies should only support a due portion of the burdens of the mother country: it had been so with our colonies in America, and with those of Portugal in the east. Besides, from whence was Spain to draw her resources to continue the hopeless struggle? The very well of her treasures had fallen into the hands of her enemies; and while they were daily augmenting in strength, she was gradually declining in weakness. The purchase of Louisiana had brought the United States in contact with the main; they had avowed their purpose of making the whole western hemisphere free; and though the cession of the Floridas might check them for a time, they would never abandon their ultimate design. It was clear that in the commerce of South America all Europe was interested: she was languishing from an interruption of various supplies, and this country had a right to ask Spain why she persevered in a contest injurious not only to herself, but to all her neighbours. On what ground could Spain call upon Great Britain to interfere in her favour? When our own colonies revolted, she immediately opened her ports to their shipping: and a few years afterwards made it a ground of hostility against us, that we had seized some of her shipping while trading in neutrality with our revolted colonies. Surely the South Americans had many claims upon the indulgence of this country: they had offered to submit to her mediation, and she never required more than that we should maintain an attitude of strict impartiality. Had Great Britain done so? Certainly not. On the contrary, the royalists had been supplied with arms and ammunition conveyed in British vessels, and convoyed by British ships of war: he (Mr. Marryat) had himself underwritten a policy on one of these adventures, and had paid a return for convoy to the Spanish main. The proceedings of commodore Brown all went to establish the same point; and another case of a most barbarous description had occurred, which clearly proved that nothing like a neutrality had been observed. After general Morillo, on his arrival in New Grenada, had proclaimed and violated a general amnesty, he made an attack upon a small place on the coast, incapable of resistance: the people crowded themselves into all the craft in the port, and sought refuge in Trinidad; they were driven to the place from whence they had sailed, and man, woman, and child, were massacred by the royalists: a British sloop of war had seen their bones whitening the shore for two leagues.

In truth, when we were at peace with all mankind, it was not a point for the government to inquire how our subjects occupied their talents, or promoted their interests. A certain degree of military ardour must always prevail, and now we had a large list of half

pay officers and soldiers, who had no other employment, and were fit for no other employment, than that which this contest afforded: it was a hardship almost amounting to injustice to detain them here, and it was converting a land of freedom into an extended prison.

Much had been said about the treaty with Spain in 1814; but it went no further than regarded the supplying of arms and ammunition, and this stipulation had been strictly observed. As to the formal words in the preamble about drawing closer the bonds of amity, &c. he had always looked upon them merely as expressions of diplomatic courtesy. Besides, what sympathy could we have with a king who, having been restored by our troops to his throne, made it the first act of his government to offer a national thanksgiving to God that his kingdom was freed from the pollution of heretics—with a king who had revived the inquisition with all its tortures, and had declared hostility to all that was generous, liberal, and enlightened? With such a government, how was it possible for this free state to preserve any bonds of amity? the utmost we could do was to observe a cold neutrality.

Sir C. Robinson maintained, that in questions of neutrality the conduct of individuals could not be distinguished from the acts of the state: they were bound together by reciprocal duties and interests. The acts of individuals had often been, and might again be, the cause of war; and it was so laid down by all writers upon the laws of nations. He referred to a proclamation made by James II. and to the statute of Anne, which applied principally to subjects in the Roman catholic persuasion, and other authorities, to prove the further recognition of this principle—to prove that this bill was founded on the most distinct and correct views of the subject, the same views which had influenced our ancestors in the line of conduct they had pursued towards all the nations of Europe.

Mr. Macdonald was anxious to impress upon the house this great and important fact—that this measure, however supported by the learning and logic of doctors' commons, whatever abstract reasoning might be employed by gentlemen on the other side, did mainly and effectually go to the destruction of the cause of the independent patriots of South America. Much had been said also by the gentlemen on the opposite benches respecting the right of this government to interfere: the right could not for a moment be contradicted, but he entertained considerable doubt whether the house would have the heart to pass such a bill as was now attempted to be thrust upon the nation. Although the arguments of his honourable friend who had spoken this night against the measure had not been overcome, yet they had in some degree been distorted and disfigured by what had been said by the other side; and he thought he could not do better than bring back to the recollection of the house some of the most striking arguments which had been urged by his honourable friend. The speech of the honourable member for Sandwich, and that of the honourable member for Banbury, had been endeavoured to be answered, but without success. What they had contended

contended, and what he should now contend, was, that the utmost that could be expected of the nation by government was, a substantial and *bona fide* system of non-interference; but this could only be done by leaving the laws *in statu quo*, without reference to any of the parties.

A system of impartial neutrality had been deprecated by ministers, in order to attempt that of speculative partiality; and they had shown by the time and the circumstances under which the proposition was made, what was the real nature and character of the measure: it might seem at first sight to be an equitable proceeding, but a little reflection would show it to be, not only a most imprudent, but a most unjust and oppressive attempt. But he felt a strong preliminary objection to the bill, arising from its more than suspicious origin: it bore marks the most distinct and unequivocal of a foreign suggestion—a suggestion, too, coming from a quarter of all others the least entitled to expect any grace or favour at the hands of a British public.

The learned civilian opposite (sir Christopher Robinson) had dwelt much upon the principle which was recognised by this bill; but he (Mr. Macdonald) felt anxious to impress upon the house the consideration of the time and circumstances under which this measure was proposed. Why was not such a bill as this introduced at the commencement of the contest in South America? Perhaps government had not calculated upon the deep interest which Englishmen seemed to take in the fate of the Spanish independents; it was not expected that so many British subjects would transport themselves to the distant shores of Chili. The noble lord had told the house, that it was not proposed so long as any hope of a reconciliation remained. A reconciliation! Why, the noble lord knew very well that so long ago as the mission of the marquis Wellesley to Cadiz, not the least hope of a reconciliation remained; the highest degree of animosity existed between the belligerent parties: it was indeed *bellum ad internecionem*. During all this time, since the commencement of the war, this government had been inactive and never dreamed of restraining British subjects from exerting themselves in the cause of independence. But now, forsooth, when the crisis had arrived when the patriots had by their valour and intrepidity, by their manly perseverance in the cause of liberty, after having undergone the most oppressive human sufferings, nearly achieved the long-wished-for triumph, when they had but one stroke more to attain their glorious deliverance from the yoke of their oppressors, now ministers had come forward to dash down the cup of hope, to paralyse all their exertions, and to stretch out a saving hand to the last efforts of expiring tyranny. As far as the British government was concerned, the hopes of Spain had not been disappointed; but he hoped that this night Ferdinand would be aware how much he had miscalculated the character of a British parliament.

The noble lord seemed anxious to go into a wider and more distant field of action than he had lately been accustomed to, and would now

now call down the enmity and hatred of an unhappy people, who had always looked to England for protection and support. So much for the politics of the noble lord. But this line of conduct was the more absurd, the more unjust he should say, when it was considered that England itself pointed out to the South American independents the way to overcome this weak, but legitimate monarch, Ferdinand VII. Neither did he see any thing in the character of Ferdinand to justify this departure from uniform practice. It was but the other day that this glorious monarch, this ally to whom England was linked by ties of affection, thought proper to cede to America, the rival of England, one of his most important possessions. A cession such as that of the Floridas could never have been made, had the spirit of the treaty of Utrecht been upheld. But, independently of that consideration, such an aggrandizement of a powerful rival ought not to be passed over without a strict inquiry into the cause of this most extraordinary and unprecedented proceeding. A reason, however, had been assigned for this cession, and it was a most curious one: it was, that the king of Spain was utterly incapable of maintaining his possessions. According to this doctrine, then, Ferdinand was to be allowed to make what cession he pleased, to whatever power he chose, however it might injure this country. Although this monarch had entirely lost the power of protecting, he retained in full energy all his capabilities of oppressing; and now the house was called upon to give effectual aid to this imbecile, impotent, but legitimate monarch. The nation revolted at the idea. It might hitherto act upon the system of non-interference, but beyond that it would not go. The moral feelings of a free and noble-minded people had been trifled with by the government; but the nation would be found to be superior to these disgraceful attempts: the people of England would compel the government to respect them, and would show that they were stronger than even power itself.

Lord Castlereagh requested the house to remember, that as the bill now stood, it was not open to any objection as being a retrospective measure. He (lord Castlereagh) did not, however, look at the matter in the light merely of the wishes of individuals, but as a combination of persons to raise levies in Great Britain, and to make this country the spot on which those very levies were to be raised that were to be put in active operation against the mother country, in conjunction with what was called an army in South America. As to the statement which an honourable and learned gentleman had made, of two vessels having been fitted out in ports of the United States, destined for similar purposes, for his own part, he was not able to speak to the fact; but he had yet to learn, supposing that true, whether they were so fitted out with the consent of the government of the United States; for it was a measure which the whole line of their policy seemed to be opposed to. It has been found impossible, by any existing law, to prevent ships from sailing for South American ports in possession of the insurgents, and even carrying such stores as they

they were furnished with. He would now endeavour to state what was the peculiar character of the offence regarded by the bill before the house. There was no doubt that any nation which chose might allow its subjects to serve belligerent powers, not favouring, in the meanwhile, one belligerent more than another; but it never had been the practice of this country to sell the services of its subjects. He should be glad to hear any honourable gentleman state, that in the case of a neutral power permitting them to be so exerted to the detriment of another nation, that would not be ground and cause of war between them, as between state and state?

He would ask the honourable and learned gentleman who spoke last, with eloquence indeed, but certainly with more of declamation than argument, how he would like to learn that old Spain had thought proper to interfere with any of our colonies that might happen to be in a state of insurrection, by assisting them in this manner? How would the house have rung with his protestations against such interference? Suppose a case of an expedition fitted out from Corunna, for instance, against one of our West India islands. He merely put this as a case, and was happy to be enabled to dispel any fears that might be entertained on the subject; but looking into the womb of time, and contemplating the possibility of such an event, he put it to the house to consider what would be their feelings and conduct. Or supposing the inhabitants of Boston or New York were to think it very convenient that they should interfere with the commerce of our West India possessions, of which we had so long enjoyed the monopoly, and he should be required to demand an explanation, he should deem it unworthy of an English minister to ask that which we had refused, merely as the stronger power, to another nation, to whom we had not had the honour or the justice to observe the same conduct. And so much for the laws of nations.

His learned and honourable friend had considered the subject, in framing this measure, on principles which justice itself pointed out. The house were bound to remedy the defect of the law: and in the whole history of the policy of the country, nothing could be found which more strongly called for the interference of parliament than the subject before them.—Never before had any persons so flagrantly abused the character of that country as those who had thus raised levies, not only on our shores, but who embarked them in our ports. The honourable gentleman seemed to think that in consequence of former excitements, by reason of the conduct of Spain towards her, America was justified in the efforts she was now making. That took place in 1797; and nothing further occurred between the two countries till about 1808 or 1809. As to any thing which took place in 1797, it was a monstrous proposition that we were to allow that to interfere with the faith of solemn treaties subsequently made and recognised no later than in the proclamation issued in the beginning of 1817.

An honourable gentleman on the second bench had made a representation

presentation calculated to excite the sympathy of the house. It had been stated, that while we denied arms to the insurgent provinces, we gave them to the mother country; or at least sent them thither, so that they were ultimately transmitted to the royalists in South America; and that therefore we had not maintained a fair neutrality. But he could assure the honourable gentleman, that for the last two years, during which time this subject had come most pointedly under the consideration of the British government, every effort had been made to make the neutrality perfectly observed. In reply to the charge of the honourable member, that instead of preserving neutrality between the two belligerent parties on the Spanish main, his majesty's ministers had taken so decided a part, that a great number of those unfortunate victims who had been driven to seek refuge under our flag were denied protection, forced back into the very ports of their enemies, and a great proportion of them massacred on the beach at Paria—in reply to this he had to state, that 690 of them had been admitted to a free asylum, without any expense to themselves, in November and December 1814. Similar protection had been offered to the insurgent leader, Vedo.—The number of persons thus admitted from November 1814 to January 1817, into Trinidad, amounted to 3,923.

He appealed to the house, therefore, whether there had not been great exaggeration in this case: he did not mean to impute it to the honourable gentleman, but at least it showed the great necessity of careful inquiry. There was a great number of persons in this country who were forgetting the duties of British merchants in becoming the political agents of those states. The noble lord then proceeded at considerable length to deprecate in terms of severe censure this political agency on the part of commercial men.—The strongest representations had reached this country, particularly from the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, that the commercial interests of Great Britain had been greatly compromised by that interference. No doubt the house would perceive that there was but one feeling on the subject elsewhere: for, in her present state, Spain would have been unable to carry on her operations against the insurgents, but for the great mass of local interest which she possessed. The consequence of the proceedings to which he had alluded had been the creation of a very great jealousy on the part of Spain of the intentions of our government. In the year 1809, when the spirit of resistance to the encroachments of France first broke out in Spain, a treaty was made, by which Spain bound herself not to alienate any of her possessions; and this country pledged to her its support and protection: but it was never contemplated that we were to assist her with our arms against any of her colonies which might happen to be in a state of insurrection. By a subsequent treaty, we also pledged ourselves not to give any assistance to the insurgent states; and it would be a positive abandonment of the principles of that treaty, if this bill were not now enacted.

He did hope, therefore, that after

after every other country had recognised the justice of preserving the neutrality, we should be the last to withstand the obligation of solemn treaties. The principle of this bill was not retrospective, and he hoped the house would see the necessity of arming the executive power with the means of repressing an offence which cast so deep a stain on the national character. This was the only ground upon which our neutrality could be preserved.

The house divided :—

For the amendment, 142
Against it, . . . 155

Majority for the bill 13

The house, in a committee, agreed to the resolutions proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, allowing of a composition for the assessed taxes, in lieu of any further surcharge, at the rate of 5 per cent. for houses and windows, and 10 per cent. for household establishments.

On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker left the chair, and the house resolved itself into a committee on the finance report.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proceeded to explain the resolutions which he had on a former evening laid on the table. Whenever an opportunity arose for parliament to take into consideration the financial arrangements of the country, it was natural to expect something more general than a statement of the provisions made for the immediate service of the year. In order to explain his plan in the most satisfactory manner, it was desirable that a general view should first be presented, and that the technical details should be reserved for the budget of the year. His object at present was to exhibit the leading features and general principles of the financial arrangements for the year; and with this view he had endeavoured, in as short a manner as possible, to bring the leading points before the house, unincumbered by those details which could be discussed on a future opportunity. The truth was, that whatever details they might enter into, the great leading question would always be, whether the income was equal to the expenditure. The finance committee, who had done great service to the country, had always addressed themselves to that general and comprehensive view of the subject, and to their reports he should refer in explaining his general plan. He was first to give a general view of the resolutions which he had laid upon the table, and he would then more particularly state the mode in which he proposed to carry those resolutions into effect.

The first resolution stated, "that since the termination of the war in 1815, the property tax in Great Britain, and other taxes in Great Britain and Ireland, which yielded a revenue of upwards of 18,000,000*l.* per annum, have expired, or been repealed, or reduced." For illustrating that resolution, he had laid an account upon the table formed from the several accounts which had been previously produced. By this account it was made manifest that taxes had been reduced since the peace to the amount of 18,700,000*l.* The second resolution stated, "that by an act passed in the 56th Geo. III. c. 98. the

the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland were consolidated." The act here mentioned had thrown the revenues of the two countries into one general mass. Here he wished to state, that he would by no means be understood to say, that Ireland had not paid a fair proportion of revenue. At the period when the union of Ireland with Great Britain had taken place, it could not have been foreseen that for 14 years there would be an uninterrupted course of the most expensive war ever known. If any human foresight could have calculated the enormous expenses, the enormous magnitude of the sum would have astonished and appalled the stoutest heart. The revenue had been then apportioned to Great Britain and Ireland. Whether more revenue might not then have been obtained, and more taxes imposed in Ireland, it was now impossible to say: but in consequence of the internal commotions and expensive measures that had taken place in the years 1798 and 1799, the taxes in Ireland had become so great, that if a larger proportion of revenue had been proposed, it would have proved a strong obstacle to the union. The consequence however was, that while Great Britain raised a large proportion of the supplies, Ireland had recourse to loans. Between the period of the union of the two kingdoms and the union of the treasuries, the public debt of Great Britain increased as one to seven; that of Ireland eightfold. The 3d, 4th, and 5th resolutions stated, "that in the year preceding the said consolidation, the net separate income of Ireland was 4,561,958*l.*, and the charge of the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland was 6,446,835*l.*, which exceeded the whole net revenue by the sum of 1,885,472*l.*, exclusive of the civil list and other permanent charges of Ireland, and of the proportion of the supplies to be defrayed by that part of the united kingdom; that no provision has been made by parliament to supply this deficiency; that the supplies to be voted by parliament for the service of the united kingdom, for the year ending the 5th of April 1820, may be estimated at 20,000,000*l.*"

Those resolutions contained no statement which could be controverted, or which required elucidation. They served principally to introduce the remaining four resolutions, "that the existing revenue applicable to these services cannot be estimated at more than 7,000,000*l.*, leaving the sum of 13,000,000*l.* to be raised by loan or other extraordinary resources; that the sinking fund annually applicable to the national debt may be estimated at 15,000,000*l.*, exceeding the above sum necessary to be raised for the service of the year by 2,000,000*l.* only; that to provide for the exigencies of the public service, to make such progressive reduction of the national debt as may adequately support public credit, and to afford to the country a prospect of future relief from a part of its present burdens, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a clear surplus of the income of the country beyond the expenditure of not less than 5,000,000*l.*; that with a view to the attainment of this important object, it is expedient now to increase

crease the income of the country, by the imposition of taxes to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* per annum." The whole substance of the above resolutions was, that in order to have a clear sinking fund of 5,000,000*l.*, it was necessary to raise 3,000,000*l.* more than the present income. The foundation of this necessity had been laid by the repeal of the property tax, and other war taxes, in 1816.—He was far from arraigning the honour and humanity which had insisted on that repeal, but he must maintain upon his conscience as a man, and his responsibility as a minister, that it had not produced the advantages which had been held out to the country as its consequences. He was ready to admit, that it had afforded relief in the time of great embarrassment and distress, and contributed to the restoration of credit and industry. But at the same time it was evident that credit could not be supported, and that industry could not long have free scope, by any means so sure and permanent, as by placing the revenue beyond the expenditure of the country.

What he proposed to be done this day was to place the revenue in the same state in which it would now have been, if the property tax had not been repealed. If, instead of the total repeal which had been made in 1816, the property-tax had been continued for two years longer, at the modified rate which had been proposed, the imposition of new taxes would be unnecessary. The consequence of its continuance would have been, that 18,000,000*l.* of debt would have been spared to the country, and the difficulty now felt, of paying to the bank, would have been avoided, because a new debt would not have been contracted. The measures which had been resorted to in consequence of the repeal were the best which could be adopted in the situation of the country. Although they were temporary expedients, yet they brought the country to its present condition, without diminution of credit, without any imputation on character, and without any tax on the necessaries of life. When the property tax had been repealed, a considerable part of its produce had not been recovered. The sums of this description afterwards received contributed very materially to lessen the inconveniences which would otherwise have been felt. The bank, knowing the necessity of preparing for cash-payments, had begun to reduce their issues; but it had been obvious that cash-payments could not be at once resumed. Their treasury had been exhausted during the war, and time had therefore been given to make that preparation which was necessary. During the three years that had elapsed since the peace, no inconvenience had been felt in resorting to the bank. Labour, which had suffered greatly from the restriction of the circulating medium in 1816, was revived by the increase of bank issues to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* and by the issue of exchequer-bills.

But they were now called upon to adopt a more permanent and systematic arrangement, and to ascertain the real amount of income necessary for the expenditure of the country. The resolution which stated the sinking fund to be only 2,000,000*l.* was taken from

from the first report of the finance committee of the present year. But the finance committee had made reports before the revenue had become greater than the expenditure, and their reports extended from that period till now, when the surplus was 2,000,000*l.* The whole history of this progress was to be found in the 11th report of the committee of last parliament, and the first report of the committee of this year. In the first year of peace there was a considerable deficit. In the income for the year ending 5th January, 1817, the expenditure was 54,200,000*l.*, and the income 51,300,000*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 2,900,000*l.* In that same year, too, but for the arrears of the property tax taken into account, we should have had a deficiency of 3,000,000*l.* In the next year (1817) the expenditure had been 52,956,000*l.*, and the income 52,302,000*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 654,000*l.* In 1818 the expenditure had been 52,875,000*l.* and the income 54,563,000*l.* making a surplus of 1,688,000*l.* In the present year the income was calculated at 54,000,000*l.* and the expenditure at 52,018,000*l.* which would make a surplus of nearly 2,000,000*l.* He had now to submit to the house, whether, upon a sinking fund of 2,000,000*l.* they could satisfy the public creditor, preserve the stability and dignity of the country, provide for such emergencies as might arise, and hold out to the public any prospect of the smallest relief from their present burdens. It was, he contended, quite impossible to afford any relief, while our expenditure exceeded 50,000,000*l.*

First of all, then, he would ask the house to consider what they owed to the public creditor. He knew no duty more solemnly and imperiously called for. In 1793 when Mr. Pitt had begun the series of loans which now formed the whole of the national debt, he had arranged that a fund of 1 per cent. should be provided for the reduction of every loan. No obligation could be more sacred than our obligation to provide for the payment of this debt, contracted as it had been for the preservation of the country, and under the sanction of the national faith. His plan, therefore, was to raise the 2,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* without any loan taken into the account. His object was to have a real sinking fund of 5,000,000*l.* The nominal sinking fund was to be reduced 13,000,000*l.*; that sum being proposed to be applied to the service of the present year, instead of a loan to the same amount. Whether this was to be done as authorized by Mr. Fox's bill or by any other means, would claim their consideration afterwards. Not less than 5,000,000*l.* he considered necessary to satisfy the just claims of the public creditor. Hitherto there had been no means of providing 5,000,000*l.* of a real sinking fund. But this sum if now provided, and if allowed to increase as the sinking fund had done from 1786 to 1792, would very rapidly improve from 5,000,000*l.* to 8,000,000*l.*, which would be something more than 1 per cent. of a real fund for the reduction of the public debt. This improvement might be expected, partly from the operation of compound interest, partly from improvements of the revenue, and partly from the increase in value of funded property. He must, however, say, that he

was

was not very sanguine in expecting that funded property would increase in value, when he considered how little it had increased since 1815. He left it to parliament to judge whether the public might be satisfied with this arrangement, and whether a foundation would be laid by it for general improvement. His object, then, was to raise the 2,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* by adding 3,000,000*l.* to our income. The mode of raising this addition could be discussed in detail when the report of the committee of ways and means should come under consideration.

When the house should have come to concur in the general outline, they could minutely consider the particular parts. Those who disapproved of the outline might entertain different opinions of particular parts, and even those who might approve of the general plan, might not approve of every part. All that was essential and important was, that the house should make up its mind for a great effort. When it should have been determined that 3,000,000*l.* must be raised, then it would come to be considered how to apportion this burden on the various classes and commodities, so as to occasion the least possible inconvenience. The first resource which he had in view for raising this sum was the consolidation of taxes. Under this head the article of foreign wool would be subjected to a tax, which was expected to produce 100,000*l.* The remaining part of this branch, including 200,000*l.* under the head of customs, was expected to produce 400,000*l.* The next source was a malt tax. This had been one of the taxes repealed in 1816, and he now was for resorting to that article for a considerable part of the sum required.

The repeal of the war tax upon malt had been expected to benefit agriculture, to increase the revenue, and also to lower the price of beer, a beverage of so much importance to the labouring classes. In all the three points the expectation had wholly failed. Agriculture had experienced no relief; and with respect to the revenue he could state the effect produced. In the last year of the war tax, the quantity consumed was 26,200,000 bushels. In the first year after the reduction of the tax the quantity was only 17,000,000 bushels. It was true that it had been a bad season, and it would be found that it was the variation of seasons, and not any variation in the tax, which occasioned every variation in the consumption of malt. In the next year the consumption was 26,400,000 bushels. But the quantity consumed since 1816 was not at all larger upon an average than before that period. With respect to beer, it was now at as high a price as when the tax was highest upon malt. He proposed, therefore, to lay upon malt, one half of the war duty, that was 1*s.* 2*d.* per bushel. This would afford a justification for the present price of beer, but no justification for a higher price. He here begged to refer to a most important statement in the report of a committee which had inquired into this subject last year. A gentleman of the highest respectability and of the greatest professional experience on the subject—he meant Mr. Barclay—had given evidence that in May last year, malt was 81*s.* per quarter, and

hops 24*l.* to 25*l.* per cwt. At present malt was only 63*s.* per quarter, and hops 8*l.* to 10*l.* per cwt. The brewing of a quarter of malt, which in May last year cost 9*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, would now cost only 6*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* He proposed to take 9*s.* 4*d.* for the public, leaving a difference of 2*l.* 9*s.* in favour of the brewer. From this tax he calculated upon a revenue of 1,400,000*l.* The remaining articles were under the head of customs and excise. The greatest inconveniences had been found to arise from the union of customs and excise, which increased the expenses of both: and the government hoped the greatest improvement, at least they were resolved to try what improvement could be made, by placing this province under one rather than under both. Many articles of our imports were known to be subject to adulteration and fraud. The officers of the revenue had no means of preventing this fraud after the articles had been given out of the warehouse; the excise possessed means of detecting afterwards any adulteration or fraud. The articles proposed to be taxed under this head were tobacco, coffee, tea, and pepper. Such a tax would be imposed upon tobacco as would add 500,000*l.* to the revenue, and still it would, he hoped, be sold cheaper than at present. Coffee would, by an increased tax, yield 130,000*l.* By raising the tax upon tea 4 per cent. that was from 96 to 100, a revenue of 130,000*l.* might be expected. From the proposed tax upon pepper he expected 30,000*l.* These taxes would produce no variation on the consumption of the commodities. At present the utmost vigilance was necessary to prevent adulteration and fraud. That vigilance would, he trusted, be exerted with effect. The temptations would not be increased by this arrangement, and a saving would be produced to the consumer by means of greater and more effectual vigilance being exercised.

One article only remained to be stated. There was one article upon which it was intended to raise the duty, and which he conceived might be done without any inconvenience to the public; at all events the experiment would be one worth trying: it was a tax upon British spirits. This, he calculated, would produce 500,000*l.* The total, then, of the increased taxes would be 3,190,000*l.*; but, making an allowance for incidental deficiencies in collection, he would estimate it at 3,000,000*l.* He would not then go into the detail of each of the articles he had mentioned, as a more proper time would arrive for that purpose; and when it should come, he should be willing to go into any explanation which might be thought necessary. The whole, then, would stand thus:—

The first article was the consolidation of customs; which, including the duty on wool, would amount to	£500,000
The increased duty	
on malt	1,400,000
on British spirits .	500,000
on tobacco . . .	500,000
on coffee and cocoa	130,000
on tea	130,000
on pepper . . .	30,000
Making on the whole . .	£3,190,000

He could not too seriously impress upon the house the necessity of adopting measures which would support

support public credit upon a solid and permanent basis. It should be borne in mind, that for three years resort had been had to temporary expedients, in order to make the income and expenditure meet. It was now, he conceived, full time —having minutely examined into all our sources of income, having inquired into our expenditure (not, he trusted, without effect) so as to see what could be spared consistently with public security, having come to the determination of, and made preparations for, restoring our metallic currency—we should also adopt such measures as would place our revenue upon a sure and permanent footing, to restore a permanent system of taxation. The investigations to which he had alluded had shown all the strength and weakness of the country, at home and abroad. The army of occupation, which had been stationed in France, were recalled, and we had now what might be looked upon as a permanent peace establishment; it was therefore necessary that, with this fixed and settled view of our foreign and domestic situations, we should adopt some regular and permanent system in accordance with them.

In all human probability we might calculate upon a continuance of the pacific relations in which we stood with regard to foreign nations, and of course a continuance of and increase in that improvement which a state of peace brought with it. There might, however, be some little additions to our present amount of expenditure which could not be avoided. For instance, it would be necessary that our militia should not be long without being placed in a state of efficiency. But though this might be looked to on the one hand as in increase, there were circumstances to which we must necessarily look for a decrease of our expenditure. There was the falling in of pensions, and other annual allowances, which would cease with the lives of the present holders, so as to produce a gradual decrease of our expenditure below our income, and of course to add to the sinking fund the sum he had already mentioned of 5,000,000*l.*, by which not only the present loan but the whole debt would be put in a fair process of liquidation. It was true the loan of the present year would increase the amount of the debt beyond the sinking fund; but then it should be considered, that 5,000,000*l.* of it would take up that amount of exchequer bills, and 5,000,000*l.* more would go to the bank.

The total amount of a tax, as to its regular produce, could not be known in the first year; nor could the operations or charge of the loan be exactly ascertained in the same period; but on the whole there was every reason to look forward to a considerable diminution of debt in the next and in every succeeding year. One thing he should look to—it was the decrease of our resources in consequence of what he trusted would be but the temporary stagnation of trade. He admitted that the stagnation already experienced was lamentable; but he had reason to hope, from the recent symptons of improvement, that such stagnation would be found to decrease daily. The improvement in our trade was very considerable down to the 5th of April. In that period there was an increase of 1,000,000*l.*, compared with the corresponding

quarter of last year. From that time down to the 4th of June, there was some diminution, which compared with the corresponding period of the last year amounted to 107,000*l.* or about 2 per cent. upon the whole; but in that period (the similar quarter of last year) there were some extraordinary payments which, if taken into account, would make the diminution of the last quarter appear very small. The right honourable gentleman then went through the items upon which the increase and diminution just mentioned had been founded, but in a manner not distinct enough to be followed. The whole decrease, as he had observed, would be found not to exceed 2 per cent. upon the whole amount. He was not so very sanguine as to say, that there would be immediately any very great improvement, but he did believe that there would not be found any further diminution. The alarm which was recently raised about the approaching resumption of cash-payments had already subsided. It was found that the fears which that measure had created were unfounded, and in consequence industry had returned, and our revenue would be restored.

Having said thus much upon the situation of the country with respect to its resources, and laid before the house the means by which his majesty's ministers had proposed that the revenue should be placed upon a permanent footing, he would not now trouble them further, reserving to himself of course the power of explaining on another occasion any matter upon which such explanation might be required. He could not, however, sit down without saying a few words upon the great responsibility which ministers took upon themselves in proposing new taxes at such a period of peace. He would admit that responsibility, and that it brought with it the strong obligation to the most rigid economy which could be followed consistently with the necessities of the public service. He would fully agree that such economy should be observed, and in order to satisfy the house that it was intended so to be, he was ready with a resolution calling upon the executive government to adhere to it in the strictest sense. The effects of the calls to this effect had been already seen: one of them could not be denied; it was the diminution of expense in the collection and management of the public revenue. Many improvements had been made; and though all that had been suggested could not be carried into effect in the course of the present session, yet such an amelioration might be expected in the course of a little time as would not fail to be productive of the best results. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving (in addition to the former resolutions), "That with a view of accelerating the arrival of that period at which relief may be afforded to the country from a part of its burdens, this house doth confidently expect that a continued and vigilant superintendence shall be exercised over the expenditure of the state in all its several departments, and that a minute investigation shall be instituted into the mode and expense of collection and management in the several branches of the revenue, in order that every reduction

reduction may be made therein which can be effected without detriment to the public interests."

The whole of the resolutions proposed on Thursday were then put from the chair. On the reading of the first,

Mr. Tierney rose. He began by expressing his surprise at the mode which the right honourable gentleman had adopted. After all the reductions which it was said had been made, and all the professions and promises of further economy and retrenchment which the house had heard from him and his colleagues in the course of the present session, he now came, and (proposing new taxes) said, "Do you, house of commons, advise us to be thrifty and economical, and we shall promise to follow your advice most submissively." Why, if the right honourable gentleman thought that they (the ministers) were disposed to retrench as much as possible, did he consider it necessary to call upon the house to advise them to that course? It was in fact, if it had any meaning, an admission that they had not done as much as they should; or that they were unwilling to do more, unless called upon by the house. He would not now follow the right honourable gentleman through the resolutions. Indeed, the first two he did not understand. It might be owing to his own dulness, but he could not see what bearing they had upon those with which the right honourable gentleman had concluded. He would not stop to inquire into the question whether the abolition of the property tax was a blessing or a curse; nor would he follow the right honourable gentleman into the nature of the new taxes he had proposed; but, in the few observations he had to make to the house, would confine himself to the abstract question of the three millions of new taxes in the fifth year of peace. He was not making an objection to the principle of increased taxation, whenever that should be required by the urgent necessities of the state. Whenever such period had arrived, or should arrive, he was and would still be prepared to take his share of unpopularity in supporting them.

But he objected to this taxation, and to the mode in which it was to be carried into effect. Here the right honourable gentleman read the first 2 or 3 of the resolutions, and continued—He could not exactly comprehend how these two bore upon the question before the house. But it seemed to him, that after all the vapouring about the sinking fund, after all that had been said about its inviolability, and the confidence which its existence inspired in the public creditor, we now had this melancholy fact—that ministers were driven to a direct breach of faith with that public creditor. All the assurances which he had formerly made were now, it seemed, lost sight of, and the public were to forget them as if they had never been made. The right honourable gentleman had once said that he looked to the promises of Mr. Pitt with respect to the sinking fund; he should refer back to what his own opinions were upon the subject in (we believe) 1813. He had then argued, that it would be dangerous to touch the sinking fund;

that it would so lessen the interest of money, that God only knew what would become of the country, or what it would do with its surplus capital. Since then, however, 5,600,000*l.* had been taken from this fund for the benefit of the country. It was said, that great advantages would arise therefrom; but now, when those advantages were expected to be derived, the right honourable gentleman turned round and said, "There is an end of any such advantage. The sinking fund, after all, is in fact only 2,000,000*l.*, and parliament must make it 5,000,000*l.*, in order to make some provision for the future payment of the debt." This he (Mr. Tierney) conceived to be unfair to the stockholder. It was holding out to the country that 3,000,000*l.* were to be raised for his (the stockholder's) benefit. On the part of the stockholder, he should contend that this was unfair dealing. The plain truth should be acknowledged, and it should not be made appear that a measure to which their own extravagant neglect had driven ministers was resorted to merely for his (the stockholder's) advantage. The stockholder had a right to complain that the original principle was lost sight of. It was first agreed that the whole debt might be redeemed in 45 years. But now we had a debt of 800,000,000*l.*, and even at one per cent. (the usual allowance on loans) it would require a sinking fund of 8,000,000*l.* to go to meet that on the old principle. Admitting even that this sum were applicable at present, the 45 years originally spoken of could only be reckoned from the present time. This, however, could not now be looked for; there was only a sum which it required the aid of parliament to bring up to 5,000,000*l.* So that now, in the fifth year of peace, we were to go on with a debt of 800,000,000*l.*, with a sinking fund of 5,000,000*l.*; and to supply that, and make both ends meet for the present, we were to have 3,000,000*l.* of new taxes; and this we were told to look to as our permanent peace establishment. It was bad enough in the right honourable gentleman to tax, but it was worse that he should laugh at the country; and, in fact, no man could do so more than he did, when he described as a flourishing state of our finances, a debt of 800,000,000*l.* and a sinking fund of 5,000,000*l.*

He hoped he should not be understood to say, that in a situation of difficulty we should be obliged to construe the act respecting the sinking fund according to its strict letter. The country, no doubt, was to be considered, with its present great (and, as he conceived, unnecessary) expenditure. Some allowance, he would not deny, should be made for the unfortunate situation to which we had been reduced. In that broken down condition, he would not say that ministers should not yield to the difficulties which surrounded them; but then it was too much to hear them boast of the prosperity of the country, as if they entertained no idea of its present situation, or felt no sense of shame for their own past errors. The right honourable gentleman's language was this—"Here I come again with my old proud prancing periods; give me but 3,000,000*l.* more, and depend upon

upon it, all shall be right, happy and agreeable for the future." Before a single farthing of such a sum was granted to him, he thought that he (the chancellor of the exchequer) ought to state what he had done with the many millions which had previously been voted. He had indeed promised the nation, that it should have indemnity for the past, and security for the future; but it was a strange indemnity, and a still stranger security, to infix upon it 3,000,000*l.* of additional taxes in the fifth year of peace. Was it too much, under such circumstances, for him to ask the house to pause before they determined —to deliberate before they resolved? Was it too much for him to demand of them to examine how this sum had been advanced, and that had been withdrawn? Was it too much for him to bid them doubt of the efficacy of his panacea, which was now to be applied to all their distresses and to all their grievances? It was using a pretty phrase to say, "Give us 3,000,000*l.* more, and you shall have prosperity in future;" but unfortunately there was neither truth nor meaning in it. The measures which were now recommended to the house were such as could not be gratifying to the stockholder, as they held him up as a fit object for public odium. He thought it right to state this, because he had heard it said that the stockholder was now going to reap a noble harvest. Persons who used this language had quite forgotten that the stockholders had suffered much amid the late difficulties and distresses, and were therefore not the most proper persons in the world to be pointed out to their countrymen as men who were fattening upon the miseries of the nation.

This was, perhaps, an unnecessary digression, and if it was so, he should do wisely in leaving it with all expedition. He should therefore advert to that resolution of the right honourable gentleman which stated, that it was absolutely necessary that there should be a clear surplus of the clear income of the country beyond its expenditure of not less than 5,000,000*l.* Now he (Mr. Tierney) did not say so: the surplus might be more, or it might be less; but whichever it was, he could not agree to it after the hurried manner in which the chancellor of the exchequer had wished to entrap the approbation of the house. He protested again and again that he could not say that there ought to be a surplus of 5,000,000*l.* in order to provide for the exigencies of the public service, or to make such a progressive reduction of the national debt as was likely to afford to the country a prospect of future relief from its present burdens. As he could not say this, he should move the previous question, and not a negative, upon these resolutions; and he should move it upon this ground, that it would give to the house more time to consider them. The last proposition of the right honourable gentleman was this—"That it is expedient now to increase the income of the country by the imposition of taxes to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* per annum." The right honourable gentleman must forgive him if he raised his voice most loudly against these

3,000,000*l.* of new taxes. He could not figure to himself how the imposition of such a burden was to be reconciled with the boasts which had been made of the increasing prosperity of the country. The right honourable gentleman apologized for his not having apprized the house of the necessity of making it sooner, by saying, that he had waited to see the report of the secret committees on the affairs of the bank; he did not see in what manner this reason accounted for the reluctance to submit it to their consideration, especially as he (the chancellor of the exchequer) had at last thought fit to ask them for 3,000,000*l.*, when it was a grand question to determine what even a pound sterling was. The currency was now in the very act of being reduced to a proper standard of value; and the right honourable gentleman, like most new converts, always running into extremes, now apprehended great danger from that very measure in which he formerly would not allow that there was any. He himself, and the friends with whom he had the honour of acting, had always said, that a great pressure would follow such a reduction, because the alteration in the value of money was in itself a tax of no light or trifling nature. He did not mean to blame this alteration; on the contrary, he thought that it had already done essential good to the country; but still it was in the nature of a tax, because if a man's income was reduced, he could not pay the same nominal taxes out of it, without encroaching considerably upon the number of his conveniencies.

The honourable gentleman then desired the house to look at the situation in which the country was placed. The right honourable gentleman had himself admitted the complete stagnation of our trade; whether he admitted it or no was very immaterial, since nothing was to be heard from one end of the country to the other, except the distress in which all classes of our manufacturers were plunged. The petitions which the house had received from the agricultural part of the community clearly proved that their fortunes were not in a much more flourishing state than those of the manufacturer; whilst the complaints which they were now daily and hourly receiving regarding the heaviness of the poor-rates showed that the evil was not confined to particular districts, but spread far and wide throughout the whole nation: and yet what was the answer that the house was making every 24 hours to these expressions of misery and distress? Why, the answer was, "We will impose upon you 3,000,000*l.* of additional taxes." Were the people of England stocks or stones, that they could be expected to endure such treatment? Could there be any thing more galling to them than to hear that, while they were enduring the severest labours to gain a scanty and precarious subsistence, his majesty's ministers had found out, that the only true, sound, and legitimate remedy for their distress, was to tax them a little more? The right honourable gentleman opposite was even now saying to them, "You have not been taxed enough; I have taken 18,000,000*l.* of taxes from off your shoulders, but I ought to have left them on; you would then

then have been much happier than you now are; and in order to restore you to a part of that happiness which you have lost, I will give you back again one-sixth of the taxes which I had taken off." This was a kind of reasoning which, however it might be glossed over within the walls of that house, would be seen in all its full absurdity out of doors. In spite of the flourishing speeches of the noble lord, and the glowing language of the prince regent himself, the people will not believe the country to be prosperous, especially when 3,000,000*l.* of new taxes are to be added among the stock of its prosperity. As a stockholder himself, he would rather leave the sinking fund at 2,000,000*l.* than have it raised to 5,000,000*l.* on the terms now proposed: this was a mere opinion of his own, and his reason for entertaining it was, that he should thus be released from a strong odium, to which he should otherwise be perpetually subjected. Besides, what difference was there to the stockholder, practically speaking, whether he had a sinking fund of 2,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.*? The 10,000,000*l.* were gone for ever, and would be applied from time to time to the service of the year. He lamented that we were driven to such a breach of faith, but we were driven to it by a sad and now an inevitable necessity. It might therefore be a fair question for any one to ask, In what way were our finances to be again put upon a fair footing? To such a question he would reply, that there were only three methods—a constant application to the sinking fund; an imposition of new taxes; or, what he thought better than both, a reform and retrenchment in every department of state.

He maintained, that the house had no right to impose a single tax upon the country, until it had shown that a reduction had been made in every establishment which could be reduced; and that it had no right to goad and irritate the people by new imposts, until it had shown them that there was no other resource to which it could apply consistently with either the safety or the credit of the nation. But he supposed that some of the gentlemen on the opposite benches would say to him, "I know you talk grandly on economy; but can you point out any reductions by which a large sum can be saved to the public?" He would reply to these interrogatories by answering, that he believed that such reductions might be pointed out; and by expressing his firm conviction, that an administration which made economy their object might save at least 1,000,000*l.* to the country. The right honourable gentleman had now begun to discover, that some diminution of expense might be effected by a different mode of collecting the revenue; but he was sorry to say that he did not much trust in his discoveries. The noble lord, too, when he moved for the appointment of the committee of finance, had said that this should be the last year of its sitting. This had not much the appearance of economy, especially when it was recollected how that committee had discharged its duties. Had that committee examined into the nature of any public offices, except those connected with the army and ordnance? Had it ever

ever attempted to probe matters to the very bottom, as had been done in that committee over which their late speaker (lord Colchester) and another honourable gentleman in his eye (Mr. Bankes) had so ably presided? No, nothing like it: every thing that came from that committee came in a round-about way from the ministers themselves; just as if it were an offence for any body but themselves to say that ministers were to be trusted in matters of economy. All the great reductions which had been made had literally been forced upon them. The transition from war to peace had indeed obtained for us a less numerous army, and a less navy (and if ministers had not made a reduction in both, they could not have walked the streets in quiet); but in the expenses of the establishments necessary for their regulation, no reduction whatever had been voluntarily made. When the army estimates were before the house, he had said that it would be impossible for him to point out each item that was improper, or to say what might be saved here and what there; but still he maintained that a large reduction ought, and with proper attention might be easily effected. It was for the principle of economy that he combated, and against that principle ministers as vehemently contended. His friends had tried them upon the question of the two lords of the admiralty. These lords had only 1,000*l.* a-piece, so that the saving which they had proposed only amounted to 2,000*l.* per annum; this, it was said, was scarce worth talking about: he allowed it, but maintained that the principle on which the reduction was founded was invaluable. Good speeches might be made in defence of these two lords, by those who had even less ability than those who usually defended them; but it was not a good speech that would satisfy the country on such a subject; nothing would do except economy.

The honourable member then adverted to the magnitude of our military establishments, which, if they were not reduced speedily, would end in our total ruin. Much had been said of the imposing attitude which we preserved towards Europe: he wished to know which of these two attitudes was the most imposing—to keep up a large army whose expenses we could not pay, or a small army whose expenses we could pay, and whose numbers we could increase whenever we chose or had occasion for them. But then it was hard, very hard, to part with a little patronage: yet before they taxed the meanest beggar in the country, he had a right to say to them, "Show me that you have avoided all unnecesary expenditure." But this his majesty's ministers could not show, because they had been guilty of the most profuse extravagance. They had maintained an army which was too large both for the safety of the country and of the constitution, and had then made it an argument for increasing our ordnance establishments, because a large army always required a large ordnance. To compensate, however, for this increase, they had made great reductions in the navy; greater reductions, indeed, never had been made in it than were made at present, and the reason of it was this

this—our navy officers could not bow and scrape as well as the officers of our army, nor play off with equal agility the tricks and artifices of skilful courtiers. And yet, as our navy could stand our guard when our army could not, the reduction ought not to have been so disproportionate in the two services. Low as it had been made in the one, he thought that it ought to be made still lower in the other; and if the noble lord's assertion be true, that we are likely to continue at peace with all the world, let him show us his belief of it by another reduction in our military establishments. The army, however, was not the only department of our expenditure in which great savings might soon be accomplished. The expenses of many of our colonies might be diminished; a consolidation of offices under the revenue might take place, and the office of a third secretary of state, as he (Mr. Tierney) had once proposed, might be entirely abolished. Indeed, he saw no more reason for a third secretary of state than he did for a third archbishop. The necessity of a board of control might also be taken into consideration. Indeed, the affairs of Ceylon and the Mauritius rather belonged to the office of a noble lord than to the office in which they were at present transacted. Might not it also be advisable to look at the horse-guards, and to consider the necessity of having a secretary-at-war in a time of profound peace? It might be uncomfortable for honourable gentlemen to hear of such reductions, but it was scarcely less uncomfortable for him to come forward and advocate the necessity of making them. He had much rather live at ease in the country, and see gentlemen at the head of large establishments indulging the hospitality of their tempers in feasting and revelry, than propose such retrenchment as he now felt it his duty to propose; he had as good a turn for the luxuries of this world as any member on the opposite benches; but still as they had now been prancing for many years, and as the bill was brought in, it was fit that they should pay it, and "pay it you shall," said the honourable member, addressing them, "if aught I can say has any weight or influence in this house." "But then," say the supporters of the present system, "if these reductions are made, no administration can possibly stand." He maintained, that any administration which owed its continuance in power to such support as this extravagance supplied ought not to stand for a single moment; and added, that no administration could be strong in public opinion except that which took care that every farthing of money exacted from the public was expended in real and not in nominal services. These observations were forced upon his mind by the actual state of the country, which was so melancholy that every sacrifice ought to be made by those in power previous to any application for new taxes. But it was now argued, that though the present measure was one of the strongest necessity, the country had such confidence in his majesty's present advisers as not to have any objection to acceding to it. He would allow that the division which had taken place on the motion submitted by him to the house the other night upon the state of the nation, was

such

such as to show that the house had the most implicit confidence in the noble lord and right honourable gentleman opposite; he would allow that they were the best, the wisest, the most economical, and the most consistent ministers that could be found in the country; yet still, allowing all the merit that was due to that overpowering majority, he must say that, if his motion had been carried, they would have been doing on the 18th May what they were now proceeding to do on the 7th June. The right honourable gentleman opposite says, "A great saving in the collection of the revenue can be effected; leave it to me, and be assured that I will accomplish it." With all due deference to him (the chancellor of the exchequer), he (Mr Tierney) would not leave it to him: as soon as he did leave it to him, there would be a long farewell to all economy and retrenchment. But when the right honourable gentleman promised retrenchment, it was only right perhaps to ask, for what was all this retrenchment to be made? For the sinking fund? But if he had not been economical for the people of England, was it likely that he would become so for the sinking fund? The strongest excitement which he and his colleagues could have to economy would be a reluctance on the part of the house in granting the supplies if the exhibition of that reluctance could be made without occasioning a pressure on the people. For his own part, he (Mr. Tierney) was sure that if they had the money given them, the country would hear no more about their economy till they had occasion to apply for some again; for he was certain, that in their natures they abhorred economy, and that they never would practise it unless it were forced upon them in future, as it had been forced upon them in the past. Whenever and wherever they had resorted to it, they had resorted to it to stifle what they called the clamour and impatience of the populace; and had never made any reductions voluntarily, except those which were occasioned by the transition from war to peace. He again repeated his assertion, that by a careful attention to our expenditure, 1,000,000*l.* might be annually saved to the country. Our situation, though one of difficulty, ought to be looked fairly in the face; we might want taxes, but we ought to try every expedient before we resorted to new ones. There was the sinking fund—of which it would be better to take the whole, than to leave 2,000,000*l.* and add 3,000,000*l.* in taxes. One thing extraordinary in the conduct of the ministry was, that they did not come forward with an acknowledgment of their errors. He had himself doubted of the necessity of the last war, when it was originally commenced; and now that the heat and passion which prevailed at its commencement had subsided, he still retained the same doubts: but whether that war was necessary or not, the profusion with which it had been carried on was quite unparalleled; he had no hesitation in saying that it might have been concluded at half the expense by which it was concluded. He therefore asked the ministry to confess the embarrassment by which they were surrounded. They had indeed said, that during the last three years something awk-

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ward had happened, but that was the severest term which they could be induced to apply to the distresses of the country. He again repeated, that great reductions must be made, if the government wished to render the taxes at all palatable; and concluded his speech by observing, that he should not say any thing at that time regarding the particular taxes which it was proposed to levy, as his objection was to the levying of new taxes at all. He then moved the previous question, and sat down amid long and loud cheers from both sides of the house.

Lord Castlereagh would not trouble the house at any great length on the present occasion, because the real question to be discussed was contained in a very narrow compass. There were three considerations upon which it rested; the first was, whether the country, under its present circumstances, was necessitated to make any financial efforts at all; the second was, the magnitude of those efforts; and the third, the time when those efforts ought to be made, if it should be judged necessary to make them at all. Before he entered upon these subjects, he must make a few observations on what he must style the preliminary remarks of the right honourable gentleman opposite. The burden of the right honourable gentleman's song all the evening had been, "I have no confidence that the ministers of the crown will dispose of the supplies in a proper manner, and I therefore call upon the crown to dismiss them." This was all natural in the right honourable gentleman; he could not help feeling sore upon the division against him on a former evening, and angry at the members who had swollen the numbers against him. He could assure those gentlemen that they were already registered in the right honourable gentleman's black book, and that they could never purge themselves in his (Mr. Tierney's) opinion of the guilt which they contracted by voting with ministers; no, not even by voting against them on the present occasion. The right honourable gentleman had said, that if they had voted with him on a former evening, they would have discussed on the 18th of May what they were now discussing on the 7th of June. With due deference to him, that was not correct: if he had succeeded in his motion of the other evening, the crown must have looked out for other ministers; and, in that case, he (lord Castlereagh) was inclined to think that the right honourable gentleman, with all the dangerous responsibility which he had described as likely to attach to any person who now took up the reins of administration, and with all the ill-health, which no man could regret more sincerely than he did, that the right honourable gentleman was subject to, would not have been able to prove himself so efficient a minister as to enter so soon upon the duties of his office.

The noble lord then maintained that the present administration had proceeded with the utmost rapidity in making all the economical arrangements in their power, especially in the army, navy, and ordnance departments; and argued that it was not fair to accuse them of extravagance, because they had thought it requisite to retain the two lords of the admiralty, against

against whom such loud and violent declamation had been lately uttered. Indeed, these two lords of the admiralty were always used as a stalking-horse wherewith to frighten ministers; whilst, on the other hand, the reduction of them was always the nostrum recommended by gentlemen opposite to remove the grievances of the country. The right honourable gentleman had also protested against the finance committee, and in every case where the committee had not been nominated by himself, had represented it as a grievance. When that committee was originally appointed, he (lord Castlereagh) had said that the house would see whether the government were not willing to carry the principle of reform as far as was possible. He would merely refer to their conduct in regard to drawbacks and bounties in the collection of the revenue. In fact, in a future session it would be the duty of the committee of finance to charge itself with the important subject of drawbacks and bounties.

His lordship was also disposed to complain a little of some of the other preliminary observations of the right honourable gentleman, and particularly of those which were intended to convey a false impression into the country. Surely this attempt was not only unworthy of the high station which the right honourable gentleman held in the house, and of his great knowledge upon subjects of this nature; but very nearly half of his address had been employed in insinuating alarm into the minds of public creditors, that ministers were meditating a breach of faith; that the object of the proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer was the destruction of the sinking fund as established by Mr. Pitt, and afterwards modified by parliament. Yet nothing could be more unfounded than such a supposition. Nothing like an invasion of the sinking fund had been contemplated. The arrangement of to-night was perfectly consistent with its perfect existence; for the resolution was simply to put into operation the clause which Mr. Fox himself had introduced. Such however had been the right honourable gentleman's impetuosity of blame, such had been his determination to find fault at all events, and to harangue about economy, that he could scarcely allow the chancellor of the exchequer to open his plan before he rose to object to it. Yet when truly viewed, it was in principle the very measure which an honourable gentleman (Mr. Grenfell) had brought forward on a previous night, but which he had not dared to press to a division; and which was then premature, because it was the wholesome practice of parliament not to pledge ministers upon any particular details, until the whole of their system had been duly digested. His lordship was persuaded that not a single observation had fallen from his right honourable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) in the course of the session, that was inconsistent with the perfect operation of the sinking fund act, and of the clause that bore the name of the individual by whom it was proposed. At the same time, ministers did not mean to assert that the provisions of that act at all times, and under all circumstances, could be literally executed: and here the right honourable gentleman had introduced

introduced what every stockholder knew as well as himself, that if it were to go to the extremity of accumulation, far from being to the interest of the public creditor, it would be destructive of his property, and of the other property of the country in general. There would arrive a period when parliament must look at the interests of all parties, and perhaps put a stop to the accumulation of the sinking fund for the national benefit and security. His lordship therefore protested against the misrepresentations which the right honourable gentleman had attempted, and from which his own better knowledge ought to have repelled him.

The first question which the country ought to look at in a fearless and a manly way was, whether it ought to be satisfied with its financial situation in time of peace; or whether some effort ought not to be made to enable it to meet the burdens of a new war, should such calamity unfortunately visit it? This was a subject of immense magnitude—a subject independent of all parties, and of all party interests; and "I conjure you (said his lordship, with great warmth) not to suffer any feeling of respect for the government, if such exist, to divert you from the strict discharge of your duty. If you do not in your conscience believe that the existing government can be trusted—if you think them incompetent in talent or in prudence, or in honesty, you owe it to your own character, to the best interests of the state, to the great nation whose representatives you are, not to hesitate a moment in carrying that opinion to the foot of the throne, and to call for the dismissal of those individuals you hold unworthy of their stations. I should hold that the government was indeed degraded; that it was indeed unworthy of the confidence of the prince who has so long trusted it, of the people who have so long relied upon it, if, after the expression of such an opinion, it were base enough for a moment to continue in office: if the house refused ministers its support, if it denied them the means of conducting the affairs of the kingdom, they ought instantly to retire to make way for others, in whose favour the wishes and hopes of the country were united. I conjure gentlemen not to trifle or tamper with this mighty question; let them put government wholly out of their view, and let them decide upon the broad and substantial merits, not upon any consideration of who may or who may not be in power; the question is not between ministers and their antagonists, it is between parliament and the country—between the representatives and their constituents; and it would be disgraceful to the house if at such a time as this it could at all contemplate party interests and political motives. I say, and I say it with all humility that as servants of the crown we should be unworthy of our stations, if while parliament withheld the means, we still persisted in retaining the reins of government: we claim to be armed with weapons to meet the difficulties and dangers of the state; and if we are not to be intrusted with them, we are willing to resign to more favoured, perhaps more able, but not more zealous champions."

His lordship went on to contend that a saving of 2,000,000*l.* annually

annually was not sufficient to enable the country to meet with firmness the shock of a future war. The right honourable gentleman had taunted him with opinions he (lord Castlereagh) had expressed early in the session. His lordship would not retract one iota of what he had then advanced, not because he was ashamed to do so if truth would warrant him, but because all he had asserted had been borne out by subsequent inquiry. He had asserted, from 2,000,000*l.* to 2,500,000*l.* to be the surplus of the revenue, and the report of the finance committee corroborated the statement. He had maintained that the country was in a state of prosperity, and he was willing to rest the confirmation solely upon the evidence of the honourable member for Lancaster. He had also contended that there was a fair prospect of further improvement; and who had ventured to contradict him? His lordship was not at all disposed to deny that retrenchments could be made in quarters not yet examined; but taking it on the right honourable gentleman's own showing, that a million could be gained, it was still clear that the measures now proposed were necessary for future safety. Yet the right honourable gentleman had contented himself, as usual, with broad and bold assertion, and he had not condescended to fix upon a single item from which economy could be produced. His lordship insisted that the country ought not to be satisfied with its financial situation: it was a clear proposition of state policy, that no country could be considered safe which did not in time of peace make such a progressive reduction of its debt as would enable it to meet the hazard of a future war: the burdens of one war ought not to be allowed to accumulate on those of another, until the vessel of the state became, as it were, waterlogged, without a chance of reaching port, and dreading destruction from every approaching wave. It was the duty of the house, therefore, without the slightest delay to take such measures as would reduce the debt to such limits as might be deemed, under all the circumstances, expedient.

The proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer was not intended merely to favour the stockholder; it was to benefit the nation at large, which could not be secure until the debt had been reduced. This process ought to be begun with not less than 5,000,000*l.* progressively ascending to 8,000,000*l.*; leaving it to the wisdom of parliament to decide, whether it was fit that the accumulation should continue further, or whether the still growing surplus should operate a remission of taxation in favour of the people. After such a war, and such enormous financial exertions, some limits ought unquestionably to be putt to the burdens of the people; but if the argument of the right honourable gentleman meant any thing, it meant that the effort now recommended was too insignificant. Did he mean to countenance the notion, which no man the most ignorant of the subject, who had one clear idea on the subject of finance, would support, that 15,000,000*l.* instead of 5,000,000*l.* should be annually operating the reduction of the debt? If it did amount to that, unquestionably the first act of parliament ought

to

to be to diminish that sinking fund, which would be in truth most injurious to the whole property of the kingdom. If the dispute were as to time and amount, and not as to tax or no tax (for that was conceded), then came the question, whether 5,000,000*l.* were the proper sum to be named; and examining the details, it might be found that there was a peculiar claim upon the house to impose taxes at the present moment. The consolidated fund, looking at the charges upon and the sums payable out of it, never stood in a situation like the present: and when the right honourable gentleman spoke of breaches of faith, he might properly and fairly have argued, that parliament would have been guilty of a breach of faith to the pubic creditor, if it had not taken some steps upon the subject; for at present there were not assignable ways and means to pay the public creditor, and to provide for the sinking fund out of it. In this view, if the chancellor of the exchequer had called upon the house for less than 3,000,000*l.* he would not have done his duty, with a view to rendering the consolidated fund equal to the burdens it had to sustain. There was now no surplus upon it which the chancellor of the exchequer, as formerly, could bring forward for the current expenses; and by the union of the exchequers of Great Britain and Ireland an additional weight had been laid upon it of not less than 4,300,000*l.* If then it were true, according to the right honourable gentleman, that 5,000,000*l.* were too little, and that 8,000,000*l.* were scarcely enough; and if it were true that 1,000,000*l.* might be spared in other ways; and, according to another honourable gentleman, great savings effected on drawbacks and bounties, what did it prove, but that the relief which the plan contemplated would be much sooner attained?

Then came the serious question, when the reduction of the national debt should cease, how far the anxiety of the people to be relieved from taxes ought to be attended to; and how far the forebodings, perhaps justifiable, of an approaching war ought to be allowed to operate a still further diminution until the threatening cloud should have blown over? His lordship should consider the nation in a proud situation in point of finance, with a sinking fund of 8,000,000*l.* and an almost inexhaustible reserve of 15,000,000*l.* in the shape of a property tax, should the threats of a daring enemy and the dangers of the kingdom render it necessary for ministers to call upon parliament for a renewal of that mighty source of revenue. However unwilling a minister might be upon points of speculative policy to call for this aid, yet his lordship confided on the energy and wisdom of the nation to grant it, should a case of necessity arise. It had already consented to the sacrifice on the return of Buonaparte from Elba; and he did not doubt that, should a new expensive war visit the country, the government would again be armed with this massive and impregnable shield.

Starting then at 5,000,000*l.*, some assurance might be felt, that at no distant period the produce of the sinking fund might be applied to the diminution of the taxes; and what were called the dead expenses of the country, in pensions, &c. to the army and navy,

would probably be annually reduced to the amount of 150,000*l.* What might be the growth of the revenue, it would be idle to speculate; but not to entertain sanguine hopes would be to belie the result of all experience. It was of course liable to fluctuations; but it had always upon the whole gradually and sometimes rapidly ascended, and it was undeniable that its natural tendency was to augment. Upon this and other points his lordship was by no means gloomy in his expectations; and he agreed with the right honourable gentleman that it would be highly satisfactory, if by the influence of a large sum upon the market, and other favourable circumstances, the funds were so raised that the 5 per cents. or 4 per cents. could be paid off. His lordship saw the less reason to despair of witnessing this epoch in our history, from a recurrence to the year 1792, when the 3 per cents. were nearly at par; and now with a sinking fund of 5,000,000*l.* in the first instance, gradually increasing, there seemed little room for melancholy reflection. It was not to be forgotten that before the end of the war the people had borne 18,000,000*l.* of taxes, which they had not since been called upon to sustain; they had borne them, not without some degree of suffering, but, unquestionably, without any diminution of the general prosperity: therefore, when government now proposed only to revive 3,000,000*l.* of these taxes, it placed a firm reliance on the courage as well as on the wisdom of the nation, which was always not more anxious to see than to meet its difficulties; it only required to have them pointed out, and means of removing them were afforded without reluctance. Then, said the right honourable gentleman, what a set of wretched ministers those must be who did not come earlier, who kept the secret until so near the end of the session! The house, however, had been repeatedly told, that the most proper time to meet the difficulty was when its nature and extent could be best ascertained. Ministers had always professed to look forward to a period when it might be necessary for them to make a new effort of taxation; and as to the time for this call, his lordship fairly avowed, that, except for particular circumstances, it might have been made with more advantage at the beginning of the next session than at the present moment. An examination of the affairs of the bank had, however, been deemed requisite, and that had led to a general view of the financial state of the country.

Having thus sifted the difficulties to the bottom, his lordship most egregiously mistook the temper of the people, if it would have been possible for ministers to prorogue parliament, without touching and attempting to remove them: if they had yielded to any wish for postponement, they would indeed have met parliament next year with merited reproach and ignominy: then indeed the right honourable gentleman might have launched out against those who had allowed the country to brew and ferment upon its embarrassed situation—who had permitted the difficulties to accumulate, to heat, and ultimately to endanger the prosperity of the realm, perhaps without the hope of a remedy. How would the public mind have been inflamed if the discussion of

future

future taxes had been left to county and town meetings! How would the evils have been exaggerated by mistaken views of policy, not separable from the debates in parliament—not separable even from the enlightened speeches of the right honourable gentleman! Ministers would not have been able to pass a very pleasant summer, if, instead of submitting the great subject to the great council of the nation, they had listened to the advice of the right honourable gentleman to allow it first to be decided in parish meetings and village conventions. The right honourable gentleman would not elevate himself very much in the opinions of sensible men by recommending this system of parochial legislation. After all, there was no proposition so difficult to be argued as one that was self-evident; and so obvious was the course that ministers had pursued, that few but the right honourable gentleman could be found to complain of it. The right honourable gentleman had stated, that he could have no confidence in a government that introduced this question at this time; but his lordship, on the contrary, thought that even the right honourable gentleman would be a safer minister than one who would allow the country to go through a feverish summer in fretful deliberations upon the point whether new taxes would or would not be proposed in the ensuing session.

His lordship thought that he had now occupied quite as much time as was necessary upon a matter so plain to all that were disposed to see: the question merely resolved itself into this point—Ought the country to be satisfied with its financial situation? The right honourable gentleman himself was far from being satisfied upon it: he seemed to hold out a prospect that he would have made a much greater effort; that instead of 3 millions of taxes, if he had been minister, he would have proposed 10 millions. His advice upon this and some other subjects might be very good, but his lordship doubted whether the country would be willing to pay the additional 7,000,000*l.* to obtain it. His whole speech went to show, that ministers ought to be turned out of their places, because they did not propose 10,000,000*l.*: at all events, an effort ought to be made. The present government thought 3,000,000*l.* sufficient, and they had also thought it better to submit it to parliament rather than to the provinces. The next point was, Was the present the fit time for making an exertion? Upon that his lordship wished to join issue, and he was as little apprehensive for the result as he had been on a former night, when the voluntary confidence of the house had exceeded even his most sanguine expectations. Then it was that the grand question, for which the other side had so long waited, was decided, and when the house of commons had had the courage to declare by its vote, that it placed more reliance on the measures of ministers than on the speeches of their antagonists.

Mr. Brougham was quite ready to meet the noble lord on the ground where he had planted himself: he had undoubtedly put this most important of all questions to a fair and intelligible issue; and it was simply this: Whether at this particular moment it was fit that

the house of commons should give its assent to a motion for raising 3,000,000*l.* of taxes from the pockets of the people to be placed at the disposal of the existing government. It was certainly possible to contemplate a period at which parliament might be justified in entertaining such a proposition; but he entreated every gentleman calmly and dispassionately to reflect, whether he could make up his mind to vote that that period had arrived; or whether, on the contrary, recent measures had not put a bar to the consideration. He would first endeavour to set right his right honourable friend in the eyes of those who had been present only while the noble lord was speaking, and who contrived with some ingenuity, but with very little regard to correctness, to misrepresent the address of the right honourable gentleman who had preceded him: there was nothing in the spirit, purport, or analogy of the speech of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) which could warrant for a moment the gross perversions to which it had been subjected. The first mis-statement was as to the time when new taxation might be necessary. He (Mr. Tierney) had not said that the time had arrived, but that it might arrive; but he went so far even as to assert, that he did not think it would arrive; yet the noble lord had not scrupled to assume that he (Mr. Tierney) had admitted the whole question, by allowing the immediate necessity of increased taxation. An imputation had been thrown out against his right honourable friend, of raising a clamour against all taxes whatever; but his right honourable friend had said, "Don't let it be supposed that I mean to make these objections against taxes generally; that I mean to contend, that at no time, and under no circumstances, may additional taxation be imposed upon the country; but this is not the time." The time might arrive when, refreshed by a long interval of peace, and by those habits of industry which always together induced such a consequence, that accumulation of capital might take place which might put her in a more advantageous situation. A time might arrive when the people should have enjoyed that repose, that just and necessary repose, which they had so nobly earned, which they were so richly entitled to, by their sufferings, their blood, and their toil; by their patience under those sufferings, by their constant and devoted attachment to the interests of their country, and still more by their firm resistance to all those attempts which had been made to seduce them from their duty;—the time might arrive when, thus situated, they would stand in a different relation to such a proposition: but now to interrupt their short breathing time, in their present exhausted state, was not only most indecent, but, to use a still stronger term, was a most atrocious attempt to increase the oppressive burdens of a people thus suffering, patient, and deserving. If any one had only heard the noble lord's statement on the present occasion, he must have supposed that his right honourable friend had been contending that these 3,000,000*l.* were not sufficient, and that instead of them he wanted not less than ten millions. It had puzzled him to account

account for the noble lord's former misunderstanding; but just now he caught, as it were, a glimmering of the reason why the noble lord had here so mistaken, or, to express himself in a parliamentary sense, mis-stated the reasoning of his right honourable friend; but he protested against any mode of reasoning which could give the noble lord a right to assume that the right honourable member had said that 3,000,000*l.* were too little, and had only objected, because the sum was not rather ten millions.

There was another thing which, in justice to himself and his right honourable friend, he must take notice of. It was said that nothing could be more unfair than for him (Mr. Tierney) to oppose a plan which was, in fact, a leaf taken out of their (the opposition's) book. But the right honourable member's objection was to one point, and the noble lord's to another. His right honourable friend did not accord with this plan, inasmuch as it took a large part of the sinking fund away, so as to leave but just a sum which it was proposed to increase to 5,000,000*l.*; a new sinking fund, of that magical amount and number which had been so often repeated, and which, it would seem, was not to be exceeded. He (Mr. Tierney) had said to his majesty's ministers, "You have at last spoken out; you have at length told the country truly, that they have no real sinking fund but 2,000,000*l.*, and that liable to the services of the year." The whole gist of his right honourable friend's argument was this—that in consequence of the present pressure, and of the direful and insuperable necessity which resulted from it, they would be compelled to break faith with the stockholders, inasmuch as a new sinking fund was to be given them; whereas, they had lent their money on the notion, at the time, that there existed a sinking fund of 15,000,000*l.*, and which, but for the operation of 1813, would have been now 21,000,000*l.*

There was another question which the noble lord did not like, because it was quite impossible for him to lose himself in those loose and vague surmises in which he so much delighted. In the year 1786, a sinking fund was created of 1 million, to which 200,000*l.* were afterwards added, making altogether 1,200,000*l.* In 1792 the appropriation of so much of every loan to this fund was determined on, which gave an assurance that at the end of 45 years from the period of each loan's being contracted it would be extinguished by the operation of the sinking fund. In 1802 a new arrangement was made by lord Sidmouth, of which it was not at present necessary to say much, because, although there were many objections to it, it did not much postpone the term. Then came the operation of the year 1813, which consisted in postponing the payment. The consequence of that operation was to reduce the sinking fund in the mean time (which, if it had continued and gone on without it to the present day, would have been 21,000,000*l.*) to 15,000,000*l.*: but the terms made in 1813 with the stockholders, which were so made in language as distinct as could be made use of, were, that

the then fund should be sacred. Now came the present plan; but nothing was done to redeem their pledge—nothing done to preserve faith with the public creditors. All the sinking fund had been taken away, except only 2,000,000*l.*; and it resulted, that, instead of loans being diminished or extinguished, they were going to substitute for a sinking fund of twenty-one millions one of five millions. Did not all this put the fund-holders in a very different situation? And he would ask whether, to all intents and purposes, the faith of the public was not broken with them? He did not, however, complain of this: it was dreadful, but it was unavoidable; we were reduced to it by absolute and dire necessity. They must pay their army, their navy, their judges, their civil, military, and legal establishments; this was matter of stern necessity; and as such, it could not be helped. The stockholders must be content to go on with a sinking fund of five millions, according to the right honourable gentleman opposite, but which, according to gentlemen on his side of the house, did amount to no more than two millions in fact. That any of the papers on the table could make it out otherwise, he would defy gentlemen to prove, even if they looked over them to the end of time; so that the great difference was this—here was a sinking fund of five millions, which it was said might increase to eight millions; whereas it ought to have been twenty-one millions, and increased to thirty millions.

He was most truly sorry for this inevitable breach of faith; but he felt that it could not be prevented. As far, however, as he could prevent it, there was one further step which should not be taken, one weight more which should not fall upon the people: he would not consent, that at the end of such a war, and in the very infancy of peace, new taxes should be imposed on them, new burdens, new impositions which they could not pay. The proposition of his majesty's ministers should have been shown to be founded in absolute necessity; nothing but the most pressing and serious emergencies should have been appealed to by them for their justification. The defence of the public liberty; the protection of the empire threatened by a war; these were the only circumstances he could at present contemplate, that would go to make out a case sufficient to justify such a proposition as the present. Supposing the people to remain burdened as they were, and drained by the existing taxes, he could hardly imagine any case, short of war, that could justify the government in laying on fresh taxes; and he was tempted almost to add, in no other case ought the finances of the subject to be further encroached upon. But if a war should make it necessary, or if the operations of finance should require the means of the public to be still further taxed, he must concur with his honourable friend, that it would be childish, or he should rather say it would be base, to clamour against taxes thus indispensable.

The question therefore was, Was there a case before the house to justify such a step? The distress of the agricultural and manufacturing interests, it was admitted on all sides of the house,

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was very great. He had heard it admitted in a speech of great eloquence from the right honourable chairman of the bank committee, that the truth must be spoken; that this was not a transitory evil, but had its root and origin in the present state of the country. If so, was it not the more necessary to consider what was likely to be its nature, and what the necessary result of their present measures? What, also, it behoved the house to consider, might be the effect of the resumption of cash payments, and the intermediate steps which it was proposed to take before that great object was achieved? This he considered a problem of great difficulty. He knew some persons, honourable friends of his, and whose opinions he always received with the utmost deference and respect, who, in treating this question, and viewing it with relation to its effect upon the price of commodities, had first endeavoured to ascertain what was the limit of depreciation. For this purpose they had taken the mint and market prices of gold, and finding the variations between them from 3*l.* to 4*l.* per cent., they considered that to be the limit: it would have been, perhaps, proper to have taken it at 5 per cent., which was the rate of difference a little before that period, and at which it had continued for some time. The other was the variation as it existed at the time. Now, whatever the steps were which might be adopted, a certain time must elapse before the resumption took place: they had no right, therefore, to take the present amount or price, and to judge from that; but it was a safer course, he thought, to consider it as 5 per cent.

Assuming that, then, as the limit of the depreciation, he should proceed, speaking with unfeigned doubt on a subject, as he had before said, of so much difficulty; but he thought it was as well to make the assumptions, because it was found that the rise of prices had followed pretty closely such limit or rise. He did not wish to mingle other subjects with the consideration of this; but it was necessary to advert to some other points in order the more fully to elucidate it, and to show that the limit which is the operation at present pursued with respect to the currency, was of itself a tax upon the country. He could not see why that limit of 5 per cent. was to be taken as the limit of depreciation. It might be so, but the reason on which his doubt was founded was this: from the period at which the depreciation first took place in the value of the currency, that is, from its minimum to the time at which it reached its maximum, there was a rise of prices of all commodities (excepting some few, which from the quantity of the material, the cheapness and extensive use of machinery, or other local causes, were cheaper) greatly beyond the proportions of the market price over the mint price of gold. That price was once 30, and very generally 20 per cent. higher; but when that rose to 20 per cent. the price of all the articles of living, &c. rose to five times that amount, to 100 per cent. and upwards. This was owing to the influence of a great many circumstances which never affected the price of gold. The depreciation of bank

notes was attended by a proportionate rise of gold; and since the rise on the price of gold was about 20 per cent. then, it was rather rash now (looking at the present price of gold), it was hardly possible or justifiable to believe, that the difference between the mint and market prices being abolished, the amount of the depreciation when the bank should resume cash payments would be 5 per cent. only. For his own part he did not like to say much upon the subject; but he certainly expected a general depreciation, much greater than 5 per cent., when the operation he spoke of should have taken place. It appeared to him, that, although honourable gentlemen might differ as to the means, there could be but one opinion upon the expediency of the bank's resuming cash payments as speedily as possible: in whatever way, and at whatever time that took place, a general depreciation in the price of all goods, of stock, and the rents of houses, must ensue. The very minimum would be 5 per cent., possibly 7, 8, or even 10, but at the least farthing 5 per cent. With the rents, the value of stock, and of all income derived from that value, must fall at least 5 per cent. also, and not impossibly 10 per cent.

Now, by this depreciation of their means, perhaps as much as 20 per cent. would ultimately be sustained by the payer of taxes; and yet it was proposed to burden them with 3,000,000*l.* additional taxes. Why, if there was any consistency among his majesty's ministers, or any of that lenity that the chancellor of the exchequer was always vaunting, and which he so much eulogized, but which expired in 1816 with the property tax, a tax which he could never open his mouth without singing its requiem, or rather chanting its dirge; if they possessed any of that boasted lenity, instead of laying on 3,000,000*l.*, they would have studied every means of taking them off. They would not have suffered a word on the subject: if they were proceeding upon a system of unsparing retrenchment and economy, they would have endeavoured to devise, not the means of proving this dreadful necessity, but the means of sparing the people from its operation, and the effects of that great depreciation to which he had adverted. Every one of the taxes this night proposed was a money, not an *ad valorem* tax. Where the means of paying it were thus depreciated, they were laying not a duty which would fall the lighter on account of the depreciation, but a dry, hard money tax, which does not feel the same benefit, and presses heaviest on those to whom money is most indispensable. It could not be said, while they were calculating on a quantity of money, that they knew what its value was. The pound note might be worth 18*s.* or 22*s.* for what they knew; for, under present circumstances, he might say money had not attained its last shape nor determinate value. To talk of laying on so many millions, was to talk in ignorance, to aim a blow in the dark, which might fall they knew not where. On these grounds he could not refrain from telling the noble lord, that at no time, in no period of the history of the country, was a more unfit opportunity selected

selected for laying on such taxes, or one more contrary to the circumstances of the times.

The noble lord had expressed great indignation at his right honourable friend, for expressing his want of confidence in the government as to any desire of alleviation; and had maintained that his majesty's ministers had shown every disposition to economy.—How had they shown it? Really, he must be allowed to use the expression, but he had from their conduct a right to assume, that in spite of themselves some expenses had been retracted; and to suppose that the same sums were still to be voted for the equipments of our army, or the fitting out of our ships, was indeed ridiculous. But what other reductions had they made? The noble lord had said, "You will talk about retrenchment; why do you not enter into more particular details?" Now, his right honourable friend had expressly declared he would not enter into details, but would point out only the quarters wherein retrenchments might be effected. To begin, then, with the collection of the revenue: since the noble lord expressed his anxiety to be informed, he would ask him whether it was or was not true, that that one great branch of the revenue, the excise, had offered to the government to collect the other great branch of it, the customs, at the same low rate at which the excise itself was collected by that honourable and upright board; whose zeal in the discharge of their duty, fidelity to the public interest, and conscientious integrity, rendered any attempt to give them sufficient praise hopeless. Was it true that they had offered to collect the customs at five and a fraction per cent. instead of 13½ per cent., the expense of the present collection? Was it true, as it should seem from papers before the house, that by the last returns, the very remarkable circumstance was observable, that the expense of collection, this year, as contrasted with the last, exceeded that of the former by one per cent. additional? Last year they were 12 and a fraction: this year 13½ per cent. Here, then, was one chapter of his honourable friend's budget, by which alone 500,000*l.* a year might be saved to the country. Had he not a right to assume from this, that a really sparing, considerate, and economical administration might find other branches of the revenue in which similar savings might be made?

He would now mention one other instance, in which although any saving to be effected was not comparable to the last, yet it was a matter of the highest importance to the country. He meant the state of those offices which were paid by fees, or poundage, as it was called. They were not only a large and needless expense, but they were sinecures which harboured nests of placemen, and extended the patronage of the crown through every part of the country. If honourable gentlemen would take the trouble of looking at the returns which he moved for about two years ago, they would find that about 120,000*l.* were annually paid to persons called receivers of taxes, receivers of assessed taxes, and distributers of stamps. These were persons doing their offices by deputy; merely reserving to themselves the signature of receipt. But for merely doing this they

they had various salaries from 700*l.*, the lowest he believed of all, up to 5,000*l.* a year. He did not mean to say that they could all be done away with; but why did not ministers make a better bargain for the public? These were not the patent places, which the holders would tell you they had paid for, and would defend; and why then were these not attacked? Let those who had, for instance, 4,000*l.* content themselves with 1,000*l.* a-year; and those with 700*l.* take 250*l.* or 100*l.*; they would be glad to get it for doing nothing. The comparative smallness of a tax must always be viewed in reference to the means which existed for supporting it. He only hinted at this consideration, on account of what appeared to be a sort of defiance from the noble lord, a defiance intimating that the present measure would be supported by all those who had recently proved themselves the friends of administration. The noble lord appeared moreover to signify, that the calls for retrenchment and economy, made on that side of the house, were little better than mere words. In delivering his own opinion upon that subject, he was at the same time expressing the sentiments of many, when he stated his belief, that in numerous departments of the public service considerable reductions might be made. Many offices in the revenue were nearly useless, and might be abolished; in others additional duty might be attached, and a saving effected in that manner.

Above all, he must declare that he should never feel satisfied till some general measure of reduction in the amount of public stipends, proportionate to the different prices, and to the augmentation which had been made on the sole ground of that difference, was carried into effect. This, however, was a subject on which it might be impracticable to legislate at present, or to form any decided opinion on, till the currency of the country had taken a more settled form. But did he expect any endeavours for accomplishing this object to be made by the present ministers of the crown? Certainly not. He entertained no such fallacious hopes. He knew well that they did not wish for it, and he knew also, that if they wished, they had not sufficient confidence in their strength to dare the attempt. They might vapour with respect to the face of their late majority; but the fact was, that they were not in a situation to face their own 350 friends. The clerks in office could hardly be depended upon. The cause of all their weakness and uncertainty was, that they had no root in the esteem, the confidence, or the affections of the people. Until they could stand on something firmer than the basis of a casual majority, until they could command something more than success upon a question purposely raised to give them an advantage, a question which bore the resemblance of a mere party or personal contention, he would warn the noble lord not to put his faith in the flattering tale which that majority might suggest. It had been composed of persons acting from various motives, and from those prejudices which were inseparable from the decision of all such questions. The noble lord had derived from those inveterate prejudices

judices a support, which he grossly deceived himself in expecting to retain as the means of carrying into effect whatever measures he or his colleagues should propose. The noble lord had indeed said that the house, after its late vote, was bound in justice to confide in the financical arrangements brought forward by the ministers of the crown. If such were the natural consequence of that vote, he should deplore it more than he did at present. He would ask of every man whose vote had been solicited or wheedled from him on that occasion, whether he conscientiously believed that the people at large were in a situation to pay more taxes, whether his constituents were not in circumstances that made it an act of cruelty to add to the burden with which they were already oppressed?

Nothing had been advanced in justification of increased taxes but the gratuitous assumption, an assumption maintained by no facts or principles which had come to his knowledge, that we ought to have a sinking fund of 5 millions? The noble lord must surely recollect the extent as well as nature of Mr. Pitt's original plan. He was sorry to trouble the house at such length, and by references of this kind; but he considered that the character of the house, as well as the interests of the public, were involved in the issue of the discussion. It might be easily shown that Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that a sinking fund of 1,300,000*l.* bore a due proportion to a debt of 240,000,000*l.* According to this rule, a sinking fund of 6,000,000*l.* would be sufficient for the present amount of our debt. Instead of raising it to 5,000,000*l.* for no other purpose than to make a parade of figures, he should be content to leave it at 2,000,000*l.* to which he should be happy to add whatever might be procured from retrenchment, which, if vigorously prosecuted, would probably yield 1,000,000*l.* more. This was a plan more suitable to the state of our resources, and calculated in some degree to maintain that policy which, in the event of future disturbances in Europe, it might be necessary for us to adopt. It would be a more certain way of husbanding our resources, than that of keeping up a large sinking fund by taxes that dried up the fountains of revenue, that oppressed industry, and discouraged the employment of capital. Every gentleman who heard him must, if acquainted with the recent history of the duties on wine, on tea, and coffee, fully understand how their real produce was affected by an increase or diminution of their amount. If the money were left in the pockets of the people, instead of being taken away to accumulate at compound interest, it would be employed much more productively in augmenting the wealth, and nurturing the legitimate resources of the country. We might then be enabled to meet sudden alarms, or foreign hostility, in an attitude which we could not otherwise assume. The noble lord, in eulogizing the extent of the national resources, had referred to the income tax as a means in reserve, by which a sum of 15,000,000*l.* might be annually raised. He was happy to reflect that we had not so far forestalled our means, that we had not drained this great source of revenue in times of embarrassment and danger; and he earnestly hoped,

hoped, that by a policy not more wise than it was just, we should grant to the people that relief which they had so dearly earned, and which he sincerely believed was the true mode of preparing for a fresh contest, if such a calamity should befall us, with undiminished confidence and unimpaired resources.

Mr. Huskisson observed, that the opinions of the honourable and learned gentleman did not appear to be in strict consistency with the views taken by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney). The right honourable gentleman had treated the question as one that involved a breach of faith with the public creditor, and had argued, that by the proposed arrangement, the sinking fund was effectually taken away. He admitted, most distinctly, that in the fifth year of peace it was necessary that a full exposition of our financial system, in all its parts, ought to be submitted to parliament. This exposition had been made by his right honourable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer), and the house was now put into a situation to exercise its judgement upon any new or practical measure that might be recommended. The measure now under consideration could only be justified on the principle of necessity; and it was upon that point alone that they were at issue. He had hoped that this would be the view which would be taken of the question on all sides, and that it could have been discussed without reference to the lords of the admiralty, or to any of the persons exercising the functions of government. It certainly did appear to him, that for some time after the gigantic and unprecedented efforts which this country had made, palliatives ought to be administered, but that it was essential to our security to return as soon as possible to a sound system of finance, and to look our difficulties in the face.

We could not disguise either from ourselves or from foreign countries what our real situation was. The continental powers were exerting themselves to place their finances on a right footing. Russia had been endeavouring to restore her circulation to its former value; Prussia was acting the same part; and Austria had established a sinking fund. If they turned their attention to France, it would be seen that, after all her sacrifices and contributions, she was now, in a financial point of view, in a state of comparative power and prosperity. The last budget submitted to the legislative council indicated a revenue equal to the maintenance of every establishment, corresponding with the rank and station of France amongst the powers of Europe. She had a *bona fide* sinking fund, equal, in proportion to her debt, to that originally provided by Mr. Pitt. This proportion was 1 per cent. upon the aggregate amount of the debt; and the debt of France being 170 millions sterling, her sinking fund was at this moment 1 million 700 thousands, accumulating at compound interest. What was there in our situation that should induce us to act upon a different policy? We had a debt of 8 hundred millions and a sinking fund of 2 millions, amounting only to one-fourth per cent. on the debt itself. The plan under consideration would raise it to 5,000,000*l.*

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—an amount not equal to what he thought right, but which would alter the proportion to that of 5-8ths per cent. Reference had been properly made to the consolidated fund as to a subject of the first magnitude and importance; but the right honourable gentleman had certainly made no great discovery in pointing out its late deficiencies. The quarterly returns made them very generally known. It was, however, equally certain, that these deficiencies ought to be supplied.

The maintenance of the consolidated fund was bound up with the honour and credit of the country; but the case was this—that we had imposed upon it charges which it was inadequate to pay. Parliament had held out to the country that this fund should form the security of the public creditor, but it had subsequently overcharged it. For thirteen years after the peace of Amiens it afforded an annual surplus of 3,500,000*l.*, and we had always been taught to look for the existence of some such surplus. The words of the appropriation act pointed out the destination of this surplus. Its first recital related to it, and it appeared to have been always in the contemplation of the legislature. Since the last peace, however, there had been a falling off: there was at first no surplus, and the deficit now amounted to 1,885,000*l.* This deficit had existed for the last two years, and was to be ascribed in the first instance to the consolidation of the Irish with the British revenue. In stating this, he did not mean to say that Ireland had not contributed to the full extent of her means; for his persuasion was, that it was the want of capital alone that had checked the progressive augmentation of those means. Be that, however, as it might, it had entailed on the consolidated fund an annual charge of 8,815,172*l.*; but the act to which he had before alluded contained a clause that specially provided for rendering the consolidated fund equal to all the charges which might be fixed upon it. The account ordered in that clause had, very properly, every year since been laid before parliament. It was not as yet prepared for this year; but last year it appeared, that for the preceding two years, the amount of the interest of the Irish debt exceeded its permanent revenue by 2,000,000*l.* The deficiency of consolidated revenue, as compared with the charge for both countries, last year exceeded the sum now proposed to be raised by new taxes. By an arrangement which left the deficiency to be made up by the bank, we had placed the public credit of the country, and the public creditor, at the mercy of that corporation, which might at its pleasure refuse to pay the dividends. He knew that the bank had too much confidence in the national resources, too much public spirit and patriotism, to refuse to advance the necessary sums when applied to; but he would also contend, that the credit of a great country like this, the maintenance of the national honour, ought not to be intrusted to the discretion of any corporation, however well disposed and however respectable.

He (Mr. Huskisson) owned that it was with a feeling of surprise and regret, that he heard the

the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney), who had on all former occasions stood forward as so strenuous a defender of the sinking fund, after lamenting the breach of public faith, which faith was not broken, and after attributing that breach of faith to a necessity which did not exist, consenting to sacrifice that fund. He (Mr. Huskisson) would not now, in answer to the right honourable gentleman, go at present into a detail of all the advantages which this fund had contributed to the internal credit and external security of the country. He was not now called upon to defend it, because it was not attacked, and he hoped he never should. He hoped gentlemen would always remember the great purpose for which it was instituted, and that they would never show a disposition to violate the most solemn pledge which parliament could give to the national creditor, or think they could promote the public interest by surrendering public honour. It had been the fashion to consider the public creditor as the only person interested in the application and preservation of the fund; but this was a proposition from which he entirely dissented. The interests of the nation were as much connected with it as those of the individual fundholder. If any gentleman was disposed to doubt this he would only beg leave, in order to remove his doubt and produce conviction, to refer him to the state of the country in 1783, at the conclusion of a long and disastrous war, and before the sinking fund was created. The debt was then about 230,000,000*l.*, and the revenue such as to exhibit a deficiency, or to afford no surplus for its diminution. The only question among the politicians of that day was not how they could reduce the debt, but how they could raise taxes to pay the interest and to support the establishment of the country. But at that time the resources of the nation were intrusted to the direction of a man (Mr. Pitt) whom no obstacles within the range of possibility to surmount could finally oppose, and whom no difficulties in the accomplishment of his object could deter. He saw that the situation of the finances exposed us to danger in the event of any fresh war, and afforded us no hope of seeing our burdens reduced during peace. By his eloquence he roused the nation to a sense of its danger, and by his energy and perseverance he rescued it from its embarrassment, providing in the course of three years a revenue that not only was sufficient to support all the national establishments, and pay the interest of the public debt, but afforded a surplus for a real and effective sinking fund. Had his lamented friend not taken that course, or had he followed the one now recommended by the right honourable gentleman, we should not have had that fund which had since supported public credit, and enabled us to display that power which had gained us such influence in Europe, and brought us so much character and glory. In 1786, then, the sinking fund was first established; and here he could not but remark on the strange observation of the honourable and learned gentleman who had last spoken, who had said he would wait for some declaration

claration of war, or some insult to our national honour, that would lead to a war, before he would consent to impose new taxes to relieve us from the weight of our public debt. If he waited till then, he (Mr. Huskisson) was afraid he would wait till it was too late. In his opinion, on the contrary, it was our duty, and ought to be our policy, to make present exertions for our future relief during peace, and as the best preparation for carrying on hostilities with vigour and success, should a war be unfortunately rendered necessary for the protection of our interests or the assertion of our honour.

When gentlemen spoke of the hardships of the present taxes, it might not be amiss to remind them of some of those which existed before 1792, which were that year remitted. These taxes had been borne for many years; they had been acquiesced in with patience, and yet they were such as no minister of the present day would dare to propose. They were four in number, all direct taxes, all in the class of assessed taxes. The first was an assessed tax, on what?—on female servants. The second was a tax on carts and waggons; the third was a tax that would not now be thought of for a moment, namely a tax on cottages with fewer than 7 windows; and the fourth was a tax of a halfpenny on tallow candles. The situation of the country was now very different from what it was when the first sinking fund was created. The nation had then just concluded a long and disastrous war, by an ignominious peace. Now we had concluded a long and successful war, with glory to ourselves and with that advantage to Europe which was likely to secure the continuance of peace. But though our present situation of tranquillity were not likely soon to be disturbed, it behoved us, as the best security for its duration, to prepare for the necessity of sustaining the future exertions of war. In pointing out retrenchment as a means of reducing the public debt without an increase of taxation, the honourable and learned gentleman had departed from the cautious and prudent course of his (Mr. Brougham's) right honourable friend (Mr. Tierney). The latter confined himself to the bare mention of 1,000,000*l.* without going into particulars; the former had unfortunately exaggerated the sum and specified the items of saving. His first object was to abolish altogether the board of customs, and to transfer its functions to the board of excise, by which, he said, a saving would take place in the collection of the revenue of the difference between 13½ and 5½. This project, he had moreover said, had been suggested by the board of excise itself. The thing appeared so absurd, that he wondered the honourable and learned gentleman could give credence to it one moment. But how could the honourable gentleman, who was so zealous a defender of the rights of the people, who declaimed so much against the property tax, on account of its inquisitorial character, and proposed that a conflagration should be made of all the returns connected with it, reconcile his feelings to introduce the excise system into all the transactions of the country? Did he not

not know that almost every article that paid custom duty was likewise subject to an excise duty? and would he propose to follow it into every manufactory, into the shop of every dealer, and introduce the vexations of the excise into all the business of life? He did this because the system of the board, as he called it, was admirable. But was the board of customs established for nothing else than the collection of revenue? Did it not see that the navigation laws were observed, and perform several other functions? The plan of uniting the departments of excise and customs was so absurd, that it could never have been suggested by any board in its senses, and could never have been entertained by any ministry that did not wish to throw the country into confusion.

Mr. John Henry Smyth felt anxious upon a question of such vital importance, in which every man, whatever his rank in life might be, was interested, not to give a silent vote. He thought it was due to the chancellor of the exchequer to say, that he appeared this night to show a disposition to look the real danger of the country in the face; he was ready to admit, that its situation required an exertion on the part of the people, and that an available surplus for the extinction of the debt was necessary; but before the people were loaded with new burdens, they had a right to demand a strict investigation. There ought to be an inquiry, not of a light and superficial nature, but one formed upon a solid foundation. He thought very little had been effected by the finance committee.

Mr. Charles Calvert felt himself bound to rebut the false imputations which had been cast by the chancellor of the exchequer upon the gentlemen connected with the breweries of this country. He begged most earnestly to protest against the truth of the observations which had been made, and he was fully prepared to answer them by entering into a minute statement of figures. He would not, however, at present trouble the house with the investigation, but he pledged himself to give a full and complete answer to these false accusations whenever the malt-tax should be brought under the attention of the house.

Mr. Scarlett observed, that the question was, not whether the nation was now most able to bear an increase of taxation, but whether any positive necessity existed for such increase. Was then the establishment of a sinking fund such a necessity? It would be presumption in a man of his pursuits to attempt to argue this point at any length, and with any pretension of ability to make the matter more intelligible to the committee than it might be at present; but perhaps he might be allowed shortly to express his individual opinion. He thought that such an institution as a sinking fund was good and advantageous during a war, but he was one of those who thought that during peace its advantage was exceedingly problematical. His right honourable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) had forgot to state, that Mr. Pitt had himself declared, that if the sinking fund should rise to four millions, it ought to come before parliament, who might deliberate on the propriety of

of applying it to the remission of taxes. It was true, indeed, that at the time of the short truce in 1802, when Mr. Pitt acceded to the ministry, he had not thought it safe to touch the sinking fund; doubtless because he believed that in the future peace, after the then approaching war, it would be the duty of the government to remit the property tax and other war taxes, and then the sinking fund might be usefully available. In relation to the 3 millions of additional taxes, he might ask, What was there in that sum which made it so peculiarly delightful, that no amount either beyond or within seemed for a moment worthy of desire or acceptance? The chancellor of the exchequer *summissa voce*, and the noble lord in a louder strain, had declared that they must have this sum, or resign. What did this mean? Simply this—that the noble lord and his colleagues, having discovered by the vote of the other night, that they stood high in the favour of the house, in the insolence of triumph, called for another instance of confidence, and made it even a point of honour that they should be allowed, with a sweeping majority, to add three millions more of taxes to a country already overwhelmed. This fresh imposition on the people was to be the test of the house's friendship for ministers. If a foreign enemy, or any extraordinary exigency, had threatened, he would readily agree to a measure like the present; but when the vigorous administration of the noble lord had given us a peace which was to last God knew how long, he could not consent to any augmentation of our burdens.

Mr. Banks would be the last man to agree to the additional burden of three millions, unless he felt it to be a matter of necessity; but feeling it to be such, he should accede to the proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer, though under the risk of being a participator in an act of atrocity. The learned gentleman who spoke last had pretended to disqualify himself as unacquainted with the subject, but in the course of his speech had shown himself so deeply versed in it as to be able to bring new lights to it. He had made the discovery, that though a sinking fund might be useful in war, it was good for nothing in peace. He humbly submitted that Mr. Pitt had been of a different opinion; that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney), who, if any man, understood the subject, had expressed a different opinion; so had Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan—indeed, all who had ever spoken on it, excepting the learned gentleman. It should be remembered, that this fund began in peace; that it could not have begun in war; and as a ground for cherishing it, he would say, that if any one thing had operated more mainly than all others to bring the country through its late tremendous struggle to its present pitch of glory, it was that very sinking fund for which the learned gentleman professed so much contempt. It was true that Mr. Pitt had said, that when the fund reached 4 millions, it ought to come under the parliamentary discussion; but if the proportion of the funded debt of that time was compared with the proportion between the debt and fund at present, it would be found as

present to be far less than the rate contemplated by Mr. Pitt. Indeed, if the country could bear more taxation, it would be proper to fix the sinking fund at the rate of one per cent. on the amount of the debt. At all events, faith would not be kept with the public creditor unless as near an approach as possible should be made to this principle. But what had most astonished him in the debate this evening was the conduct of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney), who, thinking, as he always had done, that the sinking fund was essential to the national credit, should object to a plan which tended to maintain it in its integrity; nor could he have believed it unless he had heard it, that a gentleman who complained so much of expedients of a temporary nature should set himself with equal obstinacy against a systematic arrangement. The learned gentleman had argued as if the existence of peace warranted the dilapidation of this fund; but who would guaranty the existence of that peace even for a short time? For his own part, he would not take the word even of the noble lord opposite as a guarantee of its lasting even for a year. This he knew, that whether we had external enemies or not, we had a tremendous foe at home in the public debt; and unless we provide for its extinction in peace, we should go with crippled means into a war, and be obliged to take an inferior rank among the nations. The prevention of such an evil was to be purchased even at the risk of some unpopularity.

Mr. Canning began by expressing his regret that the right honourable gentleman was not in his place, as he should have been glad, before he proceeded, to know how he intended to word his motion in point of form. [Mr. Brogden here stated, that Mr. Tierney had withdrawn his informal notice of the previous question for the more regular one, that the chairman do leave the chair.] Well, then, his motion in substance seemed to be to postpone or negative the proceedings of the committee. Of one thing he (Mr. Canning) was confidently clear, that the only certain way in which the committee could do its duty to the country was not to depart without coming to some definite conclusion. The shuffling and evasive course of the right honourable gentleman showed what was his real object. He had throughout the session, whatever had been the subject of discussion, indulged in one continued taunt against the ministers, that they did not dare to look the financial state of the country in the face. He had said, from time to time, that they had no plan, no object, but temporary relief, and his whole language when fairly interpreted was this—"Come not (says he) with shifts and expedients; look the distresses of the country boldly in the face; dare to expose your imbecility and nakedness to the scorn of your enemies, and the curious gaze of the world: then—what then? I will move to adjourn the committee, and refuse to deliberate on any mode for your relief. You will do your part in making a full disclosure of the wants of the state, and this shall be your reward—I will oppose all you recommend; I will find no substitute for your plan, and as far as I am able will not let you know whether

whether I will assist you or not." There might be two or more modes of relieving the distresses of the country, but this mode adopted by the right honourable gentleman of calling for a committee in order to record the urgent wants of the state, and then to deny ministers the means of obtaining any discussion of a possible remedy, was of all others the most extravagant and unintelligible. If a ministry had acted so with respect to an opposition, that would be bad enough; but in a candidate for the ministry, who valued himself, forsooth, on his frankness and sincerity, who was all openness and disinterestedness, such a proceeding was the most whimsically contradictory that had ever been engendered by the blunderings of party spirit. The house had a right to call upon him to adopt the plan now proposed, or to suggest some substitute; at any rate, if he left the inquiry altogether, the house had a right to say to him—"Your demand for investigation has sprung from mere idle curiosity, and not from any patriotic wish to remedy the evil." Suppose the case somewhat reversed; suppose the ministers had not laid their case fairly and fully before the committee, what would the opposition have said then? Would not each man in his district, and all their trumpeters throughout the kingdom, have deafened us with exclamations, "Why were we not chosen ministers? how different things would have been if we had governed the country! Then you should have known your incumbrances to the lowest mite—then we would have exposed the utter hopelessness of your resources, and then we would have left you precisely as you were." Absurd as this was, it was a fair representation of the conduct of the other side of the house. Their object had been merely to expose the nakedness of the country, to throw discredit on the minister; and then, as far as they were concerned, they were content to let the nation work out its salvation how and when it could. His honourable and learned friend on the other side (Mr. Scarlett) had expressed himself with some indignation, as if ministers had brought forward this plan to-night in the mere insolence of triumph, on account of their majority on a late occasion; but he could assure his learned friend, and this not on the mere word of a minister, but the honour of a man, that long before that most injudicious motion which had been so beneficial to the ministry had been discussed, it had been positively determined to lay before the house the measure of to-night, to the precise extent in which it now lay before them, and to stand or fall by that measure. It was not mere bravado to say that the strength of the administration distinctly rested on this question. They were perfectly convinced that the measure now proposed was absolutely necessary for the safety and prosperity of the country; and being so convinced, the same motive which induced them to bring it forward, and especially in a season of distress like the present, must force them to leave their places unless they carried it. This must be their course, not merely as matter of taste and feeling, but of common prudence also. It would have been much

better for the purpose of the right honourable gentleman to have met this proposition with a direct negative; because then, if his opposition had been successful, it would have carried with it an impression of the incapacity of ministers, an impression which the right honourable gentleman was so anxious to make on the public mind. The choice would then have been between the present administration, with three millions of additional taxes, and an administration composed of the gentlemen opposite without any new taxes; and thus something would have been thrown into the scale on their side. But the right honourable gentleman had cautiously avoided holding out any prospect to the country, that if he were in office he would not be disposed to increase the taxes; he had guarded himself to this effect in the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of his speech—"I am not against the taxes, I only do not wish them to be laid on at this time. In the heat of June, with long debates and late houses, I am not able to take office; but in the cool of February next, if I can get into office by that time, I shall have no objections to vote the taxes which I now refuse." The house knew, when gentlemen came into power from the other side, on what sweeping principles they acted; and he thought it not improbable, that if such a change were to take place, those who were now satisfied with three millions of taxes might hear a proposition for raising five millions. The right honourable gentleman should rather have said that he would have no taxes at all, and then as a non-taxing minister he might have had some claim to popularity. The right honourable gentleman, feeling himself pressed by his conscience to say something about retrenchment, had given it as his opinion that a saving of one million might be effected by a system of economy in every department of the expenditure; but although a variety of measures for the reduction of the expenditure had been discussed, he could not see any thing approaching nearly to a million in all the proposals for retrenchment which had been made by the gentlemen opposite. He recollected, indeed, that a plan for retrenchment in the collection of the revenue had been suggested on the other side: but "strait was the pass, and narrow was the way," that led to this desirable object. In this Thermopylæ were planted 300 surveyors, and over their dead bodies must the way to this retrenchment be forced. The principle on which the present message was founded was, that in order to enable the country to emerge from its internal difficulties, and to present an external front to Europe, it was necessary to have a surplus revenue operating as a sinking fund. He was not competent to discuss the principle of a borrowing sinking fund; but he was convinced of the necessity of an absolute surplus to do the business of such a fund. He was bound to give every member of that house credit for rectitude of motives; but if he had, at an earlier part of the session, accused the right honourable gentleman of that inconsistency of principle of which, on his own confession, he now stood convicted—

Mr.

Mr. Calcraft here rose to order. He could not listen in silence to the foul, offensive, and almost unparliamentary aspersions which the right honourable gentleman had passed on his right honourable friend, on himself, and on all his friends around him. In the course of his experience in that house, he hardly recollected having ever heard such unparliamentary language as that in which the right honourable gentleman began his speech. His honourable friends had all stated that the country was at present in such a situation that it could not bear any additional taxation; they said, that they and their friends were not against taxation, but that they wished the measure to be postponed. And was there any thing so shocking in this, as to warrant the epithets which had been applied to them by the right honourable gentleman? epithets which, if not unparliamentary, were at least so uncivil, that they ought not to have been used in debate.

Mr. Canning here interrupted the honourable gentleman. He thought that in debate there was tolerably fair room to give and to take; and whenever the terms "indecent" and "atrocious," which had been applied to this proposal, were retracted, then, and not till then, should he retract the epithets which he had applied to the conduct of the gentlemen opposite.

Mr. Calcraft went on. He had nothing to do with any other person's expressions. If his honourable friend thought those epithets applicable to the measure before the house, he had a right to use them. (Here the question was called for by several members on the ministerial side of the house.) If the house would forget their duty, he would show them that he was not unmindful of his, and that he would persist in giving the few remarks which he had unexpectedly been called on to offer. He was aware that the right honourable gentleman was too splendid an orator for him to contend with, but he hoped the house in justice would give him an opportunity of repelling the aspersions which had been cast on him and his honourable friends. He would at the same time, since he was on his legs, briefly state his view of the question. It might perhaps be said, that he was one of those who had goaded the administration on to the present disclosure of the state of the country; but, admitting that he had urged the necessity of an inquiry, where was the pledge on his part, that he would support the measures that might be proposed for meeting the exigencies of the state? They were all agreed in their desire to meet those exigencies; but it was remarkable that not one of the honourable gentlemen on the other side of the house had looked to the internal state of the country, to the petitions on their table, or to the distress of which these petitions complained. They only looked to the country as a subject of taxation; but he looked at the state of the people, and must say, that this was not a time for imposing fresh taxes. He had, God knew, no more confidence in his right honourable friend than in the present administration; but if by the beginning of next session he should find the country in a better situation, he would agree to support

the present administration in imposing additional taxes. He repeated, that it was solely on account of the internal state of the country that he opposed the measure at present. And was this a cause for the taunts of the right honourable gentleman? Did he think that his own recent conduct was forgotten; that it was not recollected how he had reprobated the gentlemen by whom he was now surrounded, how he had lampooned the friends on one side of him, and betrayed those on the other? Topics enough occurred to him (Mr. Calcraft), which he knew, if followed up, would bring recollections to mind that would make the right honourable gentleman regret his attack. He, indeed, of all persons, to make such an attack!—to charge others with inconsistent, cowardly, and shuffling conduct! He might be a splendid orator, but he showed in this that he had not much judgement.

Mr. Brogden, the chairman, here interrupted the honourable member. He really thought the right honourable gentleman had said nothing unparliamentary, and the debate was now becoming too personal.

Mr. Calcraft said, he had been goaded to the course which he had adopted, and in his opinion the epithets employed by the right honourable gentleman should have been met by something stronger than what he had said. At all events, he and his honourable friends could not leave the house without noticing them.

Mr. Canning rose to explain amidst loud cries of "Question." It was not, he observed, his intention to reply to the personalities of the honourable and learned gentleman, but he wished to correct the construction which had been put upon his (Mr. Canning's) argument. His argument was, that if there was not a reason for applying a remedy, there could have been none for going into the inquiry. If once the explanation had been gone into—if the weakness of the state were exhibited, its resources should also be made known.

Mr. Macdonald (amidst loud and repeated cries of "Question," and "strangers must withdraw,") begged the attention of the house for a few moments. Of such members as were in the last parliament he would ask, whether they had not seen ministers at the beginning of the peace sit down without any one regular plan of economy? whether they had not seen them opposed to the first motions of retrenchment? and whether they had not seemed determined to go on and suffer the country to groan under the heavy pressure of a war establishment in time of peace?—a system with which they would have continued, had they not been deterred from it by the strong voice of the public opinion without doors, and by the honest vigilance of those who strove to give effect to that public opinion within. Many members who had not sat in the last session did not remember—he was sure they who had could never forget—what was the kind of retrenchment which ministers had thought fit to recommend. They began by an attempt to cut away from the poor pensioners. They wished to pare away the humble mite of the widow, in order to aid the labouring treasury but the house had

had honestly interfered and prevented this ungenerous and unjust attempt. The poor widow was considered to be the fit object from whose scanty stipend some paltry savings were to be made. She, it was true, had no political influence; she had no connexions whose support it might be desirable for ministers to obtain. No: all she had, all she prized, and that was dear to her, she had lost for the country's cause; and a reduction of her pension was to be the extent of her reward, because, forsooth, its continuance would militate against the rigid economy which ministers were determined to practise. She was to suffer because she could only complain; but if it was proposed to remove any of the large incumbrances on the public purse—if it were desired to touch one of those golden baits which were held out for veering politicians—one of those stalls where ease and indolence were the reward of ministerial adherence—if any of these were proposed to be touched, then it was said the state would be undone—the public business could not be carried on.

Mr. R. Martin said a few words. Strangers were then ordered to withdraw, and the committee divided—

For the original resolutions	329
For the amendment	132
Majority,	197

June 6.—On the motion of Mr. M. A. Taylor, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the practicability of constructing steam-engines in such a manner as to make them consume their own smoke, in order to prevent the injurious effects to health from the numerous steam-engines in the metropolis.

The house having gone into a committee on the slave registry act, Mr. Goulburn moved that the chairman should ask leave to bring in a bill establishing some new regulations on this subject. The plan to be proposed was, that there should be an office in this country, in which duplicates should be lodged of the number of slaves in each colony; that an individual should be appointed for its superintendance; that power of reference to the duplicates in this office should be given to all parties; and that on the removal of slaves from one colony to another, certificates should be given to that effect; and that precautions should be adopted to prevent abuses of the permission given by the act 46th of the king, to slaves to accompany their masters from one colony to another. After a short conversation, the motion was agreed to, and, on the house being resumed, leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mr. Brogden brought up the report of the finance resolutions. On the question that they be agreed to, Mr. Curwen opposed the whole plan of the minister, and especially new taxes. He could not consent to additional burthens on his constituents, 4000 of whom, by the hardest labour of 14 hours a day, could not earn more than 5*s*. 9*d*. per week.

Sir H. Parnell objected to the proposed application of the sinking fund for the current services.

Mr. P. Moore would never consent to any new tax until he saw that every economical exertion had been made by government.

Mr. Hume strongly recommended

mended economy. The allowance for Ceylon, the Ionian Islands, and the Cape of Good Hope, ought to be discontinued. The civil list should be reduced from 1,200,000*l.* to 900,000*l.* Gold lace and gorgeous trappings added nothing to the British character; economy was what was needed—strict undeviating economy. Look at the office of commander in chief: would any man believe that we were paying 16 guineas a day to an individual for filling an office which was wholly useless? If the necessary papers were produced, it would appear that the income of that royal duke was scarcely less than 100,000*l.* per annum. The expenses of the mint, and of the woods and forests, ought also to be reduced: the latter was not of the slightest use, and he (Mr. Hume) hoped to live to see the day when even the pretence of necessity would be taken away, by the sale of all the crown lands, which cost the nation more than they were worth. In the staff of the army only 50,000*l.* might be saved; in the ordnance department 30,000*l.* and in the army extraordinaries no less than 150,000*l.* One great source of charge to the nation was the mode in which stamps were distributed. In all cases more was paid to the distributers than they merited. The profit upon stamps was 10 per cent.; so no salary ought to be allowed.

Mr. Primrose was not prepared to go the length of some of the opponents of the measure, but he objected to the malt tax, and one or two other items.

Mr. D. W. Harvey said, that 24,000*l.* a year might be saved in exchequer prosecutions; for at present, in a suit for only a 20*l.* penalty, there were five counsel always employed for the crown.

Mr. alderman Waithman objected to the whole of the taxes. It was particularly galling that many of those who lived upon taxation, and who imposed fresh burdens upon a starving people, retired to enjoy themselves in a foreign country.

The first and second resolutions were then agreed to.

On the declaratory resolution relative to the Irish finances Sir J. Newport moved an amendment, by inserting after the words "united kingdom" the words "notwithstanding there had been raised by taxes on the people of Ireland, and paid into the exchequer, within the period which elapsed between the union of the kingdoms and the consolidation of the treasuries, the sum of 60,125,000*l.* being an annual average of 3,750,000*l.* raised by tax, and exceeding the annual average of 12 years preceding the union, which was 1,344,000*l.*, in the sum of 2,400,000*l.* of net revenue. The amendment was then negatived without a division, and the resolution agreed to; and the other resolutions being put *seriatim*, were carried successively in the affirmative, till the question was put upon the last, when sir M. W. Ridley moved an amendment, declaring that "it is not expedient, in the distressed state of the country, and until every practical retrenchment had been made, to add to the burdens of the people by the imposition of new taxes."

After some observations from Mr. Vansittart, lord Milton, Mr. Primrose,

Primrose, and others, the amendment was negatived, and the original resolution carried by 186 to 76.

June 9.—Mr. serjeant Onslow agreed to put off the usury laws repeal bill until next session, in order to ascertain the effect of the resumption of cash payments.

The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer said, that by the several discussions which had already taken place upon the various topics which formed a part of the budget, much of his labour on the present occasion would be abridged. The house having already agreed to a resolution for additional taxes, made it unnecessary for him to state the grounds upon which those taxes were required. It only, therefore, remained for him to state the details of those principles which the house had already agreed upon. He would then begin by recapitulating, as usual, the items of expense and supply—the arrangements which had been made as to the specific application of the means—and show, in the conclusion, that it would not be necessary in future to have recourse to fresh taxes, or to any extraordinary supplies, except a small loan next year.

The first grant was for the army, the ordinaries and extraordinaries of which together amounted to 8,900,000*l.* For the navy, parliament had already voted 6,486,000*l.*; for the ordnance, 1,191,000*l.*; for miscellaneous services, 1,950,000*l.* The total of the supplies therefore was 18,477,000*l.* But to that must be added 1,570,000*l.* for interest on exchequer bills, and 430,000*l.* for a sinking fund on those exchequer bills, making the total amount 20,477,000*l.* To meet that expenditure, parliament had already voted the annual malt duties 3,000,000*l.*, and the continuation of excise duties 3,500,000*l.* It was his intention to propose raising 240,000*l.* by way of lottery. From the sale of naval stores it was estimated that 834,447*l.* would be produced. The aggregate amount of those several sums was 7,74,447*l.* It was therefore obvious, that means must be adopted to provide the sum of nearly thirteen millions and a half, which was the difference between the total of the supplies and the total of the ways and means, as he had hitherto described them. It was also necessary to provide the means of repaying 5,000,000*l.* to the bank of England, and of raising 5,597,000*l.* for the reduction of the unfunded debt; government standing pledged to that proceeding. For those purposes it was proposed to raise two loans, each to the amount of 12,000,000*l.* The details of that loan, which was to be derived from the sinking fund, he would submit to parliament at an early day. All that he would now state was, that it was proposed in the arrangements respecting it, to press as little as possible on the money market; and, therefore, to divide it into twelve monthly payments; those payments not to be equal, but to be to the amount of 900,000*l.* a month in the July and January quarters, and 1,100,000*l.* a month in the April and October quarters. That would leave 310,000*l.* of sinking fund to be applied monthly

monthly to the reduction of the national debt. The two loans of 12,000,000*l.* added to the ways and means which he had already enumerated, would make 31,074,000*l.* which, compared with the amount of the supplies, viz. 20,477,000*l.*, left a surplus of 10,597,000*l.* to be applied to the reduction of the unfunded debt, viz. 5,000,000*l.* to the payment of the bank of England, and the remaining 5,597,000*l.* to the payment of individuals holding exchequer bills. The comparative view of the whole of the supplies and ways and means, was, therefore, as follows:

SUPPLIES.	
Army	£ 8,900,000
Navy	6,436,000
Ordnance . . .	1,191,000
Miscellaneous . .	1,950,000
Total supplies	18,477,000
Interest on exchequer bills . .	1,570,000
Sinking fund on ditto . . .	430,000
	20,477,000
By reduction of unfunded debt	10,597,000
	£ 31,074,000

WAYS AND MEANS.	
Annual malt .	£ 3,000,000
Excise duties continued . . .	3,500,000
Lottery . . .	240,000
Old stores . .	334,000
	7,074,000
Loan	12,000,000
Loan from the sinking fund .	12,000,000
	£ 31,074,000

He had now to state to the committee the terms on which he had that morning contracted for the loan of 12,000,000*l.*; and he was happy to congratulate the committee and the country, that in consequence of the competition which had been excited the terms of that loan were highly advantageous and satisfactory, and were, indeed, such as clearly to evince a reviving confidence and increasing spirit in the money market. The terms were as follows: viz. that for every 100*l.* of the 12,000,000*l.* subscribed, the subscribers should receive 80*l.* stock in the three per cent. consols, and 62*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* stock in the three per cent. reduced. Two other lists were offered, the one proposing to receive 65*l.* 10*s.* in the three per cent. reduced, the other 65*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The list preferred, therefore, far outwent its competitors, and was consequently accepted; as, of course, the smaller the sum which it was offered to take in the stock in which it was appointed that the biddings should be made, the greater the benefit to the public. The whole amount borrowed, including the loan, from the sinking fund, was 24,000,000*l.*; the interest on this loan amounted to 1,029,120*l.*, and the charge for the sinking fund to 403,594*l.* This was strictly carrying into effect the provisions of the act of 1813, by which, when a loan should exceed the amount of the sinking fund, an addition was appointed to be made to the charge for the sinking fund; though this provision might have been dispensed with, when so large a proportion of the loan was for the purpose of paying off unfunded debt. The sinking

ing fund then amounted to 1,403,594*l.*; the amount of charges of management was 10,291*l.*; making a total of 1,442,005*l.*

As to the charge for management, he thought the bank had no right to any allowance for that part of the loan derived from the sinking fund, but only to that part of it now obtained from the public. The loan obtained from the sinking fund would stand in the names of the commissioners, and the interest would be applied in the same manner as the other sums which were paid over to them. The total charge to the public was, as he had already stated, 1,442,005*l.* The rate of interest to the subscribers was 4*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* The total amount of charge to be paid by the public would be 6*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* including the sinking fund. He certainly had to congratulate the public on the terms of the loan; and he trusted it would not be unfavourable to the parties who had contracted for the loan: though the terms appear at first sight hardly justifiable to those who had taken it, judging from the present price of stocks. Before he proceeded to the other part of the budget, he wished to advert to the subject of next year. As far as could be judged at present, the amount which would remain to be raised next year would not exceed eleven millions for the different branches of the public service. In addition to this, they would have to provide for a payment to the bank of five millions, to complete the repayment of ten millions due to that body. Those two sums amounted to sixteen millions. After taking twelve millions from the sinking fund, there remained 4,000,000*l.* to be raised in the money market. This sum was so moderate, that he apprehended there would be little difficulty in obtaining it. The present state of the unfunded debt, in addition to the funded debt, was forty millions, provided for by votes of supply; exchequer bills 44,600,000*l.*; Irish treasury bills, payable in July, 4,400,000*l.* In another year the unfunded debt would be reduced to 38,500,000*l.*, making a diminution of 10,500,000*l.* The amount of the charge of loan last year was 1,600,000*l.*; of the present year 1,433,000*l.*, which together somewhat exceeded 3,000,000*l.* He then proceeded to state the third head, that of additional taxes. He said that the details were minute and complicated, but that the total amount of the consolidated customs, including an additional duty on foreign wool, would amount to 500,000*l.*

The right honourable gentleman proceeded to enumerate the articles to be rendered subject to additional taxes, viz. tobacco, coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, chocolate-nuts. The two latter were to bear an equal duty with coffee. The right honourable gentleman then stated the present duty on tobacco: by the plan proposed, plantation, Spanish, and Portuguese, were to be raised from 3*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* per barrel; and East Indian from 5*s.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* per ditto, making altogether an increase of revenue of 500,000*l.* The present duty on plantation coffee was 7¼*d.* per lb., which was to be raised to one shilling; on East Indian, 11*d.*, to be advanced to 1*s.* 8*d.*: thus, on both, the duty of

of 1*s.* 6½*d.* was to be augmented to 2*s.* 6*d.* Upon pepper the duty was to be increased from 1*s.* 10*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* The result of the increased duty on the former would be 130,000*l.*; on the latter, 30,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman then stated, that by an intended transfer of the collection of these duties from the board of customs to the board of excise, great expense would be saved, and embezzlement and adulteration of articles prevented. The next subject was the increased duty upon malt, which at 1*s.* 2*d.* per bushel was to produce 1,400,000*l.*, and he expressed his conviction that the additional duty ought not to have the effect of raising the price of beer. The next subject was the duty upon British distilled spirits, which tax was to be confined exclusively to England, while the others were to extend to the remaining parts of the united kingdom. The present duty on malt for distilling was 1*s.* 9*d.* per gallon, which was to be raised to 2*s.* On sugar-wash, the duty was to be 2*s.* 6*d.*; and on distillery wine, 3*s.* 6*d.* The amount of augmented revenue from this tax would be 500,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman observed, that when an additional tax was laid on malt, the wholesome beverage of the people, it was right and politic that a protecting price should be put on spirits, to prevent their too general adoption in preference to malt drink. In conclusion, the right hon. gentleman expressed a hope, that after next year he should have no more to undergo the painful duty of applying to the public for a loan, or calling on the house for additional taxes.

Some discussion followed this statement, chiefly upon the three millions of taxes imposed towards creating a new sinking fund. Strong objections were urged against taxing malt. The hardship, it was contended, would fall upon the grower; and the argument urged by Mr. Vansittart, that since the brewers had kept up the price of beer after the reduction of the malt tax, they could reasonably maintain the same price under the present tax, which left them in a better situation than under the former, was answered by the assertion that the brewers had reduced the price, but were obliged to raise it in consequence of the bad harvests, and that it was the apprehension of the present tax that prevented their lowering the prices more recently. The principal speakers against the new duties were, Messrs. Grenfell, Bennet, Mansfield, Grant, (alderman) Wood, and sir Robert Wilson. The new duties were ultimately agreed to, after a division upon the lottery tax which was carried in favour of ministers by 117 to 49; and three on the malt tax, which were likewise carried on the part of ministers by majorities of 198 to 97, 191 to 57, and 185 to 40.

House of lords, June 10.—The marquis of Camden's tellership bill was read a second time. Lord Liverpool passed a high eulogium on the marquis for the sacrifice he had made of 100,000*l.* to the public.

He also panegyrized the late marquis of Buckingham, who had sacrificed emoluments amounting to 40,000*l.*

The marquis of Lansdown cordially

dially concurred in what had fallen from the noble lord.

In answer to some observations by lord Darnley, lord Melville said, he thought it advisable to imitate the best models of ship-building among foreign nations, and also that we should have a certain number of vessels fit to meet those of the American government. The marines exceeded in number those of former peace establishments by from 16,000 to 20,000. The crews of the guard-ships were employed in the pursuit of smugglers, but on emergency could easily be recalled to their own ships.

Earl Grey moved the second reading of the bill for repealing the act declaring the belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints to be idolatrous. The repeal would not, he observed, admit catholics into either house of parliament whilst the act of supremacy was in force; but after the concessions which had been already made, why should such an odious badge of intolerance be gratuitously maintained?

The bishop of Norwich spoke strongly in favour of the bill, which he hoped would pave the way for the repeal of all the disqualifications under which the catholics laboured.

The archbishop of Canterbury opposed it, as removing the only effectual security against the admission of catholics to seats in parliament; for the oath of supremacy had formerly proved no bar to their sitting.

The earl of Liverpool took the same view of the question.

Lords Grenville and Harrowby supported the bill, which was opposed by the lord chancellor and lord Bathurst; and on a division, the motion for the second reading was negatived by 141 to 82.

In the commons, the same day, petitions were presented from the common council of London, and from Westminster, Southwark, Rochester, Plymouth, Ramsgate, Forfar, and other places, against the foreign enlistment bill.

Mr. Western moved an address to the prince regent, praying his royal highness to direct that, in future, commissions of gaol delivery should be held more frequently.

The motion was opposed by the attorney general, who argued, that as the courts at Westminster-hall were at present constituted, it would be impossible for the judges to go to the circuits more frequently. The learned gentleman recommended that the county sessions should be held eight times a year, by which the evil complained of would be lessened. To set the question aside for the present he moved the previous question, which was carried.

On the motion of Mr. Hume, several returns were ordered relative to the revenue and expenditure of Ceylon, the Mauritius, Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope. A motion for a return of the expense of the Ionian Islands to this country was also agreed to; but one for an account of their revenue was negatived, on the ground that their revenue was not under the controul of the British government.

The report on the budget was then brought up, and the resolutions read.

Lord Milton proposed an amendment

amendment on that relative to malt, for a reduction of the duty. It was negatived without a division, and the original resolution was carried, on a division, by 126 to 75.

Mr. J. P. Grant moved amendments on all the other resolutions respecting the new taxes, to the effect of keeping the several duties at their present rates; but he did not divide the house on any of them; and they were consequently carried, and bills ordered to be brought in pursuant to the resolutions.

The attorney-general then moved that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house on the foreign enlistment bill.

Alderman Wood said, that before this was done, he should take the opportunity of presenting a petition from several residents in Westminster, against the foreign enlistment bill. Though it had only been open for signatures a few hours, it was very numerously and respectably signed.

The petition was then brought up, read, and ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

Colonel Davies, before the house went into the committee, took the opportunity of contradicting certain circumstances which had been mentioned by the supporters of the bill on the last occasion that the question had been argued. The noble lord had then laid great stress upon this country being bound by treaties to do Spain every service that lay within her power, and had argued in such a manner as would have led any inconsiderate person to believe, that Spain had not merely always acted in such a manner towards us, but had even strained every nerve to put a favourable construction upon such of her institutions as were hostile to our commercial intercourse with her subjects. But was such a statement reconcileable with facts? Would any body, except the noble lord, pretend to argue that the conduct of Spain had not been one continued series of unwarrantable aggressions against this country? that she had not violated almost every treaty which she had ever made with us? that she had not committed the most gross and unjustifiable outrages against our national honour? that she had not imprisoned the bodies, confiscated the property, and annihilated, as far as depended upon herself, the commerce of British merchants? He maintained that she had done all this upon repeated occasions, and said that the charges which he had brought against her were not mere invectives, unsupported by facts, but were so corroborated by them that he would defy the noble lord either to contradict or to disprove them.

He would mention one or two of the facts on which he principally rested his assertions. The treaty upon which all our commercial transactions with Spain rested was made in the year 1667, and was afterwards confirmed by the peace of Utrecht. This, with some slight fluctuations, continued till the year 1783, when another treaty was formed between the two countries. That remained in force till the year 1796, when it was again altered. In 1806, when Spain was at the feet of Buonaparte, duties absolutely prohibitory were imposed by the king for the

the avowed purpose of annihilating the commerce of great Britain. In 1808, the patriot war broke out, and those prohibitory duties were withdrawn. In 1814, Ferdinand was restored, and he introduced the commercial relations that existed previous to 1796: on the faith of his decrees British merchants imported into Spain large quantities of our manufactures, and followed them up by very extensive orders; yet would the house believe, in less than six months afterwards, that monarch, who owed his very existence to this country, re-imposed the very prohibitory duties which Buonaparte had compelled in 1806! and he besides took care that the decree should have a retrospective operation. This was one of the favours for which we were indebted to the present Spanish government. Since that date still heavier duties had been laid on British goods; so that in truth the trade had been totally destroyed. But if such were the conduct of Ferdinand towards us as a nation, the instances of individual outrage were gross and tyrannical beyond conception, beyond even the lawless tyranny of an eastern despot. The Spanish cabinet had not only set at defiance the clearest law of nations, but had disregarded its own municipal regulations, for the purpose of oppressing the merchants of this kingdom.

One case, selected from many, would be sufficient for the present occasion: it was that of a Mr. Simpson, a merchant, who had been subjected to the most grievous oppression, not in a distant province, but in the purlieus of the court—in the heart of the capital. His house had been forcibly entered on the 14th of October, 1816, all his books seized, and a sentry placed over his person: he of course remonstrated, but our envoy at Madrid, Mr. Vaughan, could obtain neither redress nor explanation; and at the end of a fortnight Mr. Simpson's house was again entered at night by armed men, who threatened instant death if he did not disclose where his property was kept. He was still kept in custody for some days, and at last was released; but from that hour to the present justice had been refused, and he had not been able to obtain the restoration of a single article of his property. Such had been the conduct of the myrmidons of the court of Spain, notwithstanding it had been constantly provided, ever since the treaty of Utrecht, that the persons and dwellings of British merchants should be held sacred. Of these facts the individual so injured was ready to make oath; and yet with a knowledge of the whole of them, the noble lord had expressed his surprise that British merchants should feel any alarm, and he had charged them with departing from their characters as British merchants, because they remonstrated against the most grievous injustice. (No, no, from lord Castlereagh.) Such had been the tenour of the whole speech of the noble lord on a former night; he had, indeed, directly charged British merchants with becoming bucaniers and smugglers, and with preferring smuggling adventures to fair legitimate trade. Did the noble lord imagine that Spain, the moment she regained an ascendancy in her colonies, would

would not exclude our commerce? Did he not know, that while she had any authority she had punished with death the natives who carried on intercourse with any nation but the mother country?

The noble lord had referred to the conduct of the United States, but had he forgotten the interest which that people took in the events in South America? Had he forgotten that in 1816 they sent out commissioners expressly to collect commercial information, particularly regarding the value of the trade to Buenos-Ayres, which had been since published in a report, and proved the wonderful resources of the favoured regions they had visited? If, then, the United States, pressed by none of the distresses that weighed upon this country—if the United States, who could derive but little comparative benefit from a trade with South America, had taken such pains to inquire, was it fit that we should be totally indifferent? Were we to submit to all kinds of insults from Spain, to have our manufactures excluded, our trade ruined, and to do nothing on behalf of millions of men, who on the other side of the globe were anxious to receive us with open arms, and to compensate in the new world for what we had lost in the old? It appeared that Buenos-Ayres received British manufactures to the amount of more than 2,000,000*l.* annually, while the utmost that had been sent to the mother country did not exceed 400,000*l.* What comparison, therefore, was there between the two? and how short-sighted was the policy ministers were endeavouring to pursue! If this bill passed, though the hope of emancipation might not be destroyed, the event must be retarded. The South Americans turned to Great Britain as to a land of succour and freedom: and if they were disappointed, their disgust would be in proportion to their despair. They would then of necessity direct their eyes to the great commercial and naval rival of this country, with whom we were at peace, it was true, but with whom that peace would continue only just as long as suited the interests of that rival.

He would venture to prophesy, that within six months after the passing of this bill the Buenos-Ayres government would be recognised by the United States, a commercial treaty would be formed, and the United States would at least monopolize the carrying-trade, and undersell us with our own goods in the South American markets. Upon the legal part of the question he only wished to remark, that the acts of the 9th and 29th Geo. II. were completely a dead letter on our statute-book: only three British subjects were serving with the king's license in the royal armies of South America, while from 50 to 60 were serving without license, and under those statutes were guilty of felony: if any additional proof were wanting that the acts were a dead letter, it was found in this fact—that only on Thursday last, two British officers, without license, in the service of Ferdinand, and consequently felons by the existing law, in full Spanish uniform, at the prince regent's levee, took their formal leave. The utmost Spain could expect was the repeal of those two statutes. He had hoped

that

that after the division of a former night ministers would not have forced this measure upon the country; but the treasury circular, which he had seen, unfortunately showed that they intended to persevere to the last. He was sorry to find that his statement was confirmed, and that the government of Great Britain was under the necessity of yielding to the dictation of a foreign power. He opposed the bill, because it was calculated not only to destroy the best interests of the country, but to degrade it in the eyes of all Europe.

Mr. F. Robinson contended that if the arguments of the honourable gentleman were well founded, he had made out a case to prove that this country could not without dishonour avoid declaring war against Spain. If there were any foundation for the charges adduced, and if the gloomy colours in which the conduct of Spain had been painted were at all warranted, Great Britain had no choice left. Before he proceeded to the immediate question, he protested, in the most unequivocal and solemn manner, that the imputation against ministers, that this measure had proceeded from a servile acquiescence in the demands of any foreign nation, was wholly unjustified by the fact; it had been brought forward only from a conscientious conviction that it was required for the preservation of the honour and character of the country. He could not expect that his declaration would be accepted as proof, but he protested before God that it was sincere. It had been charged, that ministers were acting in hostility to the principles of liberty: it was very easy to make general accusations, and very difficult to answer them but by a general denial, and this he gave in the most distinct and positive manner. With regard to the question itself, there could be no doubt that the crown had a prerogative right to establish a neutrality, and any violation of it was punishable at common law. The measure was founded upon these admitted facts; and if it went further than the common law, it was because there was a specific obligation by a special treaty with Spain, binding this country to take the most effectual measures to prevent its subjects from supplying arms to the revolted Americans. It was, therefore, of course, the wish of ministers not to make a mere show of neutrality, and their sincerity was first evinced by the royal proclamation. The agents of the insurgents, notwithstanding, had succeeded in enlisting hundreds of men the very instant they were disbanded from our own regiments; and if this government were to act with any regard to good faith in its engagements, it was bound to adopt some more effectual measure. Great ingenuity had been shown in endeavouring to prejudice the house by calling in aid passions and interests; and the first objection was, that the bill had been introduced at the suggestion of a foreign power. True it was, the dictations of other states ought not to be attended to: for instance when Buonaparte required the prosecution of the free press of this country, after the peace of Amiens, the government would have disgraced itself by compliance; but when treaties were involved,

volved, how could a foreign power obtain redress but by war, if its remonstrances were not listened to?

In 1794 a treaty precisely similar was entered into between Great Britain and the United States, and we had been obliged to make representations that the conditions were not fulfilled, and an act to endure for three years was passed; at the end of that time the same act was continued at the suggestion of Great Britain; and if it had not been attended to, a justifiable cause of war would unquestionably have been afforded. So here, Spain would have a justifiable cause for declaring war, if we did not do our utmost to fulfill our treaty: and though her weakness might deter her from hazarding hostilities with a generous nation, that ought to be the very reason why all cause of complaint should be removed. This might be further illustrated by a reference to the expedition of sir Gregor M'Gregor: he raised his troops in this country, he obtained the ships to transport them in this country, yet had no commission from any sovereign authority, and had not one foot of ground in the country to which he was proceeding. He went to attack a part of the territory still adhering to old Spain, with which this country carried on a very advantageous trade; and though he had a right perhaps to attack Spanish property, he could not assail that of Great Britain, without being guilty of the most atrocious acts of piracy and robbery. Having done so, where was redress to be obtained? Sir Gregor M'Gregor had no court but his ship, no law but his sword; and in a case of that kind it was the absolute duty of government to take some steps for the protection of the commercial interests of the kingdom, even supposing that honour and honesty were out of the question. Next it was urged, that the cause of the South Americans was just, that it was most fitly and naturally popular in Great Britain, and that to support it would importantly relieve the commercial and manufacturing interests of the kingdom. No man could be more sensible than he (Mr. Robinson) was of the impolicy and injustice of the system pursued by old Spain towards her colonies for centuries; and no man who loved liberty could wonder that the struggle in which the insurgents were engaged, excited a strong feeling in their favour here. He knew, too, that commercial pressure was at this moment peculiarly felt, and of course that there was great anxiety that this field for speculation should be opened: yet, recollecting the solemn treaties entered into by this country, he could not but pause at least before he consented to sacrifice to feeling and interest the honour and good faith of the nation: in his view, nothing on earth should be held so dear by a country as fidelity in its engagements. What state could confide in us in future, if we held out to the world that for pecuniary considerations the most sacred obligations were disregarded? He implored the house to reflect for a moment on the consequences. Could any period of our history be pointed out when peace was so essential to our welfare as at present? But if we were to act upon the principles recommended

recommended by the opponents of the bill, with what country on earth could we be in bonds of amity? Should we not point ourselves out as the mark against which all other powers would be justified in aiming their hostility? The honourable member had talked of obtaining rewards in the new world for what we had lost in the old; but could he hope that even the revolted Americans, after they had made use of us for temporary purposes, would trust us more than other states whose treaties we had purposely violated? Upon the whole, therefore, he (Mr. Robinson) held the measure to be of the last importance to our character; and it was impossible that the British parliament should reject it, unless it preferred the gratification of passion, and the promotion of interest, to the preservation of good faith and national honour.

Sir James Mackintosh began by declaring his concurrence in the intention expressed by an honourable gentleman (the member for the city of London) on a former occasion, of opposing the whole of this bill, except the clause which went to repeal the acts of George II. He should, however, confine himself to the strict question of neutrality; and would undertake to prove to the house that, with the exception of that clause, the effect of the bill would be the destruction, not the protection, of our neutrality. He differed with the originators of a measure which was a departure from all strict principles of that character. He did not object to this because it was a bill brought in at the request and on the representations of another power, but because he dissented from its provisions; he did not object to it because it was the first statute put on their books (which was in itself sufficiently extraordinary), or attempted to be put, by the Spanish ambassador, exercising a power which was rather unprecedented, he believed; he opposed it upon other grounds. He was certainly much surprised to hear the right honourable gentleman who had just spoken upon the subject with so much eloquence and clearness, drawing, from the same premises, so different an inference to what he himself had done. Neutrality, he thought, consisted firstly in a government's abstaining from giving to one of two belligerent powers any undue influence over the other; and secondly, in the impartiality of its laws to both these belligerents. Now, it appeared from the very reference to the statutes of George II., which were enacted under particular circumstances, that the common-law of England on this point was strictly impartial. He should be glad to know how these statutes, being coupled with the proclamation of 1817, would make this bill necessary? If not, any act made in regard to Spain, which was not strictly fair as between herself and her colonies, was a breach of neutrality: and this, necessarily a work of supererogation. They were called upon to pass it just when it suited the policy and the necessities of Spain to ask it of them. Much had been said about the acts of Geo. II.: but if the right honourable gentleman had read them over with as much care as he (sir J. Mackintosh) had done, he would have found that by the 9th Geo.

II. officers entering into the service of Spain were not guilty of capital felony: it was serving the king of France which was held to be so by that statute. The 29th of the same reign declared private soldiers so situated guilty of felony; no penalty was denounced against the officers.

It was well known to all those conversant with the private history of the reign of George II., that at no time were individuals more affected by laws of this nature, than during the period between 1733 and 1736, when, from the common error of mistaking the unpopularity of the minister for the unpopularity of the reigning family, the Jacobites and other disaffected persons were induced to enter into foreign services, with the view of availing themselves of that spirit of discontent which they were perpetually fancying they observed at home. The common law of this country was equally impartial in its efficacies and its inefficacies with regard to Spain, and in its conveniencies and inconveniencies with regard to both belligerents. It was the duty of all neutral powers that their laws should be thus impartial; but their efficacy was a very different question. That depended upon considerations of policy, expediency, feeling, the temper of the people, and other circumstances. The right honourable gentleman had adverted with becoming spirit to the interference of Napoleon in the year 1802 in regard to the British press. He concurred with him in the indignant warmth he had manifested upon that point, but it was strange the very language which was then used was now urged in support of the bill. What was done upon that occasion was well known; but because a verdict at common law was obtained by the head of the French government, did any man propose, that a bill should be brought in to abolish the liberty of the press? The evil which it was now proposed to remedy, it had been said, there was nothing in the common law that could prevent. But they had nothing to regret, therefore: if the common law had never contemplated it, would any one endure the interference of a foreign power on such a subject?

The honourable gentleman had remarked upon the conduct of the United States in this particular. The United States concluded a treaty, and passed an act to put it into execution; and why should not we do so?—Because the common law of England was sufficient, while that of America was not; because the power of making war or peace was not vested in the president of the United States as it was in our king. In America, then, a legislative act was necessary. As the proclamation of 1817 was still in force, how could any legislative measure be necessary here? It was something remarkable, that in a great commercial nation which had so long flourished in security and glory, a bill of this kind should now be first introduced into parliament. He would ask, admitting the truth and existence of the evil complained of, yet even then, why were they to pass a bill so favourable to the party at whose instance it was framed? Why was Ferdinand VII. to be so favoured, a name on which he should fasten

no epithets, because it could receive no addition from any thing which he could say, to those with which it was already loaded. It was for honourable gentlemen to blame, not the rigour of impartial laws, but the interposition of new ones. Would they, the honourable gentlemen opposite, require parliament to arraign the wisdom of their ancestors, and alter and invert those ancient laws which had existed throughout so many centuries? Was this true? could it be denied that they, that we had existed for a long time? and yet, in that period, was such an application as the present ever before made? If ever, it was by the same power in the reign of James I., after the memorable treaty of 1694, which put an end to a long war; and when James, in his precipitate eagerness to reconcile himself with the legitimate princes of the continent, first began to depart from those maxims of sound policy which had put Elizabeth, his glorious predecessor, at the head of what he might term a body of national independence.

With the permission of the house, he would advert to an old document, which was strikingly in point. In the memoirs of sir Ralph Winwood, who was secretary to James I., there was a letter to him from sir Harry Nevil: it related to a bill then lately brought in, which made it penal for a subject to go abroad into the service of a foreign power, without having first taken the oath of allegiance (as it had been then recently framed): from this he would just observe, it was quite clear that it had never been considered an offence by the common law. In the letter, which was dated July 8, 1616, sir Harry Nevil, who had introduced the bill, observed, "that it was confined to those who entered the service of popish princes only; but he added, the lords had spoiled the bill by making its provisions universal. Upon mentioning this circumstance to lord Salisbury, that nobleman told him it was of no consequence, seeing how easily the amendment might be evaded." Sir Harry Nevil then went on to say, there was an apprehension of the interference of Spain; and in fact, the lords were solicited by that power for much the same concessions as the present. But the ancient friends and counsellors of Elizabeth refused to follow such a disgraceful and degrading course; and nothing appeared to show that Spain ever thought we had acted contrary to the law of nations. But instances of service like that complained of, being embarked in by subjects of this realm, were innumerable; and as the honourable gentlemen on the opposite side seemed to be more partial to them, he would mention some Spanish examples, as most to their taste. Nor were facts and historical experience the only authorities against the principle of the proposed bill, but there was that of the writers on the law of nations; particularly of the celebrated Bynkershoek, who was president of the courts of Holland. On the question whether it be a breach of neutrality to allow a friendly belligerent to levy troops in your territory, he answers in the negative. What would have been the cheers of gentlemen opposite, had any honourable gentleman

on his side of the house ventured upon asserting an opinion similar to that which was the result of this grave sage's meditation?

In the war of the bishop of Munster against Holland, in 1666, the states-general complained to the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, that he permitted the former to levy troops in his (the governor's) territories against the states. And what did he reply to them? That the bishop of Munster was his friend, and that the Spanish territories were as open to his levies as they were to the states for the same purpose. A great breach of the law, forsooth! Why, what would they say in the case of one of the greatest princes and most valiant leaders Europe ever saw? Every body knew that the great Gustavus Adolphus had with him not a little proportion of British troops; not a little smuggled army, and a few half-pay officers, on board a transport or two in the Downs, but a Scotch army of 6,000 men; an army which, united with a handful of other troops, enabled him to traverse a great part of Europe, burst the slavish fetters which manacled his country, and gave liberty to Germany. And who was the commander of those 6,000 men? not a sir Gregor M'Gregor, of whom he knew little, and for whom he certainly cared nothing; but the marquis of Hamilton, a man of the first distinction and consequence in his own country, and the personal friend of his king; from whom, however, he had no license. Yet at that time the Spanish and Imperial ambassadors were resident in London; but never presumed to make a demand like that in question. Vattel had distinctly said, that it was no breach of neutrality for a nation to allow its subjects to serve one belligerent, and refuse them to another.

He (sir James Mackintosh) begged to make one more allusion to the time of James I. A great body of English troops, commanded by one of the most gallant captains of his day, sir Horace Vere, served against the Spaniards, and received pay from a foreign power. Yet Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whom the king (James) was endeavouring by every means to conciliate, and to whose court he was even then making the basest and most abject submission, did not dare to ask that now proposed in a British house of commons. Gondomar, the ambassador of a haughty and powerful court, the almost viceroy of Spain, and the murderer of a man eminent for all the accomplishments and splendid talents of rare and unbounded genius, sir Walter Raleigh; a poet, a philosopher, a statesman, a skilful soldier, an intrepid seaman; in short, one of those in whom appeared every requisite necessary for a character of heroic greatness:—Gondomar, whose influence procured his destruction, and whose power placed him beyond punishment, even he never had the courage to demand of parliament such a concession. It was not more important as a question affecting the ruined commerce of a great country, than as a most dangerous precedent; because hereafter the envoys of despotic powers might besiege the doors of a British minister with claims equally novel, unfounded, and disgraceful, and say to him, "You cannot surely refuse to us what you have granted to such a man

man as Ferdinand!" What they had refused to the greatest of modern military tyrants and despotic sovereigns; what they had denied to Louis XIV. and Philip II., they were required to give to Ferdinand VII., by whom the feelings of all men breathing were excited in a way which he would not describe. The simple question then was, whether they would change their laws at the desire of a foreign power? Now, among honourable gentlemen opposite, there was a disposition not very favourable to any reform in general: they saw only one defect in our laws which they would wish to remedy. The constitution framed by our ancestors, more with a view to their own liberty, than the desires of foreign nations, did not perhaps possess sufficient conveniences; it did not possibly enable the minister, in reply to the applications of foreign ambassadors, to say with a smile, that certainly every thing should be done to meet the enlightened and benevolent wishes of that Marcus Aurelius of Spain, Ferdinand VII. That coarse system of our ancestors was hardly in unison with the ideas of ministers, which dwelt upon the refined and improved governments of the continental powers: and, therefore, they must have something by way of imitation—an alien act for instance. When, in 1802, lord Liverpool, the then secretary of state (and every body must highly applaud his conduct), replied to Napoleon, with certainly as much propriety as it came from the barons of old, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*," they did not leave the parliament for the minister. They should have told Ferdinand, that the law should be obeyed, and that he must be satisfied; and since the time of Louis XIV. every power in Europe had been compelled to be satisfied with, or to acquiesce in, the existing law. (The honourable member here took a short review of the nominal style and present government of the insurgent states; arguing that the proposed bill would be inoperative in regard to officers holding commissions from that government, and did not consider the cases of those who had not.) There was one sort of aid which this country would give to Spain, and not to the insurgents; and that was an an aid which the proposed bill did not guard against—he meant the supply of transports to the king of Spain. This then was an omission which bore about it all the marks of the most anti-neutral spirit, and which amounted to a flagrant violation of the neutrality recognised by the treaty of 1814. That treaty was all favourable to the Spanish king; and by the stipulation which we entered into, of not assisting his catholic majesty's subjects against Spain, which subjects in South America we professed our wish to reconcile to the authority of his majesty, we fixed a stigma of rebellion upon those very persons towards whom we now affected a neutrality.

For his own part, in a contest between tyranny and superstition on the one hand, and liberty, or even a gleam of liberty, on the other, his heart never could be neutral. Much had been said, and most unjustly, about the conduct and motives of the merchants. The noble lord had treated them with considerable severity on a former night; but really, he was not so convinced of the superior purity of intention of politicians; and it was hardly a question with him,

whether their intentions were not much oftener infinitely more consonant to the happiness and best interests of mankind. Did they wish for the beggary of Spain? No; they embarked in another cause—the cause of freedom; and with other views, because freedom was the parent of virtue, and industry, and happiness. Among the titles of Ferdinand to the concession he now asked of us, the noble lord had not stated whether there was to be numbered his readiness in meeting the applications of several ambassadors; and among others, of the noble lord himself, relative to the release and liberty of some of those unfortunate gentlemen who had incurred his displeasure. Among them was a Mr. Arguelles, a name which had lately received an eulogy from one of the highest authorities in Europe. The noble lord had talked, too, about the slave trade; but what Ferdinand did for money, the insurgent provinces did voluntarily: what Ferdinand did after long reluctance, the cortes had done before in an instant. What, then, was the merit of these infant states—when their conduct was contrasted with that of European ones, when it was considered that these provinces were themselves imbued with all those Creolean prejudices which must have militated against such a determination? The honourable and learned member concluded his speech, by calling the attention of the house to the melancholy fate of the cortes, an assembly to which Spain was so vitally indebted. It had been said that they (the cortes) were not a recognised assembly; but had we not ourselves accepted from them a trophy of the victorious successes which had distinguished the period of their government, and engraved upon it an inscription, in which their name was coupled with that of the greatest captain of the age? Yet these were the very men who were now doomed to languish in dungeons and obscurity, the victims of that monarch in whose favour the measure was proposed.

Mr. Canning, impelled by a sense of duty, rose, he observed, with considerable reluctance, to remove the splendid impediment which the honourable and learned gentleman had placed to what he thought the only fair and strict view of the case. In proceeding to reply to some of the honourable and learned member's statements, which certainly abounded in eloquent invectives, he could assure him it was from no wish to pass lightly over his magnificent speech. Was it the case that no government, actuated by a spirit of freedom, had attempted to restrain the subject from serving in war any of the belligerent powers of the world? Was there any thing disgraceful, was there any thing incompatible with that spirit of freedom, in enabling a government to lay that restraint upon the actions of the subject? If so, how did it happen that the honourable gentleman approved so cordially of the proclamation of 1817? That was a proclamation which absolutely prohibited the entrance of British subjects into the Spanish colonies; and on this act, almost the only public one of the kind, a high spirit of impartiality had been shown which deserved imitation by every nation. The honourable gentleman had cited many instances from history, in which the

engagement

engagement of the subject in foreign service had not only been permitted but encouraged by the government. The fact was certainly indisputable; but the honourable gentleman was not to learn, that in respect to military service the state of Europe had materially altered since the time of Elizabeth and James I. The profession of arms was then little else than a task imposed throughout the nations of Europe, instead of being a proud and honourable profession. Since those times most material alterations had been made; but it was not the policy of government, but the temper of the times which had undergone a change. Instances of a contrary tendency, however, were to be found. It surely could not have been forgotten, that in 1794 this country complained of various breaches of neutrality on the part of the United States of America. What then was the conduct of that nation? Did the Americans resent these complaints as infringements of their independence?—Did they refuse to take such steps as would ensure the observance of neutrality? An act was immediately passed by the legislature of that country, which prohibited under heavy penalties the engagement of their citizens in the armies of any belligerent power. But was this the only instance in which the Americans had been guilty of this compliance to the wishes of England? It was but last year that the United States passed a law, by which the act of 1794 was confirmed in every respect. The honourable gentlemen might say, "Aye, but America did this, and this with good reason, she had in view a concession from Spain." He (Mr. Canning) would not venture to impute such base motives to America; but certain he was that a British parliament would reject with disdain any compromise tainted with offers of advantage.

This step was taken by government, not because any concessions were expected, but because Spain was weak and powerless, because her resentment, if at any time it might be roused, would be followed by no evil consequences. He (Mr. Canning) felt no sense of shame in discharging a duty to that country so situated; and he did not stop to examine with so much jealousy or scrupulousness as he should have done had Spain happened to be in a different condition. The most eloquent appeals had been made to the magnanimity and generosity of this government, and it was asked, why should there be any interference? Did the honourable gentleman think it would be a wholesome state of things, that troops for foreign service should be suffered to parade about the streets of the metropolis without the power of government to interfere? At this very moment, in some parts of the empire, this was the case, and he had little doubt but that in a very short time these troops would reach the metropolis. If a foreigner should happen to come into our ports, and see all this mighty armament equipped for foreign service, he would naturally ask, "With what nation are you at war?" The answer would be, "With none." "For what purpose, then," he would ask, "are these troops levied, and by whom?" The reply of course would be, "Not by the government, nor is it known for what service

service the army is intended; and be the service what it may, the government cannot interfere."—Would not this give the foreigner a high idea of the freedom of the British constitution? Would it not suggest to him, that for all ordinary purposes of the state there was no government, and, in fact, no nation? He did not ask Englishmen to assist in riveting the fetters of Spain on the South Americans; no, he only wished them to allow the contest to take its own course. He was, however, most anxious that neither the house nor the country should be deceived, either by the show of magnanimity which was displayed by taking up the cause, or by an idea of real utility this country might derive in forwarding the interests of the independents. This country saved European Spain. The fact was recorded in the page of history; but did Spain believe it? England by its exertions might save South America; but would the independents acknowledge it?—No; all the troops which could possibly be sent, would be but flies upon the wheel. Deluded by false expectations, numbers flocked to this land of milk and honey; but they would soon find that all their mighty notions were disappointed, and that at home they would have obtained more riches than if they had sacrificed themselves to this worthless cause. There was not a man in South America, who had there sacrificed himself, possessing any talents, who was not an object of jealousy and hatred, and who, if refractory, was not now languishing in a dreary dungeon. With a knowledge of these dreadful and melancholy facts, was government to stand idle and see these gallant men, deserving a much better fate, hurried away to suffer nothing but degradation, hatred, and punishment?

It was a duty most indispensable for government to interfere, and he should not be treating the house fairly if he did not candidly declare it. He was not disposed to take any benefit of the argument which might be founded on the character of the insurgent states; whether an acknowledged or an unacknowledged power, he would maintain towards Spanish America the strictest good faith; he would cultivate her friendship by every legitimate means, but not by recruiting her armies with our soldiers, not by a breach of faith with old Spain. He was convinced, that if parliament now denied to the executive government the power of maintaining neutrality, instead of accelerating, they would put off the period of a stable permanent connexion between this country and Spanish America. Ministers did not apply to parliament for this extreme aid, till they had tried without effect all the means which were in their power. If the executive government were not now armed with the requisite power, and if before next summer the country should exhibit the scandalous and disgraceful scenes of lawless bands parading through the streets, let not ministers be blamed; for they had warned parliament of the danger, and had called on them for power to prevent it.

Mr. Scarlett said, that in rising to address the house, he felt the difficulty under which he was placed by the splendid eloquence of the two preceding speeches. He certainly should not have offered

fered himself to the house, had he not been convinced that all the arguments of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) were inapplicable to the present case. He understood the right honourable gentleman to have acceded to the opinion of his honourable and learned friend (sir J. Mackintosh) respecting the principle of neutrality, and at the same time to have objected to preserve such neutrality. The right honourable gentleman had called upon the house to enable the executive government to carry into effect the treaty between Spain and this country. If now, after a lapse of five years, it could be shown that a new act of parliament was necessary for this purpose, the house ought to accede to the proposition; but he thought he should be able to show that the whole object of this treaty might be effected by the law as it now stood. In the clause of the treaty which referred immediately to this point, Britain engaged to prevent any of her subjects—from what? not from enlisting in the service of the insurgents, but from sending them arms or ammunition. That the common law of the land was sufficient to carry such a prohibition into effect, could not be questioned. What then became of the right honourable gentleman's argument, when he found that a new law was not necessary for this purpose? But it was said, that an additional law was necessary to maintain the neutrality professed in the proclamation. Did the common law say that the king of Spain should not be at liberty to enlist troops in this country, but that the insurgents should? Certainly not; and the prohibition could not be applicable to the one power without being equally so to the other, unless any statute intervened to prevent the operation of the common law. If any such statutes, framed to meet the particular circumstances of the times in which they were enacted, as was the case with the two statutes of George II.; if any such statutes existed, let them be repealed, and then what more could the king of Spain require? If the common law of the land had been found sufficient to preserve neutrality for the last 200 years, how had it been discovered that it was not sufficient now? Admitting it to be defective, there was an easy remedy to be found in repealing the statutes that rendered it so; but ministers wished to interfere with the common law itself. If we had already a law to meet the case, what right had any foreign power to call on us to enact another law? It had been admitted, that the conduct of Spain did not entitle her to expect any favour at our hands; but then it was urged that our own good faith called on us to adopt the measure, however unmerited on her part. It was clear that she could not enforce it; but then the house had been reminded that it would be ungenerous to take advantage of her weakness, and to deny the boon because she had not the means of compelling us to grant it. Now, the argument amounted to this: Spain was weak and could not compel it, she was worthless and did not deserve it; therefore our merit was the greater in granting it. He should afterwards show that this law was not only unnecessary for the purpose of neutrality, but that in principle it was directly anti-neutral. The right honourable

honourable gentleman had drawn from his own imagination a picture of lawless bands of troops parading through the streets; but surely the common law could punish that offence. He had listened with great attention to the eloquent speech of the right honourable gentleman; and he certainly had been unable to discover any one argument to show that when these statutes were repealed, any thing more would be required. He maintained that, unless in commercial arrangements, no foreign power had a right to call on another to alter the common law of the land for the purposes of neutrality. The honourable and learned member, after briefly adverting to what had been said of the feeling with which merchants viewed the present measure, and suggesting the propriety of leaving to them to consider their own affairs, in the conduct of which they might not be disposed to consult the right honourable gentleman, concluded amidst loud and repeated cheers by again observing, that the present bill would, in every sense of the word, be violating the neutrality which it was proposed to preserve, and destroy those hopes which it was once an object with the British government to excite.

Mr. sergeant Copley contended, that his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Scarlett) had wholly failed in proving the principle with which he had set out; and he appealed to every member, whether the speeches on the other side were not rather appeals to the passions of the house, than arguments against the measure before them. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) in thinking, that if it were intended to depart from the neutrality which we ought to observe, it would be more fair and candid, and more consistent with the dignity of our national character, to do it in an open and manly manner, than to resort to the underhand mode which seemed to be proposed on the other side. The whole measure had originated in the act 9th Geo. II.; and as it was not denied by members opposite, that that act should be repealed so as to substitute a minor for a capital punishment, the principal question was, whether, if any alteration should be agreed on, it should not be carried on so as to make both the belligerent parties equal: but he contended that if these acts were repealed, the common law would be insufficient, as it did not make any provision for enforcing itself. Suppose the act to be repealed, then he maintained that the common law would be quite inadequate to prevent the evil which this bill was intended to put an end to, and it would be absurd to suppose that any law should exist which could not be carried into effect. The offence would be committed before any means could be taken to prevent it. As to what Spain might demand of this country, he should say, that if she demanded any thing at all, it could only be the fulfilment of those treaties which we had contracted with her. She would ask no more; but was it necessary that she should ask, or that we should wait for her to ask, for the fulfilment of those treaties which an accidental slip of our law prevented us from carrying into effect? He maintained, that the measure arose out of the relation of peace in which we stood towards

towards Spain; and without any treaty those relations should teach us a strict neutrality. With respect to the commercial benefits which we might derive from our intercourse with the insurgents, he conceived that they only kept up the intercourse with us because they found it advantageous to themselves; and as long as they found it, they would continue to hold it, whether the present measure was passed or not.

Mr. Brougham rose amidst loud calls for "question" and "withdraw." After the powerfully eloquent, the unanswered and unanswerable speech of his honourable and learned friend (sir J. Mackintosh), a speech which the eloquent declamation of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), and the legal arguments and acute logic of the learned sergeant (Copley), had left altogether untouched, he felt it quite unnecessary to occupy the attention of the house at any length. He felt it less necessary, as he perceived that even into that house the force of public opinion had found its way, and the term "Insurgents" had not been attempted by any member except the learned sergeant. His majesty's ministers had abstained from using the term, which was to him a proof that the strong feeling of the British public, which on this subject had always remained the same, had partly had its effect. He would not found any argument against the present bill upon the loose doctrines advocated, not by him or any of his honourable friends, advocated by no writer which he had read but one, a Swiss, who, from the circumstances of his country, became naturally prejudiced in favour of the right of subjects to enter into the service of belligerent powers in peace with their own. He would say that subjects as well as kings might, on this subject, go as far as the law allowed them. If the law made it a crime to enter in arms against any power in amity with the state, and in this country it was a misdemeanour, that law might be put in operation against the individual so offending. But the learned sergeant (Copley) had said that this law was rendered inoperative to prevent the crime, for that it was committed before any step could be taken to counteract it. Why, what was this but admitting that this was like all other crimes, that it could not be punished until detected? If the individual committing it were caught, he would be punished, and his punishment would serve as a warning to others; but if he could not be caught personally within the jurisdiction of any of our courts, then he was outlawed for the misdemeanour in violating the king's proclamation. The effect of this would be, that he would be obliged to remain banished from his country all his life, or, if he returned, be exposed to a forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, a punishment which, he should observe by the way, was more severe than that which the bill provided. The present bill was, he contended, not only not declaratory of the common law, but quite repugnant to its principle. If it could be proved to him, that the measure was founded upon any treaty which we had pledged ourselves to fulfil, he would be the first man in the

the country to support it, let its inconvenience be ever so great, let its injury to commerce be felt however severely; but he denied that any treaty with Spain bound us to such a measure. A treaty had been made which had never received the sanction of the house, and from that it was contended that this measure ought to be brought in; but who had ever heard that a king could by any treaty pledge himself, or those whom he represented, to an alteration of the established law of the land? or that they (the nation) should be bound by it?—But he again denied that there was any such law as the proposed one implied by the treaty in question. It went, it was true, to prevent the supply of arms, ammunition, &c., but upon this the present bill was wholly silent, while it spoke against the raising of troops or furnishing of money in any manner, of which not one word was to be found in the treaty itself. He would now propose, if no gentlemen on his side of the house should think a different course preferable, to take the sense of the house, not on the question for going into the committee, but after the first clause had been agreed to. In going thus far, the house would show that they were willing to restore the common law to the state in which it stood before the act of the 9th Geo. II. was passed, and that they were determined to reject any measure which might tend to alter the law upon the invidious principle of the present bill.

Lord Castlereagh did not object to the manner in which the honourable gentleman proposed to take the sense of the house, which he thought would be a very convenient one. The repeal of the existing statutes which the honourable gentlemen opposite had in view, was not, however, a measure that carried along with it so much fairness as was attributed to it. There was no equity in reverting to the common law, after having acted with respect to all other powers of Europe for the greater part of a century on statute law. With regard to the treaty by which it had been asserted we were not bound, it ought to be recollected, that it was laid on the table along with the other treaties of amity concluded on the restoration of peace; and that on the whole of the arrangements produced by these treaties, the most approving address ever voted by parliament had been presented to the crown. The question was called for; when the noble lord concluded.

The attorney general moved an instruction to the committee to insert, as an addition to the first clause, words repealing two acts passed by the Irish parliament against foreign enlistments in that country.—Ordered.

The house then resolved into a committee, and the first clause was amended, according to the instruction moved by the attorney general, and agreed to. On the second clause the house divided.

For the clause, 228.—Against it, 174.—Majority, 74.

The several clauses were discussed, and the bill as amended agreed to in the committee.

CHAP.

CHAPTER V.

Cash Payments Bill—Charitable Foundations Bill—Foreign Enlistment Bill—Ways and Means.

HOUSE of lords, June 14.—The royal assent was given by commission to 78 bills, among which were the American convention bill, the members' qualification bill, the Irish fever hospital bill, the benefice dispensation bill, and three or four other public bills. The rest were private.

A petition was presented from Mr. Owen of New Lanark, in favour of the bill for regulating the hours in cotton manufactories. On the question for the committal of the bill, the earl of Rosslyn strenuously opposed it on two grounds; first, that parents are the natural guardians of the health and morals of their children; secondly, that it was wrong to interfere with the free application of labour.

Lord Lauderdale observed, that the bill originated with Mr. Owen; his petition must therefore be regarded in the light of a recommendation from the father to his child. On a division, the committal was carried by 27 to 6.

House of commons, June 15.—The publicans' license bill was recommitted; and the clause prohibiting brewers from acting as licensing magistrates with regard to their own houses, was negatived on a division, by 114 to 70.

June 16.—Mr. Peel obtained leave to bring in a bill to establish further regulations respecting advances by the bank of England upon government securities. The prominent feature of the measure is, that no advances can be made so as to increase the unfunded debt, but under the special authority of parliament, and that all such advances shall be brought under the consideration of parliament within a given period. He subsequently brought in the bill, which was read the first time.

The report of the foreign enlistment bill was taken into further consideration, and the amendments agreed to.

June 18.—A motion by Mr. Vansittart, for going into a committee on the excise duties bill, was met by an amendment by the marquis of Tavistock, for committing the bill for this day six months. After a long and general discussion, the amendment was negatived by 208 to 90, and the house went into the committee. A long discussion took place on the clause for taxing the stock on hand of maltsters, which, however, was carried without a division. Mr. Vansittart, in moving to fill up the blanks in the clause which followed, proposed that 3*d*. per bushel, in part payment of the new duty, should become due on the 10th of November next; 3*d*. further on the 10th of January, 1820; 4*d*. on the 10th February; and the residue on the 10th of April. Mr. Brande proposed that the first payment should be in December. The clause, as originally proposed, was carried, on a division, by 175 to 65.—A clause for

for making the whole duty on malt 3*s*. 6*d*. per bushel, was carried, on a division, by 171 to 82.

On the clause respecting the tea duty an amendment was adopted, on the suggestion of Mr. T. Wilson, for exempting from additional duty teas sold at the East India sales at or under 2*s*. per lb.

The customs' duties bill also went through a committee, in which the clause for laying an additional duty on wool was carried, on a division, by 106 to 63.

House of lords, June 21.—The earl of Harrowby rose to move the order of the day for committing the cash payments bill. The noble earl was not heard distinctly below the bar, and we can only give a description of parts of his speech. He began by replying to the arguments urged by the earl of Lauderdale in objection to the mint regulations. His lordship said, that though it might be true in theory, if there were two kinds of currency, one in gold, the other in silver, and the latter to a certain degree depreciated, that the former would necessarily go out of the country, yet that this general theory was in this country counteracted by particular circumstances, by the smallness of the seignorage on the silver, and the limited sum for which it was a legal tender. The noble earl had endeavoured to prove, that the effect he attributed to the present state of the silver coinage had not before occurred, because the former depreciated coin was not a legal tender; but whether a legal tender or not, was of no importance to the question. It passed current while the intrinsic value was less than the nominal, and the effect must have been the same as if it had been a legal tender. No person could take silver to the mint and coin it at pleasure; the quantity in circulation was, therefore, limited by the government. From the evidence which had been given before the committee, it besides appeared, that the mint prices of coinage in different countries had no influence whatever on the market prices of bullion. The noble earl then proceeded to describe the clauses of the bill, as founded on the recommendations of the committees of both houses. In the result of the inquiry which had taken place, it was thought necessary that the principle of a metallic standard should be adopted. There were different modes in which this recommendation might have been carried into effect. Some considered the subject as theorists, others examined it practically. Those who are of opinion that the bank, by the power of limiting their issues, possessed a control over the exchanges and the price of gold, could not be insensible to the difficulties and alarm which too sudden a contraction of those issues would create, and therefore must approve of a gradual return to cash payments. Those, on the contrary, who thought that the abundance of the paper circulation was not the cause of the difficulty, and that gold and the advantage of the exchanges would return when the operations of trade produced a balance in favour of the country, were, doubtless, anxious that time should be afforded for producing this effect. Besides, if a sudden return to cash payments had been prescribed, the bank would have been

been obliged to make great increase of its treasure, in doing which the price of gold would have been still further augmented. The bill, therefore, provided for a progressive return to cash payments, by payments in bullion at different prices, at several successive periods. It had been thought, that between May 1821 and May 1823, it would be advisable to leave to the bank the option of making some payments in coin. Upon the whole, however, it appeared best to see how the measure would work, and a proper opportunity for that observation was afforded by the bill; for the first step towards the great object in view would be taken before parliament met again, and the second during the next session. The noble lord concluded with moving that the bill be now committed.

The marquis of Lansdown felt it hardly necessary for him to say that no influence which his opinion might possess would be wanting to induce their lordships to adopt a measure founded on the recommendation of the committee. The enactments of the bill had therefore his cordial support and approbation. He rejoiced to see this bill introduced, not only because through its enactments was to be found the best road for getting out of the difficulties in which the country was involved, but on account of the great and sound principles in economy and legislation which it contains—principles which served as an instruction to this country, both as to the course which it ought to pursue, and the peril which it had to avoid. It was true it did not lay down those principles directly, but it pointed them out in its enactments in a way which could not be misunderstood. It recognised a metallic standard as the only safe foundation for a circulating medium. It proposed regulations which infer that the value of the exchanges and the price of gold depend upon the state of the currency. It inferred that the bank, or any persons who possess the means of diminishing or increasing the currency, are invested with the power of influencing the exchanges, raising or lowering the price of gold, and altering the value of every kind of property. If those principles were false, the bill before their lordships was quite unnecessary. It would be mere waste paper, and worse than useless. The bill, therefore, sanctioned the great principles he had mentioned, and put an end to the system founded on opposite principles, which, unfortunately for the country, had too long prevailed; and with that system all doubts on the subject would terminate. The principles on which the bill was founded were, however, not new; they were those by which the currency of the country and the operations of the bank had for more than a century been regulated.

When, therefore, the noble earl opposite talked of theorists, he in fact meant those who supported that system which experience had proved to be well founded; and those he referred to as practical men were persons who had adopted a contrary system, which was new to this country, and which, wherever it had been acted upon never failed to prove ruinous. The latter class of persons were in fact the theorists, and had advanced the most extraordinary theories. He hoped the country would never again hear of the theories founded

on the abstract idea of a pound sterling as a unit, or a bank note and a shilling being in public estimation equal to a guinea; on the tendency of gold to fly to other countries where it was dearer, without producing any change of value; and other absurdities of that kind. These theories, which had been so ruinous to the country, deserved to be stigmatised as they were by the bill before their lordships, every enactment of which declared their falsehood. By acting on them, the country had been overwhelmed by an oppressive mass of debt, and grinding system of taxation, all the evils of which were augmented by the fluctuation of value, debts having been contracted at a low price which it was necessary to pay at a higher. This measure, he trusted, would not only have the effect of rescuing the country from its dangerous situation, but of placing it on a foundation of security. Upon the details of the measure many opinions had been expressed, both in and out of parliament, but into these minute discussions he should not enter. The great object on all sides in the committee and the house had been to return as soon as possible to a metallic standard. Whether this was to be accomplished by payments in bullion or coin, the effect would be the same. The choice of parliament was made merely in reference to conveniency.

In looking at this object, the state of the treasure in the bank was a matter of important consideration. It was necessary to endeavour, in returning to the metallic standard, to put the country, and the bank as a part of the country, to as little difficulty as possible. In this view, the plan submitted to the committee, and recommended to parliament, appeared to be attended with every practical advantage. It was calculated to inspire more confidence, and to attain the object desired, with less risk and danger than any other. Some modification of the manner in which the plan was proposed to be carried into effect by the bill, might perhaps have been desirable, but he should not move any amendment. If any thing struck him as more particularly susceptible of improvement, it was that part which related to the payments in bullion. In the original plan it was proposed to compel the purchase as well as the sale of gold by the bank. Had a clause to that effect been introduced, it would have prevented the bank from that contraction of the circulation of the country which was now complained of. If the bank had been obliged to deliver notes for gold, as well as gold for notes, such a regulation would have kept the circulation in due equilibrium. This plan would have been preferable to that of opening the mint to the public, which could not be a sufficient corrective of the power of the bank in contracting its issues. The price at which gold would be carried to the mint was 3*l*. 17*s*. 6*d*. the ounce, and it was to be issued again at 3*l*. 17*s*. 10½*d*. the difference of 4½*d*. being allowed for interest until the gold be returned in the shape of money. This regulation could have no effect until the state of the issues of the bank reduced the price of gold below 3*l*. 17*s*. 10½*d*. If another arrangement which had been suggested were adopted, namely, that of keeping certain sums of money ready coined at the mint to exchange for bullion, so that the person

person applying would not have to wait, he thought it would have the effect of sending a great part of the coin out of the country, as it would on coming into circulation have a higher value than bullion.

He therefore was inclined to think that it would be expedient to take a brassage or seignorage from the coin (though to a small amount), to keep it in the country. Having stated his opinion on these points, he came to the clause which had been added to the present bill as the result of the deliberations of the other house of parliament, making it lawful for the bank to pay either in bullion at the mint price, or in the gold coin of the realm, after May 1821. In this provision he was disposed to concur. The existing law prohibited the bank from paying any of their notes in coin till the expiration of the restriction; and by this state of the law, that corporation might not be able to get quit otherwise of their accumulated cash. They might thus receive coin for their notes without being allowed to pay it away. He therefore approved of this clause, which authorized the bank to get rid of the coin in their coffers for internal circulation, if they preferred giving it rather than bullion. The consideration of the bill now before the house naturally led him to some observations on the financial system for the year, of which it formed a part—a system formed not only for the present year, but, he might add, for future years. He entirely approved of the loan made by government for the annual supplies, and of that part of it especially which, without interfering with the effective operations of the sinking fund, borrowed a part of it for the services of the year. What he had to regret in viewing the policy of this measure was, that the system on which it proceeded had not been adopted sooner, as by this means a considerable saving might have been effected to the public since 1816. Nothing could prove this better than the effect which the present loan had produced on the money market, compared with the result anticipated from a different course. Having no real sinking fund but the excess of our income over our expenditure, the wisest course appeared to him to be the making of the nominal sinking fund subservient to the loan.

On the practical consequence of the measure this year adopted, and the manner in which it was to be followed up, he had a question or two to put to the noble earl (Liverpool) opposite. He wished to know if a sinking fund of 1 per cent. was to be provided on that part of the loan taken from the sinking fund of the year, as well as upon that part of it obtained from the contractors; and whether the plan of providing a one per cent. sinking fund was to be continued in future years, when the new system of a real surplus was to be in operation for the reduction of the public debt. As the old principle of the sinking fund was to be abandoned, and its nominal amount was to be applied to the service of the year, using only the surplus for a reduction of the debt, he wished to ask if the old machinery was to be maintained? He (lord Lansdown) did not see the necessity of following the old system, while its principle was departed from. Having said so much

much regarding the loan, there still remained for him to make a few observations on the large amount of taxation to be raised, as a part of the new financial system; and here he must say, that, in justice to the country, whose burdens, already great, might be increased by that return to the ancient system which the bill now before the house sanctioned, in justice to parliament which was about to pass this bill, and in justice to the committees which had recommended it, the permanent settlement of our finances ought to have been delayed till the effect of the restoration of our currency had been ascertained, and the operation of the latter measure ought not to have been clogged with any other experiment.

He could have wished that an opportunity had been given of judging how far the return to a metallic standard would affect the amount of our existing revenue, and of the income of every individual, before new taxes had been imposed. Thus much he was obliged to state, as he did not feel called upon to discuss or oppose the particular taxes. The great and only question with him was, whether we ought to have 3,000,000*l.* of new taxes in the present state of the country, and during the progress of an untried experiment respecting our circulation. The particular nature of the taxes was not material to discuss, as in the present state of the country any tax would find its way to every class of the community, and distribute itself equally over the community, however imposed. If parliament were to tax the necessaries of the poor, they must come for relief to the funds of the rich; and whatever was taken from the luxuries of the rich, must to the same amount diminish their power of employing the poor. There was no doubt, therefore, that on whatever classes of the community these taxes were at first laid, they would soon distribute themselves over the whole people: but while he said this, he could by no means agree with a doctrine which had been advanced in another place, that these burdens would affect no class at all; that they would be so much gained to the revenue of the state without affecting that of individuals; in short, that they were merely taxes in the abstract, and to become substantial when they came into the exchequer. Renouncing, as he did, this doctrine, the only question was, ought we to appropriate in the present circumstances of the country three millions of money out of the resources and productive capital of the nation, to create an addition to the treasury of the state? Ought we to reduce our public debt by a sacrifice of the funds that maintained national industry? Ought we to deprive the people of three millions of capital, which would fructify in their hands much more than in those of government, to pay a portion of our debt? He thought not.

There were signs and symptoms of a state of things in this country which proclaimed the impolicy of this system. Besides many others which he would not enumerate, we saw not only an emigration of numbers of our people, but an emigration of capital, which would be increased by new taxes. Would not the narrowing and distorting of the resources of the country, which

which the new taxes would create, be more than sufficient to counterbalance the advantage resulting from a reduction of the public debt? On the most favourable view of the case, the policy of the measure could not but be considered as questionable; but it was more so when it was coupled with the change in our currency that would be effected by the present bill, and the uncertainty of the result which that change would produce. No certain judgement could be formed by the most intelligent persons on this subject. If he appealed to the committee, if he appealed to the intelligent persons there examined, if he appealed to the best informed part of the public, and found no agreement among them on this subject, nor any power of determining what effect a return to a metallic standard would produce on the revenue of the country, on the income of individuals, or on the value of commodities, he was entitled to conclude that this was not the proper time to form a permanent financial system, or to impose new permanent taxes,

The noble lord here read the evidence of Mr. Haldimand and Mr. Baring, in support of his position, that a return to cash-payments, by lowering the value of gold, would affect the income of individuals and of the state, the price of commodities, and the wages of labour. He said he might quote the opinions of many other intelligent witnesses to a similar purpose; and he called upon their lordships to say whether they would choose a moment of so much uncertainty regarding our currency, to settle the state of the national income, when neither the house nor the government could either tell the amount of the sacrifices which the new taxes would occasion to the people, nor the effect they would have on the revenue of the country. The course most consistent with the public interest appeared to him to be, to postpone any new taxes till we had adjusted and ascertained the amount of our existing revenue in the restored circulation, the effects of which we then could measure. It had been calculated that the change in the circulation might affect our revenue to the amount of two or three millions; but this ought to be settled by experience, before we imposed on the people fresh burdens. Regarding the policy of new taxes on a future occasion, he would not now speak; but he was decidedly of opinion, that the present was not the proper time. In this opinion he ought to meet with the concurrence of those who looked upon a change in our currency as so dangerous an experiment, that they had postponed from time to time a return to cash payments, from an anticipation of the great pressure and embarrassment which it would produce. If ministers conceived that the distress would be so great —if they abstained from adopting the policy which they now adopted on account of that distress, how could they now propose to add the burden of new taxes to the pressure of a change in our circulation? The noble lord said, that in thus stating his views on the loan and on the return to cash payments, two measures which would reflect honour on the government and the house, he could not refrain from delivering his opinion on the other part of our

financial system of which he did not approve, as he might not have another opportunity of stating his sentiments.

The earl of Liverpool should not have thought it his duty to have troubled the house with any observations at present, had the noble marquis not appealed to him in his official capacity respecting the sinking fund, and entered into the discussion of which the latter part of his speech consisted. The present bill met with no opposition, and required no defence. He would only say, with a reference to the general doctrine of the expediency of having a metallic standard, that though he had formerly differed in opinion from the noble lords opposite regarding the excess of paper in circulation, and the necessity of continuing the bank restriction, he had always maintained that the restriction should be removed as soon as possible after the war; that we were never safe till we had traced back our steps, and till we had returned to a sound currency; that the restriction was only to be temporary, and ought not to last beyond the existence of the necessity which justified it: but he had always contended that the facilities which the restriction gave, had mainly contributed to enable us to carry the war to a successful issue. He did not, therefore, commend the system as a permanent one. He knew that a noble lord had said, that during the restriction, the paper of the bank of England was, in principle and effect, a government paper. He (lord Liverpool) allowed, that, as protected by government, and issued on government securities, it was in principle government paper, but not in effect. This state of things had continued a long time; but whether long or short, it could only be justified by necessity. He believed the restriction act a great instrument of our success in war; but after the return of peace, he had taken the earliest opportunity of expressing his opinion that it ought to cease. The assurance given by government had been repeatedly delayed, but always from causes which could not be controlled.

Having said thus much, he would not go further into the subject. It was a matter of great satisfaction to him, that this most vital, this most important question, after an investigation by committees of the two houses of parliament, and after the expression of the opinions of the most enlightened individuals of the country, had been decided consistently with the general opinion of those who had studied or understood it. He said this without meaning any reproach to those who opposed the measure. In the other house the measure passed without any opposition as to its principle, as might be seen from the votes on the table. The noble lord (Lansdown) had properly brought forward the other parts of the financial system, and he would now make a few remarks on what he had said. In the first year of the peace, parliament had remitted 18,000,000*l.* of taxes, in opposition to the wishes of government. If this remission had not taken place, the unfunded debt might have been reduced, and the restriction been sooner removed. Such being the case, government was obliged to depend on expedients. The present bill, after a long

long examination, was thought necessary. He (lord Liverpool) should have wished the whole subject to have been delayed to another year; but as circumstances had ordered otherwise, it was proper to take a full view of our financial situation. The country was entitled to say—"Do not take half measures, make the inquiry about to be instituted effectual, and adopt a general and permanent system." Our general financial system was connected with the bank, as when parliament proposed to pay up the bank advances it brought on the consideration of a greater loan. Government then said, "You see the great efforts that must be made, you perceive the pressure on our finances; tell what is necessary to be done, tell the country what they must bear, to place our financial system on a basis of security. To do this, government could not impose taxes by driblets." The people said, "Show us all that you want, propose a connected system, and we will make an effort." If this system were adopted, we should want no more loans, no more taxation, during the continuance of peace. The noble marquis had asked, whether it were intended to keep up the machinery of the sinking fund?

There were two questions on this subject which it was very important to consider. He (lord Liverpool) had always said, that effectual sinking fund there was none: there was none beyond the surplus of our income over our expenditure in all its branches. But as long as the nominal sinking fund existed, the country never could tax the government, or the parliament, with any breach of faith, although they borrowed to render it ineffective. As long as the nominal sinking fund lasted, the national creditor could have no cause of complaint whatever; and therefore the question of the nominal sinking fund, whether their lordships adhered to it or not, could not influence the consideration of the question then before them. Whatever course they might think proper to adopt, the deficiency of the sinking fund ought to be made up. But, in his opinion, it was not judicious to decide the question proposed by the noble marquis at present. It was important to this country that it should look to a surplus revenue; and was a surplus revenue of 2,500,000*l.* sufficient for a debt of 800,000,000*l.*? He did not believe that the extinction of the national debt would be any benefit to the country; but their lordships would not do their duty to themselves, or to posterity, if they did not look to some diminution of that debt. There was not a country in Europe now which had not adopted our system; and France, Austria, and every other nation had accompanied it with a sinking fund. Should not this country, then, in a period of peace, put its finances upon an equal footing at least with those of all other countries? France had now a sinking fund of 1 per cent. upon her capital. A great country must have a surplus of revenue above her expenditure. This was absolutely necessary, not only to enable her to discharge the ordinary expenses of government, but to give her the means of providing for those who were entitled to her generosity and gratitude. The same principles, in fact, ap-

plied to a state as to an individual.

With this view of the subject, he conceived that the question now to be considered was, whether it would not be expedient to provide a sinking-fund of about 1 per cent. on the capital of our debt. He should think that, with that provision, the country would have the means, not only of recovering from its present burdens, but of meeting the exigencies of a future war. The amount of taxation now proposed was three millions, leaving a sinking fund of about five millions. If he were not much disappointed in his expectations of the revenue, he confidently anticipated that, at a short period, the country would arrive at that point when we should have a clear sinking fund, above its expenditure, of eight millions; and his opinion was, that if the country had once a clear sinking fund of eight millions, that fund need not increase further, and there would be the means of relieving the country to the amount of 400,000*l.* a year, from the burdens of the present system. We might then look forward to the continuance of peace, or to the renewal of war, without any alarm. He was persuaded that, if under these circumstances we should be engaged in war, we should have the effectual means of carrying it on. With respect to the present taxes, he agreed that any tax whatever must have some pressure upon the community at large; but he considered that no taxes could be imposed which would have so little pressure as the present. There were two millions at least which could not produce any sensible pressure upon the lower ranks of society. In 1815, and the years succeeding to it, eighteen millions of taxes were taken off, and the whole amount now proposed was only three millions. It was upon these grounds that he trusted their lordships would feel no difficulty in acceding to this measure. Ministers had selected those taxes which they conceived would operate the least severely upon the community; and they had deemed it proper that their lordships should be enabled to look our whole financial system in the face, in order that they might provide for our welfare, not only during peace, but in the event of another war.

The earl of Lauderdale congratulated the house that this measure, and the opinions now entertained by the most intelligent ranks of society, had given the death-blow to those principles which had so long prevailed in the country. Looking at this subject in every point of view, he was one of those who said that it had been much misunderstood. He thought that the directors of the bank of England had acted a part which did them the highest honour. By the act of restriction, their lordships had, in fact, transferred to the bank of England what was once considered as the greatest power and pride of the prerogative of the crown—the right of regulating the currency of the country. When he heard people say that the bank had forgotten themselves, their lordships should remember, that, by investing them with that power, they had placed them in a very different situation from that of any other body in the country: it was their duty from that moment to consider

consider what it was best for them to do, both with respect to the proprietors and to the country united. When he considered, then, what use had been made of that power, in what way it had been exercised, and for what ends, he prided himself as an Englishman, that it had been much less abused than the power which had been vested in any other persons.

The noble earl then repeated, at considerable length, the opinions which he had entertained on the subject of the currency, and contended that they were correct. He thought that this business had been mismanaged from the beginning: it was madness to make a silver coinage till we had got over the difficulties of an over-issue of paper. He wished to know how it happened, that since the year 1816 the exchange had been against us with respect to gold. Gold had been always exported with a profit, and silver had been always imported with a profit. He wished to know how the noble lord could explain the circumstance of silver having flowed into this country with a profit. In the history of man he was sure it could be found, that wherever there had been an over-issue of paper, there has always been a depreciation of gold. He was one of those who held particular opinions on this subject. He was one of those who thought, that if the sinking fund had been pushed to the extreme which the legislature had contemplated, it would have been ruinous to the country. Till Mr. Pitt's time, in 1786, there was not a single tax laid for the sinking fund. Neither sir Robert Walpole, nor the government of the Netherlands, which first established a sinking-fund, had imposed any taxes for that object; they augmented it by the savings from the income above the expenditure of the country. He thought that the imposition of 3,000,000*l.* of taxes, at the present moment, was an act of the grossest injustice. Granting that it was necessary to make a sinking fund of five millions, was it not necessary to give the country a little respite from taxation? Nobody who considered the state of our manufactures could think of imposing three millions of taxes without trembling for the consequences. The best way of arriving at a sinking fund with convenience to the country, was to allow taxation to relax for a moment, in order that it might attain that object.

He contended, that the difference between the mint and market price of gold furnished no criterion of the state of our manufactures and commerce. If ministers had fairly and deliberately contemplated the general state of the revenue, with a view to discover what taxes could be borne with least pressure, what branches might become more productive by being relieved, he was convinced that not a man among them would have said, that the taxes now imposed were the most salutary for the people in time of peace. Had they met the crisis in the manly way he had described, the people, instead of being discontented as now, would have given them credit for their intentions; and would have endured their burdens, even the burden of the sinking fund, with patience. He believed that he had

had been himself the only person in that house who had expressed an opinion that the sinking fund was a perfect farce, when considered in the view of a benefit to the public creditor, instead of being for the general benefit. There was nothing which the monied men would more dread than that the 5 per cents. should rise to such a height that they could only get 4 per cent. for the money. Let the 3 per cents. rise to 100 and upwards, did their lordships think that an interest of 2½ per cent. would be an event to be hailed by the mercantile world? And yet it was to keep up this state of things, which was of no benefit to the public creditor, that a positive evil was inflicted upon the public generally by the imposition of three additional millions of taxes.

The house then went into a committee on the bill. The earl of Lauderdale objected to the first clause, which obliges the bank to pay to the amount of 60 ounces in gold. His lordship showed by calculation that there must be a fraction which must be paid in silver. After some conversation, however, the clause was agreed to, and all the other clauses without amendment. The bill was then reported.

In the commons, the same day, lord Castlereagh moved the third reading of the foreign enlistment bill.

Sir W. Scott supported the bill, as necessary to the preservation of the faith of treaties, and that strict neutrality which we were bound to by the law of nations. He severely censured the aid which had been given by British subjects to the South American independents; for there was no solecism more absurd in itself, or more mischievous in its consequences, than that two powers should be at peace with each other, whilst the subjects of them were engaged in the most active hostilities.

Mr. Scarlett reprobated the measure as being a departure from our neutrality, by altering our laws for the benefit of Spain, and to the injury of the independents.

In the sequel of the discussion, the bill was supported by Mr. R. Grant, Mr. Shepherd, Dr. Phillimore, and Mr. Long Wellesley; and opposed by lord Nugent, Mr. Smyth (of Cambridge), Mr. G. V. Vernon, Mr. alderman Waithman, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Barnet; and, on a division, the motion was carried by 190 to 129, and the bill was accordingly read the third time.

Mr. Denman moved a new title to the bill, "and to enable custom-house officers to search and detain all ships which may be in his majesty's ports."

After an opposition from Mr. G. Lamb the amendment was negatived, and the bill passed.

Mr. Vansittart moved for the receiving the report on the excise duties regulation bill. Mr. Western, Mr. Scarlett, Mr. C. Calvert, and lord Milton, opposed the motion. It was, however, carried, on a division, by 114 to 68, and the report was agreed to.

In a committee of supply, 189,574*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* was voted for the disembodied militia of Great Britain, and 126,385*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* for the militia of Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for the third reading of the charitable foundations bill.

On

On the question that it be read a third time,

Mr. Brougham expressed his satisfaction at that addition to the bill which he had before suggested. He was glad to find that the number of commissioners was increased, and that of course greater facilities would be given for the prosecution of those inquiries which were its principal object. The additional expense would be but trifling, when compared with the great good which might be expected as the result of the whole measure. When the commissioners came to inquire into the charities in the counties of Berks and Kent, they found that the charities in the one, stated at 3,500*l.*, actually amounted to 5,500*l.*; and in the other, where they were valued at 8,000*l.*, they exceeeded 14,000*l.* In one case an estate of 4,000*l.*, by a proceeding in chancery, instituted on the report of the commissioners, would be recovered to a single charity; and if nothing more were accomplished, this would amply repay the expense already incurred. The abuse of free grammar-schools had engaged another part of the inquiries of the commissioners; for the masters had been in the receipt of considerable salaries and other advantages, and, while they did little or nothing in return, were enabled to keep most profitable boarding-schools. At the rate and in the proportion at which the commissioners had proceeded, there was ample reason to justify their appointment under the authority of the legislature. He then proceeded to state his objections to the exemption proposed in favour of charitable endowments with special visiters. If it could be made appear that, without any connivance or blameable neglect, certain abuses had escaped the notice of those special visiters, sufficient ground would, in his view, be laid for allowing the power of the commissioners to investigate. It was said on the other side, *Cujus est dare, ejus est disponere*, or, in other words, that he that gave had a right to regulate the mode of his gift; but the legislature had not acted upon that principle either in the statute of Elizabeth or subsequently. Where the founder had named a visiter, the house now refused to inquire; but it did not refuse to inquire into charities where the visiter was named by operation of law, as where the heir at law succeeded the founder: neither did it object to investigation where the duty of visiting devolved upon the court of chancery. There was another case where it had not been thought needless, though there the founder had displayed an additional partiality—he meant where the donor had appointed an individual not only visiter but trustee: here a *delectus personæ* was peculiarly obvious, and where was the consistency of allowing the inquiry of commissioners to extend to such charities, and to exclude it from all others, where what were termed special visiters were nominated? It was merely asserting, that where the founder had reposed most confidence, by making an individual visiter, there the house would presume that most abuse prevailed, and most minute inquiry was needed. Many individuals in high stations, who, in consequence of those stations, were special visiters of institutions of the kind, were anxious not

not to be exempted; and should the clause against which he now contended be persevered in, he should move such an exemption in their favour. In truth, the tribunal he wished to erect was only ancillary to the original intention of the founder. The halls and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the schools and establishments under their control, the five great public seminaries, and all cathedral and collegiate churches were already excepted in the bill. He calculated that the charitable foundations to which special visiters were named, were in the proportion of about 5 per cent., makin the whole about 2000 institutions which would be exempted from the operation of this measure. He trusted, therefore, that the house would not think it fit that this numerous class of institutions should be free from all inquiry.

Mr. Peel began by shortly stating his grounds for thinking that the reasoning just employed was not conclusive, as in his mind there was a clear distinction between foundations to which special visiters had been named, and those to which visiters had succeeded by operation of law. It was not his intention to enter into that part of the subject, but his purpose in rising, though not connected in question, was connected in subject. He had hoped that an opportunity would have been afforded, on which he might have taken the sense of the house, on the re-appointment of the committee on the education of the poor, which sat in 1816, 1817, and 1818. As that question had not arisen in the present session, he with some reluctance embraced this occasion of discharging an important duty, by making some remarks upon the nomination of that committee, and the mode in which it had discharged its functions.

In the first place he must observe, that in his opinion it had exceeded its powers, and occasionally had exercised them improperly; and he (Mr. Peel) was unwilling that the house of commons should be the only place where animadversions had not been made upon their proceedings. The powers intrusted to committees were necessarily very extensive, and he was proportionably anxious to protest against the undue exercise of those powers. He would advert shortly to some circumstances attending the first appointment of the committee in 1816. The order of reference certainly confined its inquiries to the state of education in the metropolis, particularly of the lower orders; and some words were added to direct the investigation more exclusively to the children of paupers in the streets.

He for one had never contemplated an investigation into all the scholastic institutions of the kingdom, or that the chairman should have power to summon before him the masters of Eton and Winchester. If indeed these public schools were to be the subjects of evidence, would not such a direction have been inserted in the order of reference? The reports, however, were not printed in either case until after the session had concluded; so that no means were left of ascertaining why the committee had gone into these extraneous matters. The manner in which the

the committee of 1818 was nominated was well worthy of attention. The order of reference to it was nearly the same as that of 1816, and certainly nothing was inserted authorizing the committee to enter upon the conduct and management of the universities. He read the names of the members of the committee, contending that six were individuals belonging to no party, seventeen coincided in opinion with Mr. Brougham, and three usually voted with ministers.

Mr. Brougham, while the names were being read, requested that the right honourable gentleman would read them slowly, that he might be able to take them down.

Mr. Peel replied, that he understood the sarcasm; but as it did not touch him, he was ready to comply.

Mr. Brougham denied that he meant to be sarcastic; it was necessary that he should be furnished with the names, if the question were made to depend upon their political propensities.

Mr. Peel continued, and again read the names of the six impartial members, and of the seventeen who usually acted with Mr. Brougham. It seemed that it was in the contemplation of the proposers of that committee, that the universities of England should come under its cognisance, and it was therefore to be expected that some gentleman would have been named connected in knowledge and interest with those great establishments. Three individuals had been selected who generally voted with ministers, and upon them, it seems, was to rest the burden of protecting the rights of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and who, did the house imagine, had been chosen by the honourable member (Mr. Brougham) for this purpose? Who were the Horatii taken from the camp to be the favoured champions on this occasion?—Sir James Shaw, Mr. alderman Atkins, and sir W. Curtis. Respectable, most respectable individuals, certainly; but perhaps not the best calculated, from the early attachments of education, to perform the duty to which they were appointed. In this way the committee had been constituted. From time to time other members had undoubtedly been added, particularly when the inquiry was extended to Scotland: but he firmly believed that he had mentioned all the honourable gentlemen who had been originally appointed. In 1818 the commissioners had been appointed under act of parliament; and they were to be chosen by the house of commons; but whatever wisdom or discretion might be used in this respect, a most stange power had been given to them in one clause: for, if any individual refused to produce the statutes or other monuments of a charitable foundation, any two of the commissioners and the secretary might issue a warrant for apprehending that individual, and, however high his rank, might commit him to any prison, and for any period they might think proper. If, therefore, the transaction occurred in Cornwall or Devonshire, the recusant might be sentenced to confinement in Edinburgh castle. A great deal had been said about the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and much more about the

the encroachment of the prerogatives of the crown, but would it not be as well to reserve a little of this excessive jealousy for occasions like the present? The power of the commissioners was, in fact, almost unlimited, for the party was to be committed without bail or mainprize.

He could not avoid adverting to the course which the committee had pursued in some of its examinations, particularly that of the head of St. John's college, Cambridge. When he considered the objects for which this committee was appointed, and the character of the individual alluded to, he certainly thought this matter should have been differently entertained. When such individuals were called upon to produce their statutes, they made the objection that, by the oaths they had taken and by the will of the founder, they were precluded from so producing them. But the committee thought it proper to procure those documents from another source; and they sent to the secretary of the British Museum, desiring to be furnished with a copy of them (it being understood that one was deposited there); which they procured. (Mr. Brougham here manifested some symptoms of dissent.) The right honourable gentleman continued. He understood the honourable gentleman to say, that there was no objection to the furnishing of that copy; but he was not speaking to that point. He was speaking to the question whether the committee were authorized to publish to the world documents, which particular individuals of certain establishments were bound to retain in their own possession, by their own oaths and the express directions of the founder. Here he was speaking of those of Eton college, as well of those which were given, as of those of Winchester college, which were not given. Now, he found that the reverend Mr. P. Hudson, being asked "whether the statutes of Eton were open for public inspection?" answered "No; it was not permitted that they should be." The next question was, "Had they ever been printed?" The reverend gentleman's answer was also, "No; that was forbidden." Dr. Goodall was asked, "Whether he had ever seen Dr. Huggett's copy of those statutes in the British Museum?" He replied that "he had; but he knew it to be incomplete." When they were informed that this was the case, the original impropriety of publishing them at all, became considerably heightened. If these statutes of Eton were to be published at all, surely a simple unadorned text ought to have been published. But it so happened, that in the published copy there were marginal notes attached, calculated to give any thing but fair or just construction, or to convey any thing but a fair or just impression with regard to the subjects they purported to illustrate. It was printed in the 4th report; it was in Latin, with various annotations. He had found one of them, which he should proceed to notice; it could not of course have proceeded from the committee. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to read a passage in the text, and the annotation, which, he observed, was a specimen of their general character.

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The latter was to this effect—"This vice-provost's book is that generally used in college business; no argument is allowed upon it, and consequently it is generally used." Now these were annotations which ought not to have been published. They were observations not issued under the authority of parliament; or at least he might say, they were an abuse of that authority. He repeated, that if it was necessary to publish the statutes of Eton at all, they might have been printed without any marginal annotations, tending so completely as these did to prejudice a clear view of the subject. In the year 1818 parliament was dissolved, and of course every body to which it had committed the exercise of certain powers, committees for instance, were presumed to have been dissolved with it. On this point, however, something occurred which, although it originated, he had no doubt, in inadvertency or mistake, he felt himself bound to call the attention of the house to, inasmuch as, if unnoticed, it might hereafter become matter of dangerous precedent, and interfere with those established forms and usages of which it behoved them to be so observant, and which were of so much importance. The dissolution took place on the 10th of June; and, of course, every body imagined all committees to be at an end, and the proceedings of those bodies to have terminated also: when a gentleman of his acquaintance, quite unacquainted with the course and nature of parliamentary business, sent him (Mr. Peel) a letter, from the country, requesting to know whether the education committee was still sitting? As this was in the month of July, he (Mr. Peel) had no hesitation in acquainting the gentleman in his answer, that they could not be sitting. Now, there was a letter, to which he would also call the attention of the house; it was dated from the house of commons, 10th July (one month after parliament had been dissolved), franked by Mr. Freeling, and directed to the reverend the minister of—. This frank contained two letters; one of the 13th of April, signed "Henry Brougham, chairman;" and proposing to the reverend gentleman several questions of an unfair nature; and the other of the 10th July was of no importance, but as it formed part of a dangerous precedent, if such a practice were to be permitted. As he had observed before, the circumstance might have originated in mistake; he (Mr. Peel) made no charge; but he thought it necessary to call the attention of the house to the matter. The letter dated the 10th of July was from the committee of education, and was signed by George Whitham, clerk to the committee. It was a circular directed to all clergymen not having made their reports according to the former instructions of the committee; and after expressing unwillingness to report the individual's name, as one of those who had not so reported, it went on to request that the communication might be immediately forwarded "directed as above," viz. to Henry Brougham, esq., chairman. Now this was really very wrong, and calculated to produce a wrong impression on the minds of the public, as to the fact of a committee's sitting after the dissolution of parliament. And when they

they were so scrupulous as to form, let them not be wanting in a due care of those which were immediately connected with the course of their proceedings. It was necessary for him to notice a letter which had proceeded from the same honourable gentleman, and from, not to use a stronger term than he meant to do, the same inadvertency. It might, he thought, have been couched in better terms. (The right honourable gentleman then read the commencement of the letter, which was in substance as follows:)—"Reverend sir,—It will be rendering a very essential service to the inquiries now carrying on by the committee for the education of the poor," &c. It might have been presumed, therefore, that such inquiries were carrying on by authority of parliament. But what he had most to complain of was, that this letter was also sent as from the house of commons, and franked by Mr. Freeling. It was leading those to whom it was addressed, to think that there was an obligation on them to answer it, and in the way required. In one other respect, he must say that he thought the honourable gentleman had overrated the powers of the committee. In the letter addressed by the honourable gentleman to his lamented friend sir S. Romilly, there was an allusion to his (Mr. Brougham's) conduct as chairman of that committee, in which their powers were greatly overrated. In it the honourable gentleman had declared, that he was so studiously determined to avoid all imputation in regard to the extraordinary affair of St. Bee's school, that he appeared at the Westmoreland election resolved upon refusing all application for access to the evidence touching that singular business. Why, he could not give any such information; for information given to such a committee he was not at liberty to divulge. He (Mr. Peel) did not know of a more alarming and important abuse of such powers than the doing so. So far from overrating the justness of that determination, the honourable gentleman should know that he would have been grossly forgetting his duty, if he had permitted the information to be used at all for private purposes; but much more so, if for electioneering purposes he had been induced to give such permission. As to what he had observed upon the letters in question, he did think that these were proceedings which, if passed over without any comment, would form most dangerous and inconvenient precedents. He was therefore most anxious that this opportunity should not go by, without his entering his protest most decidedly against them.

Mr. Brougham, in reply, began by lamenting that the greater part of those against whom, in common with himself, this charge was brought, were not present to meet it. There was, in fact, only himself to come forward, and he would not shrink from doing so. He lauded the candour of those who, having heard the charge brought against him, and the accusations made, had left the house quite satisfied with having heard the charge, and confident of his (Mr. Brougham's) inability to clear himself. After the question of the 3d reading of the bill before the house should have been disposed

disposed of, it was his intention to move that the reports of the committee of education of last session be referred to a committee. If he did not answer the charge which had just been made against him by the honourable member for Oxford, he knew well that he should be attacked with such expressions as "Oh! you did not like his speech; it cut to the bone; there was something of evidence in it;" and then—"He is a man of business: it was not mere college declamation; he read chapter and verse, and names and dates." Certainly, it was not just then in his own power to refer to these voluminous notes, the object of the right honourable gentleman's constant study and daily care; which he had pored over by day, and upon which he had wasted his midnight oil. The right honourable gentleman had charged him with an offence, which he had visited with what, no doubt, he considered as an equivalent punishment—the weight of his severest censure—a censure delivered almost as if it had proceeded from the chair, and which, he must say, would have been almost as forcible if it had so fallen from the chair. The honourable gentleman then proceeded to reply to the several parts of the right honourable gentleman's speech in detail, pledging himself upon each point to prove that he was right, that the committee was right, and the right honourable gentleman himself was wrong. As for the reasons of his (Mr. Brougham's) not earlier moving for the appointment of a committee, it would be in the memory of the house that about the first or second night of the session, a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), the president of the board of control, whom he was sorry not to see in his place, gave notice, on behalf of a noble lord, of that noble lord's intention to submit to parliament a specific measure on the subject. At the time that notice was given, every man in the country who knew the right honourable gentleman opposite knew what was the intention of it, which was to embarrass him in this measure. He (Mr. Brougham) complained in that place; he never relaxed his efforts, he stated his objections amply. They were principally to the limitation of the powers of the commissioners. He even committed himself in writing on the subject. He considered the reappointment of the committee necessary, because their powers were professedly deficient. The right honourable gentleman had manifested the utmost astonishment that a committee, whose inquiries were to respect the education of the poor, should think of calling before them the masters of Westminster and the Charterhouse schools. But what had become of all this suprise and amazement in 1816? Why, it was rather for him (Mr. Brougham) to raise up his hands and eyes in astonishment, that the right honourable gentleman's wonder had not been excited before. Would not this furnish sufficient food for those who delighted in wonder? But if the right honourable gentleman had been prevented in 1816 from knowing what the committee had done, where was he in 1817? The subject had been matter of very general conversation in 1816; but if he had shut his ears then, could he not believe his more faithful

eyes in 1817, when the report was printed? The honourable member for Liverpool (Mr. Canning) came forward and made some most timely, most candid, most fair and honest observations on what he thought had been an exceeding of their powers.

The honourable gentleman here adverting to the circumstance of the proceedings of the committee being open to the whole house, contended that they must have been as well known to the right honourable gentleman as to every other member in it. Notwithstanding which, they were now first arraigned by him, not only with all the bitterness of invective, but with all the innocence of ingenuous astonishment. He then went on to show, that as to the formation of the committee, by far the greater proportion, exclusive of the neutral members, were those who were accustomed to vote with ministers; that of the original number of 21, at least 16 were of that class of members; and as for the 5 others, they were the Horatii of the committee. (Mr. Peel reminded the honourable gentleman across the table that there were only 3 Horatii.) The honourable gentleman resumed. He was quite aware of that, and was only applying their character, not their number, to those five members. He certainly did not mistake the number of the Horatii; for, in the absence of other information, all frequenters of the opera might obtain that knowledge there. Had it been thought that the gentlemen appointed on that committee were not competent to conduct the inquiry, the names of others might have been added; the right honourable gentleman might have proposed himself, or as many of his friends as he chose. But no; although he had heard that Oxford was menaced, Cambridge invaded, and the school attacked, yet he remained inactive: although his own *alma mater* was in danger, he found no fault, he made no exertion, till the end of the present session, having left the Horatii, as he called the city members, to resist the inroads which the committee were making. As an investigation was to be made into the schools of the metropolis, it was necessary to appoint some of the city members. Mr. alderman Combe had been then unable to attend, and was not therefore nominated. The right honourable gentleman was correct in stating, that nothing was more proper than to watch with strictness all the recommendations which committees made, and all the measures which originated in their suggestion; but he had not applied this maxim well, when he objected to the power proposed to be given to the commissioners of compelling information. A clause of this nature was found in lord Sidmouth's bill, appointing commissioners of naval inquiry, which clause the right honourable member for Liverpool (Mr. Canning) then opposed with manliness and consistency. The house were not then cautioned to beware of the suggestions of that committee, nor had the right honourable gentleman then stepped forward to make his objections. But, to return to what the committee had done: They were anxious to inquire into a free-school at Pocklington, in Yorkshire, and on inquiry it was found that the master of St. John's college, Cambridge,

bridge, was the visiter of this establishment, and that he had recently visited it. The committee therefore preferred examining this gentleman at once, for the purpose of hearing the result of his visit, as well as of inquiring into the nature of the establishment itself. The committee, of which he was chairman, did examine that gentleman; but that he was treated uncourteously, he (Mr. Brougham) positively denied, as far as his recollection served him. In the course of an examination, where a variety of questions were asked by different members, he could not, of course, recollect all that passed; but he repeated, that he had no recollection of any matter which could be considered uncourteous, and he appealed to those gentlemen who were on the committee, if any were. In reply to the remarks which had been made on the publication of the statutes, the honourable and learned member stated it to have been done in compliance with the unanimous opinion of the committee; but of the marginal notes he declared, and he was convinced that those who knew him would believe his declaration, that he was totally ignorant till he had heard them mentioned that night by the right honourable gentleman. It could not be expected that he should be acquainted with every note that might be inserted in the margins of these ancient and excessively voluminous records. It was owing to this circumstance, that in carrying the order of the committee into execution, no direction had been given to the printer to omit the marginal notes. The statutes of Winchester college, however, had not been published; and in the case of Eton, the obligation of an oath had not been pleaded.

The next point of the right honourable gentleman's speech to which he should advert, was that in which he charged the committee with continuing to act when, according to the forms and usage of parliament, their labours ought to have ceased. Now, on this point the right honourable gentleman had not only shown his own ignorance of parliamentary forms, but, what was much more culpable, he had founded on that ignorance a charge which, had he been better acquainted with parliamentary precedents, he must have known to be groundless. So far was it from being the case, that the powers of the committee necessarily terminated with the session of parliament, that he would give up his defence and plead guilty to the charge of the right honourable gentleman, if he did not make it appear that the course pursued by the education committee on that occasion was precisely that which was adopted at the termination of every session of parliament, whether by dissolution or by prorogation. The question could not admit of a doubt; for every one knew that nothing was more common than to print and circulate, during the recess, the minutes of evidence taken before committees at the conclusion of a session. Were it not for that practice, the business of parliament would be completely checked by the termination of each session, and not only would the labours of committees be completely suspended, but the result of their labours during the preceding session could not be communicated

nicated to the public, or to members of that house, till the next meeting of parliament. Take the right honourable gentleman's plan —adopt his new law of parliament—let the close of each session put a stop to the completion of that examination in which committees of that house have been engaged, and the result would be, that not one tittle of that information which the house required could by possibility be prepared, until at length such a mass of papers would be thrown upon its consideration as actually to overwhelm them.

He next proceeded to the charge of his having written within the present session a letter to the parochial clergy. It was not a letter written under inadvertence: it had been carefully considered, and he could appeal to living testimony to prove the nature of the object that letter had in view. That object was to obtain the most minute detail of the state of education throughout the whole island. He had learnt from the parochial clergy, whose conduct through the whole of the inquiry was above his praise, though he still begged of them to accept it, the amount of the funds of the endowed schools, and he was anxious to derive from the same source the needed information relative to the unendowed schools. He thought he had framed that letter in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of misapprehension. The terms of it were, "If you can conveniently, inform me;" and surely it was clear to the most ordinary apprehension that this language was used in his individual capacity, and not in his official character of chairman of the committee. Much less could it have been misunderstood when compared with the circular of the former year, for the terms of the two were widely different. The tenour of that circular was to this effect—"You are required to return answers to these questions;" and consequently, as those to whom the last had been sent had also received copies of the first, the distinction between the two must have been evident to them. But it was said, that clergymen were not obliged to send answers to these questions, although, if summoned, they were obliged to attend the committee. He was aware of this, and it was to save them the trouble of personal attendance that he sent the circular. The honourable and learned gentleman then proceeded to state, that no political use had been made of the minutes of evidence taken before the committee. So guarded had he been on this point, that in the case of St. Bees' school, he had denied those persons who were likely to make such a use of it access either to the minutes or to his own private notes, although he had known repeated instances in which notes of evidence had been given to private persons. Nay, he was aware, that in some cases even minutes of evidence which had not been printed had been used to accomplish political purposes, although in his opinion there could be no doubt of the impropriety of such a practice. He recollected one instance in particular, in which minutes that had been impounded by the committee were sent to the West Indies, to operate against the party opposed to the gentleman

man who sent them. He apologized for having occupied so much of the time of the house, but the length of his defence had been occasioned by the extent of the attack that had been made against himself and the committee. It was also a necessary consequence of an unexpected attack, that the defence, being unprepared, must be more prolix than it would otherwise have been. He had not intentionally omitted to answer any one count of the charge; but if he had done so through accident, and if the omission were pointed out to him, he should not fail to take the first opportunity of vindicating himself.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald complained that the honourable and learned gentleman had made what was perhaps intended to be an exculpation of himself, the medium of invective against his right honourable friend (Mr. Peel). He knew, and could excuse, the feeling and temper likely to be excited on such an occasion; but there was in the language and sarcasm which the learned gentleman had used in speaking of the course pursued by his right honourable friend, what might easily be separated from the necessity of vindicating his own conduct. The learned gentleman had complained of the time at which his right honourable friend had brought forward these charges; but he would ask, When had any other opportunity occurred? The learned gentleman had stated the reasons which prevented him from discussing the subject sooner, and he ought to make the same allowance for his right honourable friend that he claimed for himself; he ought to reflect that his right honourable friend could not make these statements sooner, because he (Mr. Brougham) had not given him an earlier opportunity. As to the complaint of the honourable and learned gentleman, that he was not prepared for such a charge, it was only necessary to say, that if his right honourable friend was disposed, as every honourable member had a right, to remark on the conduct of the committee, he was not bound to give notice of his intention to every member of that committee. He hoped he should not be accused of want of candour, in going on with his remarks in the absence of the honourable and learned gentleman. (Mr. Brougham had left the house.) The honourable member proceeded at considerable length in support of the statements made by Mr. Peel, and in reply to the explanations offered by Mr. Brougham. His right honourable friend had been charged with ignorance of parliamentary rules, and with making that ignorance the ground of an accusation against others. He denied, however, that the custom appealed to with so great confidence by the learned gentleman, was any precedent at all in this case. Although there were many instances in which evidence taken before committees sitting at a late period of the session had been printed and circulated during the recess of parliament, yet it would be found that that course had been adopted in compliance with an express order of the house. These cases were, therefore, no precedent for the extent of authority exercised by the honourable and learned gentleman in printing and

circulating these minutes without an order of the house. The opinion of the honourable and learned gentleman, that he had such a right, was no vindication of the use of it.

Mr. F. Douglas, as a member of the committee of education, bore testimony to the truth and accuracy of what his honourable and learned friend had stated. His honourable and learned friend's speech had been moderate and judicious. It was not fair in the right honourable gentleman opposite to have attacked a committee no longer in existence. The right honourable gentleman had brought into the house the wit which had appeared on the subject elsewhere, but sobered and brought down to the meridian of the house. He would say of his honourable and learned friend, that he was a most moderate, a most active, a most temperate, and a most impartial chairman.

Lord Castlereagh considered the latter part of the discussion as by no means an unusual and unwarrantable deviation from the question before the house. The observations of his right honourable friend were not foreign to the recollection of the house; they were not foreign to the feeling of the house; they were not foreign to the feelings of individuals and bodies formerly reflected on. He would advert, but very shortly, to the conduct of the honourable and learned gentleman with respect to this question; but he begged to remind the house of the glowing view which the honourable and learned gentleman had given of the peculation and corruption ascribed to charities. The honourable and learned gentleman had represented ministers as using their utmost efforts to screen offences and to cover abuses. He had attempted to cover parliament with the odium of conniving at peculation, because it had supposed charities to be chargeable only with the imperfections which marked the management of all property. Yet, now it appeared that the report of the commissioners had fulfilled all the expectations of the honourable and learned gentleman. He had, indeed, endeavoured to find in one part of the report a justification of all his representations. Because the report stated, that the commissioners had discovered in the management of Tunbridge school what they might possibly raise a question upon in a court of equity, the honourable and learned gentleman thought all his charges were confirmed. He congratulated the honourable and learned gentleman that he had so far opened himself this night as to admit that the utmost extent of evil which he believed to exist was, that there were some things which might be brought under inquiry in a court of equity. With respect to a particular part of the bill, namely, that regarding the extent of the commission, he really believed that the money required for effecting the objects proposed, would be, in point of economy, well laid out, in order to obtain a security that charities were properly conducted. He wished to prevent the indulgence of such a delusive notion as that the money saved by this inquiry would go to pay the expenses of the commission. The inquiry might be expected to continue for nine or ten years, but the result would

would be a confidence that charities were properly managed. Besides, the very appointment of the commission would give an activity to charities which they could not otherwise have, and for this reason he had always been a friend to it. With respect to the clause respecting charities having special visiters, he thought it whimsical and hard that he must defend against the honourable and learned gentleman a clause which the honourable and learned gentleman had himself introduced into his bill of last year. Was there any thing to make that clause very noxious, very deadly, or very immoral this year? What was there dangerous or objectionable in the clause? He was persuaded that there was nothing very bad in it, or the honourable and learned gentleman would not have been the parent of it. Those who had founded charities considered the management of them sufficiently secured by the appointment of a special visiter; but when they had required that all the trustees should be subject to visitation, it must be presumed, that visiters mixing themselves with the trust ought, according to the intention of the founder, to be treated as mere trustees. This was not, however, the moment for inquiring into the management of those charities where the visiters were not trustees. But the reports would bring their number and character before the house. The whole of the commission was rather in aid of the court of chancery. The arrangement of the commission was much improved by this bill in very many particulars. The machinery was more applicable to the purpose. There was also another improvement, namely, the mode found out for compelling the attendance and evidence of witnesses, without following the example of the committee of military inquiry. There was also an improvement in the summary mode provided for deciding questions in equity without stamps, without appeals from the vice-chancellor, or the master of the rolls, and without many other delays in the court of chancery. With respect to the whole of this bill, he abode by the former recommendation of the honourable and learned gentleman, and so he hoped would the house.

Mr. Peel rose, amid cries of "spoke, spoke," and said, that as he rose to vindicate himself he hoped for the indulgence of the house. The honourable and learned gentleman had given notice of a motion which he had not made.

Mr. John Smith rose to order.

Mr. Brougham explained, as to his intention of concluding with a motion. He had not made that motion.

Lord Castlereagh suggested, that the reading of the bill a third time would remove the difficulty, as to the point of order.

The speaker stated his reasons for not having earlier called to order, and put the question, that the bill be read a third time.

The question was agreed to, and the bill was read a third time.

Mr. Brougham brought up a clause to enable the commissioners to get effect given to the intentions of founders where their instructions may have been deficient.

Mr. Peel now rose to reply to the charges brought against him,

charges which, if well founded, he should deprecate more than any he had urged against the honourable and learned gentleman. The first charge was, that he had prepared a bill of indictment, and come to the house with supporters of that indictment. In reply, he had to say that he had prepared his bill of indictment without assistance.

Mr. Brougham explained, that he had only alluded to the circumstance of the right honourable gentleman having his friends about him.

Mr. Peel resumed. He was not to withhold his remarks till all the members of the committee should choose to appear in the house. If he had fault to find with the honourable gentleman's motives, he should have found fault with his motives; and he could assure him, that he never would shrink from animadverting on the honourable gentleman's conduct when it might deserve animadversion. He next proceeded to explain the reasons why he had not before spoken upon this subject. On the 5th of April 1818 the bill was first introduced: on the 6th of June the report, which contained the examination of Doctor Wood, master of Saint John's college, Cambridge, was laid upon the table, and on the 8th of the same month the parliament was dissolved; so that he could not at that time explain the views which he took of this important subject, or vindicate as he could have wished the motives of his own conduct. One of the letters to which he had alluded was written in July 1818, though the other had not been written till April in the year 1819. The conduct of the committee regarding the production of the statutes of Eton college, of King's and Trinity colleges, Cambridge, were such as had excited his surprise in no small degree. If he had thought fit to arraign the proceedings of the committee on this point, it would have been fully competent for him to do it: but the notice which his noble friend had given of his intention to introduce the present bill had prevented him from having recourse to such a measure. He confessed that he did feel that romantic attachment to the seat of his education which the honourable and learned gentleman had attempted to overwhelm with his sarcasm and ridicule; and, instead of its being a matter of charge against him that he did so feel, he was convinced that he should be justly chargeable if he did not so feel. He had purposely avoided every topic which was not connected with the vindication of his own honour, though he could not avoid remarking that many topics of the honourable gentleman's speech were extremely open to censure and animadversion.

Mr. Brougham explained.

Mr. Peel read an extract from the statutes of Eton college, from which he inferred that the fellows were bound not to print them for the perusal of strangers.

Mr. Brougham was still quite at issue with the right honourable gentleman. Mr. Hynde was a fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and not, as he had represented him to be, a fellow of Eton.

Mr. Wilberforce claimed the privilege, which he had always exercised during the 43 years he had been a member of that house,

of

of asserting his opinions with the utmost freedom and sincerity. He must say, that the right honourable gentleman had not made him feel less upon this occasion than he should have felt had he been himself personally concerned in it. There was nothing which appeared to him to have justified the right honourable gentleman in not giving the house the previous information, which was in his power, upon this subject. What he had said in his last speech confirmed the opinions which he (Mr. Wilberforce) had originally entertained; and he made this observation with greater pleasure, because he had never heard the evidence of Dr. Wood before the present moment. As that gentleman, however, had been one of his comates in earlier life at the university, he should take that opportunity of stating to the house, that he was an honest, respectable, and independent man, deserving to be held up as an example of what integrity and perseverance could effect, to those who were entering upon life under many inconveniences. How the case of Pocklington-school had escaped his notice he did not know, and should not pretend to explain; but considering the number of years during which he possessed the honour of representing the great and populous county of York, he could not help taking it as a matter of shame to himself, that he had not brought it forward as a case well worthy of parliamentary inquiry. That case, as it related to a spot where (we understood him to say) he had himself been educated, had excited no inconsiderable portion of his grief and indignation. But, leaving that case for the present, he must be allowed to state, that no man in the world was less capable of conducting an examination with severity than his honourable friend, Mr. Babington, who had been upon that committee. He would confess that his learned and honourable friend, Mr. Brougham, might conduct it with a certain degree of professional, and, if he might be allowed the word, inquisitorial severity; but was such a circumstance as that to be considered as more than a balance to the benefits which it had conferred on the public? Now, when the right honourable gentleman expressed the regret which he felt at this asperity, had he entirely forgotten the solid results which had been produced by this inquiry, and which were likely to remain in existence to the immortal honour and glory of his honourable friend? He was surprised that the right honourable gentleman, who possessed so much acuteness on other subjects, should have been so blind as not to see the incalculable benefits which had been effected by this mode of investigation; indeed, if it had been any other person who had shown such fatuity of intellect, he should have said that the man was totally blind to the admirable administration of justice in this country. It would be useless folly in him to express such an opinion of the right honourable member who had just addressed them, but still it was with no little satisfaction that he congratulated the house on their having made such progress as they had done in the cause of public education. It was peculiarly happy that his honourable friend, with

with all those splendid qualifications of eloquence, argumentation, and assiduity, by which he was distinguished, should have applied himself to those pursuits which many others would have deemed to be far below their notice and observation; and, though he willingly allowed his claims to public gratitude for the attention which he (Mr. Brougham) had given to another subject, which was near and dear to his (Mr. Wilberforce's) heart, he could not help describing his claims to it on the present occasion to be superior. The noble lord opposite, instead of taking advantage of technical forms, ought to consider the intention of the founders of these charitable institutions, and to fulfil them as far as lay within his abilities. The investigation to be rendered useful ought to be made in a fair and impartial manner; and this circumstance he wished most earnestly to impress on the recollection of the house. He knew something of the abuses which existed in public charities, from an attempt which he had once made to check their increase: when he first brought in his bill for the registration of charities, he received letters from all parts of the country, containing proofs of the existence of such abuses as the house could not possibly be aware of. A friend of his own, by taking a hint from a grave-stone in a country churchyard, had been led to prosecute his inquiries till he had recovered 16,000*l.* or 18,000*l.* per annum, which were now applied to their original purposes. When they were endeavouring to satisfy the public that they were aiming at the restoration of charitable foundations, they could not do better than show to the public that they were acting with perfect unanimity. As the pressure of the times was now such as to be curtailing even the comforts of those who were in possession of large funds, it was the duty of the house to take care that that pressure fell as lightly as possible on the lower orders; and even where it did fall, that it should be mitigated to the utmost extent, by the application of all charitable funds to their proper purposes.

Mr. Smyth (of Cambridge) was anxious to express his sentiments upon a question of so much importance, and one in which he, as representing his constituents, was so greatly interested. As a member of the education committee, appointed in 1816, he felt an anxious desire to lend his aid to the investigation of the subject; and he could assure the house with the utmost sincerity, notwithstanding the insinuations which had been thrown out by an honourable member, that he had entered the committee with no prejudices on his mind, or political bias. It was a duty incumbent upon him to contradict these foul aspersions, and to assert, that whenever it was necessary to express his own sentiments either in or out of the house, he never should be afraid to avow them. In 1817 the committee did not sit, and in 1818 he certainly did not attend it. If blame was attached to him for this conduct, and if he were asked the reasons for his absence, he should say that his time had been most fully occupied in another committee which, in his opinion, had a more paramount claim to his attention.

Another,

Another, and perhaps a more weighty reason for his non-attendance was, that he had entertained considerable doubts of the propriety of proceeding in the inquiry. He had not, however, made a formal objection to it; first, because he might have been thought anxious to screen abuses; and secondly, because he was satisfied, that with respect to the university of Cambridge, the more strict the inquiry was, the less necessity would there be found for complaint. Had he been present on the occasion of the examination of Dr. Wood before the committee, he should certainly have objected to the questions put to that learned gentleman; the imputations contained in them were unbecoming to the situation of Dr. Wood, and to his own knowledge were unfounded. He had the honour of being acquainted with that gentleman, and he knew him to be a character most distinguished for his respectability, his honour, his talents, and his learning.

Mr. John Smith would not give a silent vote on the question. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) had insinuated that a party feeling had pervaded the committee. He could only say in answer, that he had attended many committees, and he never saw a less disposition to party feeling in his life, than on this particular committee. Libels the most false and scandalous had been industriously circulated respecting the committee, and the honourable and learned gentleman who filled the chair on that occasion; questions had been said to have been put which were never asked, and witnesses were said to have been examined who had never entered the committee room. He could not help expressing his regret that the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel), whose talents and sound understanding were so well appreciated, had this night thought proper to make the most unwarrantable attacks against a man who had done more in the support of the cause of truth and justice than almost any other individual. He hoped the right honourable gentleman would do as much: at least, he (Mr. John Smith) knew that he never would be able to do more than that most distinguished gentleman.

The clause was then brought up, and, having been read, was added by way of rider to the bill.

Mr. Brougham then brought up a clause, exempting the commissioners from making a report to either house of parliament, that drawn up for the king in council being deemed sufficient.—This clause was agreed to.

Mr. Brougham next proposed an amendment to the body of the bill, to take away the exception in the bill to visited charities, and in doing so he said he would not retract a word he had said with respect to the abuses which existed in these institutions. The greater number of them arose from negligence alone; but of a very large portion culpable negligence would be found to be the cause, even amounting in some cases to gross corruption. In the opinion he had thus expressed he was supported by the present lord chancellor, and the late lord Kenyon; and backed as he was by these great authorities he was disposed to any thing rather than lower his tone.

Sir

Sir W. Scott objected to the amendment, principally on the ground that the visiters would be reduced to mere nominal officers, He represented the evil consequences of any interference on the part of the commissioners in such institutions; and intimated that disputes might arise between the parties, which might be most prejudicial to the establishment, to protect which was the sole object of the legislature.

Mr. Scarlett confessed that he saw none of those evil consequences which had been so strongly enforced by the last speaker. It was to be recollected that these commissioners would make no new laws; their object would be simply to institute inquiries. He put a case hypothetically: Where the trustees had neglected to put in force the laws of the founder of the institution—was not this, he asked, a case which ought to be inquired into? He really saw every reason to support the amendment.

Mr. Bathurst opposed the amendment.

Mr. Ellice strenuously supported the amendment.

The house then divided—

For the original words of the bill, ...	107
For the amendment, . . .	75
Majority . . .	32

On the motion that the house resolve itself into a committee of ways and means,

Mr. Calvert objected to going on with business at this late hour (two o'clock in the morning).

Mr, Hutchinson repeated the objection, and complained particularly of the late hours at which fresh business was brought forward on some late occasions.

The chancellor of the exchequer said this arose from unavoidable circumstances.

The house then resolved itself into the committee, and a resolution was passed for granting 12,000,000*l.* of a loan out of the sinking fund for the service of the year.

June 23.—On the motion of lord Harrowby, the bank cash payments bill was read the third time.

Lord Harrowby moved a clause, that it be in the option of the bank to pay either in gold coin or bullion after the 5th of July 1822, if its issues of bullion previous should have raised the price of it above that of the mint. The clause was agreed to.

The earl of Liverpool said, he had been misunderstood when he said, that no loan would be required for the next year; he certainly did not mean to include in that the five millions required to make good the payments to the bank.

The report on the Irish grants was agreed to; and the house, in a committee of ways and means, agreed to three resolutions proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer: 1. "That the sum of 244,892*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* being the surplus amount now remaining in the exchequer of the ways and means voted for 1818, be applied to the service of the present year; 2. That the sum of 16,500,000*l.* be raised by exchequer bills, for the services of the present year, 1819; 3. That 2,000,000*l.* British currency, be raised by exchequer bills, for the service of Ireland for the present year."

Mr. Vansittart informed the committee of the increasing state of

of the revenue; and that there was an excess in the present quarter, over the corresponding one of the last year, of more than 300,000*l.* without taking into consideration the tea duties.

Lord Holland presented a petition from Liverpool against the foreign enlistment bill. His lordship observed that the petition was signed by a great number of the most respectable merchants and ship-owners of that town.

Earl Bathurst rose to move that the bill be now committed. His lordship observed, that the object of this measure was to prevent his majesty's subjects from engaging in foreign service, from fitting out, equipping, or arming vessels for warlike operations against countries at peace with his majesty, without license. The act of the 9th and 29th of his late majesty made it felony without benefit of clergy, for a British subject to enter into the service of any state, sovereign, or potentate, without his majesty's license; an act was passed in the 29th of the same reign to prevent his majesty's subjects from serving as officers under the French king; and in the 9th of his present majesty an act was passed to prevent subjects from serving foreign powers without his license, and to compel the officers of the Scotch brigade in the service of Holland to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. Acts having the same object were also passed in Ireland. It had been found that persons, without receiving enlisting money in this country, went abroad and enlisted. This contrivance was, therefore, guarded against by clauses in the act of the 29th George II., and the enlisting out of the country, or the seducing his majesty's subjects so to enlist, was made felony without benefit of clergy. It was pretended that these laws had been framed solely to prevent enlistment for the Pretender; but that such was not the fact, their enactments, as well as the manner in which they had been carried into effect, showed. It was certain that the act of the 9th George II. had been executed, without any reference to the pretender, against enlistments for the service of the king of Prussia.

Having stated how the law stood at present, he had to explain the circumstances which called for the present measure. Soon after the late peace it was discovered that several British officers had left this country to enter into the service of the insurgents of South America. While the number who adopted this course was small, the government did not consider it necessary to notice their engagements. When, however, the number increased, and became very considerable, it was thought expedient to take such steps as might mark that such engagements were not made with the consent of his majesty's government. It was accordingly notified to officers on half-pay, that those who enlisted in foreign service, without his majesty's license, would not be entitled to that half-pay. This step, however, had not the desired effect. The disposition to enter into the service of the insurgents continued, and recruiting for their service was openly practised in the country. Considerable bodies openly embarked for South America, and it became necessary to consider of some

some more effectual means of prevention. It was found, that the existing laws did not afford sufficient means. According to the law, any British subject enlisting without his majesty's license, in the service of any foreign prince, state, or potentate, was, on conviction, guilty of felony; but this law did not apply to the South American insurgents. At least it appeared very doubtful whether persons enlisting with these insurgents could come within the provisions of the law; and it was fit that the doubts which existed on that subject should be removed. The situation in which this country stood with respect to Spain was also to be considered. By the treaty of 1814, Great Britain was bound to give no military assistance to the insurgents; but at the same time the determination of the government to preserve a strict neutrality was declared. Now, the character of neutrality was, that nothing should be granted to one party which was not allowed to the other. A proclamation founded upon this principle was issued in 1817. By that proclamation his majesty's subjects were warned not to accept any commissions, or give any military aid to either of the belligerents. This principle of neutrality was strictly acted upon by the government; and though some British officers were serving by license in the Spanish armies, it was understood that they were not to serve against the insurgents. This understanding had been fairly acted upon, and two British officers who were to have served in South America had been prevented. As there were, however, doubts respecting the power of applying the existing laws to persons enlisting for the insurgents, it was requisite to come to parliament for new authority.

By the present bill the acts of his late and present majesty, and the Irish acts, were repealed; and it was provided, that persons enlisting in foreign service should on conviction be guilty, not of felony as under the former law, but of misdemeanour only. There were other provisions framed for the purpose of carrying this object into effect, but these he did not think it necessary now to describe. The supplying belligerents with warlike stores, and equipping vessels for warlike purposes, were also prohibited. With respect to this part of the bill, he had heard no objection from any quarter. The evils experienced in commerce from vessels roaming over the seas, under unknown and unacknowledged flags, had been too generally felt, to suppose that British merchants would be much dissatisfied with the regulations provided by this part of the bill. The opposition to the measure had, therefore, been chiefly confined to the clauses which are framed for the purpose of preventing the enlistment of British subjects in foreign service.

In arguing this question, he should confine himself to considerations of general policy. It was not, however, because he undervalued the force of the particular engagements existing between this country and Spain under the treaty of 1814, that he restricted himself to this ground. He should prove the necessity of the proposed measure totally independent of the treaty; and if on general principles the bill ought to pass, their

their lordships would acknowledge that the existence of the treaty only rendered the obligation to adopt this measure the greater. Were he called upon to point out a circumstance which would stamp the character of anarchy on a state, he would describe it to consist in such a laxity of the laws, that the subjects might be at war with another country, while the government was at peace with it; yet such was in a great measure the state of the law in this country. Soldiers might be enlisted and embarked to serve against a friendly power, ships might be equipped, and armed expeditions sent out, not only to assist the colonies of Spain in a state of insurrection, but against places of which the Spanish government has undisturbed possession. General Macgregor had embodied a force composed of British troops, and taken Porto Bello, a place in the peaceful possession of a Spanish force. His ships were British, the equipment British, and he arrived off the Spanish settlement under the British flag. If this was done with respect to Porto Bello, might not a British force in the same manner be sent against Spain itself? Was this a state of the law which ought to be permitted to continue? Great Britain professed neutrality, and yet this powerful assistance could be given to one of the belligerent parties and not to the other, and that party from whom the assistance was withheld was the only one to which this country was bound by treaty. Could such a state of the law be regarded as consistent with common sense or common honesty? He would appeal to what occurred under similar circumstances between other states.

In the year 1792 a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the United States of America, in which it was stipulated that the subjects of neither power should accept commissions in the service of any prince or state at war with the other. How was this treaty executed? When the war broke out between this country and France, did the United States permit aid to be given to our enemy? No, they passed a law for securing the execution of the treaty; at first, for two years only, at the termination of which the act was made perpetual. By that act any American citizen accepting a commission or enlisting in the armies of a prince or state at war with another power, with which the United States were at peace—concerned in equipping or arming vessels for the aid of such prince or state, was declared guilty of a high misdemeanour, and made subject to fine and imprisonment. The act also provided against any augmentation of the crews of ships of war belonging to either party, which might be in the waters of the United States, and against any expedition being fitted out in favour of either belligerent; which were declared offences, subject likewise to the penalties of fine and imprisonment. In this way had the United States acted on the breaking out of the war between this country and France: let him now ask, what conduct the same government had pursued with regard to the differences between Spain and her colonies? The United States were at peace with Spain, and wished to preserve a neutrality;

neutrality; but ships, equipped and armed in the waters of the United States, sailed to aid the insurgents. The government wished to stop them, but it was found that the very same sort of difficulty existed there as here. The existing law only provided against aid being given to any prince, potentate, or state; and was silent with respect to countries in the situation of the Spanish colonies. The American legislature wished to realize the neutrality they professed, and in 1818 passed a bill extending the provisions of the act of 1792 to every description of state or power, whether regularly recognised or not. This was what had been done by the United States, and a measure of similar equality was proposed to be enacted by the present bill. It was our duty to make our neutrality real, and not to allow the one party to receive advantages denied to the other. We must either give assistance to both parties, or refuse it to both; there was no other alternative than this. It was, therefore, for their lordships to consider which course they would adopt. For his part he was prepared to contend on the principles of general policy, that it was not the interest of this country to allow troops to enlist in the service of belligerents with whom we may happen to be at peace. It could neither be for the interest or the honour of the country thus to allow British subjects to discard their allegiance.

In the whole of what he had said, their lordships would perceive that he had put aside the consideration of the existing obligations by which the country is bound to Spain—not that he did not regard those obligations as of great importance, but because he thought it sufficicent to rest the whole merits of the question at issue on general policy and the obvious interests of the country. If their lordships thought it would be a wise policy to permit enlistments for two belligerents, they would of course throw out the bill now under consideration. If, on the contrary, they concurred in the view of the subject with which he was impressed, and were of opinion that such enlistments ought not to be permitted, they would not hesitate to give this measure their support. It had been contended by some, that the liberty of entering into foreign service, in time of peace, would be advantageous, by affording British subjects a field for the display of their enterprise and spirit. It was said, repeal the existing laws, permit enlistment in the service of both belligerents, and then it will be seen that for one British subject who will enter into the service of his catholic majesty a thousand will join the insurgents. Now if this were really the case, could the repeal of these laws be a measure of neutrality? Would it not be deliberately affording effectual aid to the one party, and none to the other? That could only be a measure of neutrality which carried with it no partiality to either party.

Their lordships also would not fail to reflect, that the same measure which we dealt out to other countries might be returned upon ourselves. If such a principle of the law were founded in fairness and justice, let it be openly avowed and adopted; but if it rested on injustice, God forbid that any

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views of interest should induce this country to act upon it. Suppose this country at war with another state, or with some part of our own dominions, and France during the contest a neutral power; what would their lordships think if France allowed troops to be enlisted in her territory, and embarked in her ports, for the purpose of invading British territory, or acting against the forces of this country? The French have some shipping which they might so employ, they have a long list of half-pay officers, not less in distress, nor less anxious for employment, than those of this country. What would the British merchants who petition against this bill say, if they saw expeditions sailing from French ports to attack the sources of our commerce in every quarter of the world? He was afraid we should not be much benefited by its being left to the option of French officers to engage on either side according to their individual opinions; nor did he expect that our navigation would be much benefited by having the power of engaging French ships. Let it be supposed that we were engaged in a contest with our own colonies. That was a misfortune we had once experienced, and during that contest many persons in this country were impressed with the opinion that the resistance of the colonies was lawful; but whatever differences of opinion prevailed respecting the questions in dispute, all parties united in condemning the interference of France. Such a law as that now contended for would however give the subjects of France the right of interfering, while their government remained at peace with this country. If we asked how it happened that so much aid was given to our enemy and none to us, we might be told that such was the ardour of French soldiers in the cause of liberty, and such the desire of French sailors to crush the colonial monopoly of Great Britain, that they were all eager to range themselves on the side opposed to us. Who would not feel the glaring injustice of such a neutrality? And in what would it differ, from that which this country would exhibit, were the existing laws repealed, and the new provisions of this bill rejected?

The principle of free enlistment into foreign service never was the policy of this country. The volunteering for the service of foreign states, which took place under queen Elizabeth and in the two subsequent reigns, could establish no precedent against that general policy. In the time of Elizabeth the armaments were for the defence of protestants. She did not allow enlistments for any two belligerents with whom the country happened to be at peace. Did she allow Philip of Spain to recruit in this country or Ireland catholics to serve against the protestants in the Netherlands? His lordship then referred to the enlistments which took place in the reign of James I. during the war of the Palatinate, and in the reign of Charles I. during the war between Gustavus of Sweden and the emperor; and contended that these cases afforded no precedent which could induce their lordships to adopt so impolitic a law. To show how inconsistent the system of foreign enlistment was with the interests of the country, he par-

ticularly instanced an occurrence in the reign of James I. When the negotiation was going on for the marriage of prince Charles with an infanta of Spain, that government was allowed to raise troops in England to serve against the united provinces of the Netherlands. Could any thing have been more hostile to British interests than this course of proceeding? To such disadvantages and inconveniencies the country would, however be constantly exposed, were the law to be placed in such a state as to permit the voluntary enlistment of British subjects in the service of belligerents, with whom this country ought to be at peace. Every government was responsible for the acts of its subjects towards other states, when it could control their conduct. To permit our subjects to carry on a war while the government was at peace, was an indication of weakness or insincerity in the government. The government of a country was justly answerable for the conduct of any force that might be raised from among its subjects. If the parliament of England permitted the crown to possess no troops without its sanction, if we were justly jealous of the existence of foreign troops among us, how could we permit troops to be levied among us by foreigners, without the license of the crown or the permission of the legislature? He would not trouble the house at greater length. He would only urge upon their lordships, that, professing, as it did, the principles of neutrality, this country ought to act fairly and impartially by both the parties. To prohibit assistance to both was the best way of preserving that impartiality, and preventing acts which might compromise the honour or be injurious to the interests of the nation.

Lord Holland began by remarking on the great variety of motives that had been adduced for passing the bill before the house, and the great variety of grounds on which its policy was defended. If in ordinary life we found a person who stated various and contradictory motives for a particular action of life, his conduct would lead to the suspicion, that these alleged motives were mere pretences, and that the real motive was concealed. If, in addition to the variety and inconsistency of his statements, we found that he accounted for his conduct on grounds of so romantic a nature, as indicated the absence of all our usual feelings and a neglect of our most cherished interests, it would not be uncharitable to imagine, that he not only aimed at concealment, but that his real motive, if disclosed, was of too odious a character to be openly avowed and defended. Now, when he recollected the course pursued respecting this measure, he could not but feel that the above description applied to it. When he recollected what happened more particularly in another place, where it was introduced on the ground of correcting an anomaly in our criminal laws, by persons that opposed themselves to any revision or improvement of the criminal code, he could not but suspect the alleged motive. That ground was afterwards deserted, as being found too narrow for the superstructure to be raised upon it; and then we were told

told that the measure was necessary to preserve the principles of neutrality. Subsequently it had been discovered that this foundation was still too confined, and now the house was called upon to adopt the measure before it, because the country was pledged to it by the modification introduced into our practice by the stipulation of a particular treaty, which was completely at variance with the argument in its favour drawn from the principles of neutrality. By the stress laid on this latter argument, it was clear that it was wished to give great advantages to one of the parties over the other.

It had been said, that though the bill was connected with a policy opposed to our present interests, and more to the feelings and wishes of its authors, it ought to be supported as enforcing the principles of justice and preserving the national honour. He would afterwards examine the nature and force of this plea; in the mean time it was sufficient to mention it, to show that it was at variance with the other grounds on which the bill had been defended, and contained a principle of so unusual a kind, as rendered the sincerity of those who advanced it doubtful. If any part of the measure was reasonable and just, he (lord Holland) was willing to adopt it, though he objected to the unreasonable time at which it was brought forward. In this temper he concurred in those clauses of the bill which repealed the statutes of the 9th and 29th of Geo. II. He did so, not because those acts were found oppressive in practice, or because they were in any way founded on principles like those of the present measure. There appeared nothing in their enactments, or in their history, to show that they had been passed to preserve our neutrality, or that their operation had been found necessary for that purpose. He believed there was great truth in the statement of those who accounted for their enactment from a fear of the pretender, and a desire to prevent British subjects from being embodied under his standard. The latter of those acts, it should likewise be remembered, was passed in the view of a war. The noble earl (Bathurst) had, indeed, mentioned one instance in which they had been executed, unconnected with the pretender, and that was in the case of some persons enlisting into the Prussian service. This only showed that, as the acts were passed in the time of peace, they had been enforced to prevent our subjects from joining a foreign force when their services were required at home. He came now to the question, whether the preservation of the principles of neutrality required the enactment of the present measure? And here he must say, that he had some part of the speech of the noble earl opposite that related to that part of the subject with no little surprise. Who would have thought that the noble lord would have had recourse to the legislation of the United States of America for authority on the law of nations, for an exposition of the principles of neutrality? Nay, who would have thought that he would have set aside all former precedents, and condemned all former legislation at home, to exalt this new authority? Not only James I.,

who was censured by the noble earl for his pacific temper; and Charles I., so strangely blamed and eulogized in the same breath; but all the monarchs of England up to the year 1736 suffered in comparison with this new oracle; and yet they had contrived, without any law of neutrality, to maintain peace longer than those who had succeeded them.

He would venture by the way to suggest to the noble earl, that the love of peace manifested by James I. was more advantageous to his people than the opposite disposition that of late had guided the councils of this country. In speaking of the policy of Charles I. the noble earl professed a desire to use no harsh expression towards that unfortunate monarch; and yet could there be a censure more severe; could there be a statement more destructive of his character than what had fallen from the noble earl, who allowed that he was not sincere in his conduct; that he privately opposed those whom he publicly professed to favour; that he made promises of neutrality, and broke them to suit his convenience? The noble earl's profession of forbearance and lenity assorted ill with his enumeration of facts. He "wished not to speak harshly of the unfortunate monarch," while with the same breath he mentioned that he made war on his own subjects, and deceived his allies; that he was insincere in his foreign politics, and a tyrant and a despot at home. All this was called not speaking harshly of the monarch whose conduct was alluded to. As an argument in favour of the present bill, the noble lord had said, that if it was not passed we could not preserve our neutrality. Now, he (lord Holland) would on the contrary maintain, that the existing laws were sufficient for that purpose. He would even run the hazard of standing up for the prerogative in this case against the noble earl. And in doing so he would speak not from the *dicta* of German jurists, but on the experience of six centuries. There was an evident fallacy that ran through the whole of the noble earl's reasoning, namely, that the act of individuals was the act of the government. The noble earl had asked in one part of his argument, if foreigners who joined a belligerent had belligerent rights.—The reply was easy; they had no rights but those of the party whom they assisted.

The noble earl had stated, that there was a person who called himself sir Gregor Macgregor, who had under British colours conquered a Spanish town. Now, with regard to this person's title, he might assume any one he chose; and if he acted under the British flag, this bill would not prevent him, as it merely affected those enlisting in foreign service. He (lord Holland) would agree that the government ought not to encourage such enterprises. He agreed that we ought not to make war on either of the parties; and he admitted that impartiality constituted neutrality. A sovereign might be called upon by one belligerent party with whom he was in alliance, to prevent his subjects from entering into the service of its enemy, so as to be employed against it. The sovereign might issue his proclamation, prohibiting his subjects from enlisting;

listing; and if they did so after that proclamation, they would be guilty of a high misdemeanour, and might be punished accordingly. But this was all that a belligerent state could ask. It could not demand from the sovereign a change in the municipal laws of his dominions, or a modification of them, to suit its convenience.

The noble earl had said, "Look to the United States, and see what they have done;" but he had not adverted to the difference between the power of the executive in this country and the American union. The president of the United States had not the power, like the sovereign of England, of making peace and war; and therefore, as the executive had not the right of enforcing peace, a foreign state had not the right of demanding a law from the legislature to prevent war. The example of the United States was therefore no precedent for us, where the prerogative already possessed the right which a particular law was there requisite to confer. He (lord Holland) allowed that parliament had a right to pass a similar law; but the question was one merely of expediency, and not connected with the duty of neutrality. The noble earl, in recurring to ancient usages, had found out that the state of things was so different when the chief instances of enlisting into foreign service took place, that the precedent could not apply at present; he had found out that the kings of this country were obliged to support the protestant cause against catholic sovereigns, however much they professed to be at peace with those sovereigns. He had even appeared to maintain, that what would have been a breach of neutrality if done by individuals, was no such breach when connived at or authorized by the government.

In pursuing his argument, he had made the strange admission, that though the acts of George II. were repealed, Spain would not be able to get a man, while numbers would continue to flock to the standard of the independents. It thus appeared that, if we admitted both parties to equal rights, we could have no neutrality. It was now stated that we had many of our subjects in the ranks of the Americans, and it was evident therefore that the present measure would operate partially against them. Thus we must have partiality on the one side or the other: but the partiality of the former case resulted from our ancient law and feelings of individuals; while in the latter, it would result from the proposed enactment, and the unwise councils of ministers. He came now to make an observation or two on the pretence stated for the license to enter foreign service, in the times immediately succeeding the reformation. The noble earl said, that such license was given to support the protestant interest. Did the noble earl, who was an enemy to the catholics, and who believed that one of their tenets was to keep no faith with heretics, not see that the tendency of his observations was to affix a similar stigma on the protestants, and to admit that the protestants kept no faith with catholics? He had stated, that through these means the balance of power was preserved. Was there formerly a balance of power, and was there

none now, after all our boasted successes, after expending so much blood and treasure, and after imposing taxes that almost ground the people to dust? But he did not see to what the observation about the protestants tended.

Reverting to the principle of neutrality, he (lord Holland) said, he would not go to German jurists (to whom he meant no disrespect) in whose musty volumes would be found those doctrines which the noble earl declared the new system of neutrality. But he would state a fact, that when the treaty of 1604, made with king James for preventing Englishmen from enlisting in the service of the Dutch provinces against Spain, was complained of as infringed, the English government answered, that it assisted neither party, and placed both on a level. Nothing was said then about the protestant jargon. The noble lord quoted a similar reply in defence of the Dutch subjects who entered the service of the bishop of Munster. But those might be reckoned old precedents. He would therefore direct the noble earl's view to what took place so lately as 1791. Did not persons then from this country enter into foreign service? He would read an extract from the Annual Register of that year, which was, he allowed, an anonymous work, but was reported to be written under the superintendance of Mr. Burke, and by a friend of his own (Dr. Lawrence), not much inferior in political knowledge to himself. The passage he would quote referred to the assistance lent to the Low Countries; and said, that the spirit of enterprise, which was at all times common, had led a number of gentlemen there to assist their neighbours: and as the court of Great Britain and the ministry were not supposed to be adverse to the project, they were allowed to go unmolested. They were received with open arms, and were appointed to command bodies of troops. They were even so numerous that they were called the English legion. He (lord Holland) did not mean to say that this was a declaration of the law of nations; but it showed how the doctrine of enlistments in foreign service was received by wise and able men formerly. He might even allude to the manner in which the bill now before the house would affect Spain itself, where there were formerly whole regiments of English subjects.

He was afraid that he had said too much on the subject of usage and authority. He would now go on to state the dangers that might result from this new doctrine of neutrality. If it was a duty which we took upon ourselves to prevent individuals from engaging in any foreign service, nations at war might demand the execution of that duty. Spain might come and say, "You have signed a treaty with me: you have issued a proclamation to enforce the stipulations of that treaty; this proclamation has not been effectual, and lord Castlereagh has told at congress, that nothing else could be done without a law; but I find that no law has been passed, that troops go out to join my enemies, and that all your promises have been falsified. I have therefore a right to call upon

you

you to change your laws, to fulfil your treaties, and to make your promises valid." When this law is passed, and found to be ineffectual, the king of Spain ought to come forward, backed by the Amphictionic council of Europe, the assembled congress, and say, "I find you have not yet done enough, and you must do more to secure the fulfilment of your engagements." Ministers might then find it necessary to have a police to prevent emigration, and to make this country a prison; or, as it had been said by a Dutch jurist, *civitas castra*. But even this might not be sufficient: some persons might even still escape to join the enemies of Spain; and the character of its monarch might be abused in England. Pressing on the yielding disposition of our government, he might thus interfere with the liberty of the press, telling them, "You are too free; you have a press which does not spare even kings: while your present liberty exists you cannot prevent that abuse, and you must therefore abolish your liberty, as the only means of preserving your neutrality." He was the more opposed to the present bill, when he considered that it was only one of a multitude of measures which seemed to be in contemplation; and that it went, *pari jure*, with another obnoxious act, the alien act.

He would not proceed one step further in such a policy. It would be superfluous to answer the argument for passing the bill, derived from the existence of our treaty with Spain. That treaty merely referred to arms and warlike stores; and it would be a curious description of a soldier to bring him under the description of arms and warlike stores. It was well known at congress, that that treaty had no reference to enlistment, and that its deficiency was complained of to the British minister there. These arguments were not, he admitted, sufficient to make us reject the bill. We might improve our laws, although the change were not dictated by foreigners. The question was one merely of expediency and policy, which we were at perfect liberty to support or oppose, on the sole ground of our own interest. He would therefore inquire what favour we had received from Spain for such a boon, and what duty we owed her in return? He would say nothing offensive of the present sovereign of that country; he would not discuss his character, nor speak of the atrocious evils of his government. He could consider Ferdinand VII. only with reference to his relations to this country; but if we were called upon to vary from our present state of neutrality in favour of Ferdinand VII., then he must consider the character of Ferdinand VII. in order to ascertain whether he was entitled to such a favour.

He would not enter into a history of every incident in Ferdinand's life, which indicated his character; it would be sufficient to allude to a few of his public acts. The first act of his public life which merited attention, was his treaty with Buonaparte. In that treaty he had engaged to drive the English troops out of the peninsula, and this he had engaged to do in co-operation with the French army. In that treaty he had favoured the commerce of

France over the commerce of England. This treaty Ferdinand never rejected, as not binding upon him. It had been rejected only by the cortes, by the men whom he threw into dungeons. By no public act had Ferdinand ever disclaimed that treaty. But it was now pretended, that the treaty of 1814 wiped all this away. Well, he would ask any noble lord upon the other side, he would ask any lord in office, whether, with respect to the commercial interests of this country, the king of Spain had not violated every friendly intention expressed in the treaty of 1814. In the year 1796 there was a duty of 15 per cent. upon English goods imported into Spain; it was now 90 per cent. In this, too, the superior favour to France was manifest, for the duty upon French goods, which in 1796 was 15 per cent., was now 30 per cent. He knew that it was alleged that every idea of renewing the family compact had been renounced; but he also knew that there was at this moment no stipulation to prevent the renewal of it, or prevent Spain from acting upon it. He could, therefore, see nothing to entitle Ferdinand VII. to what was a mere matter of favour. He saw nothing in the character or conduct of Ferdinand to entitle him to a sacrifice of the interests, and, what is stronger, of the feelings of the people of Great Britain.

He wished next to advert to the effects of this measure upon the half-pay officers. If he had, as much as the noble earl, encouraged the military spirit which has prevailed so strikingly in this country lately, not, he hoped, to the danger of its peace and stability; if he had encouraged this military ardour so much as the noble earl, he would not have spoken so lightly upon that subject as the noble earl had done. It was, indeed, manifest to Europe, to the world, and to this country, how much we now suffered from the encouragement of that military spirit. We had thrown off the mask, and we heard no more of the prosperous situation of the country notwithstanding the war. We heard, it was true, in the speech from the throne, and in the address of that house to the throne, that the country was in a state of increasing prosperity; but it was now admitted by all, that the country was in a most distressed and most difficult situation. South America afforded an opening for our commerce, and gave suitable employment to our distressed soldiers and half-pay officers. Already some degree of alleviation had begun to be felt in consequence of our intercourse with South America; but the effect of this bill would be to discountenance the insurgents, and to break through the friendly relation in which we now stood to them. Let it be recollected, too, that this bill was calculated to counteract the natural disposition of this country to preserve a friendly intercourse with America, and even to emigrate to its provinces. The noble earl had therefore entirely misunderstood, he would not use a stronger term; but the noble earl had entirely misapprehended and misunderstood this subject, when he said that it arose out of this country. On the contrary, he would say, that this was purely a question of expediency,

diency, and that those who should argue for it were therefore bound to show that the interests of this country required that we should favour Ferdinand more than South America.

The lord chancellor moved that the acts 9 and 29 of George II., and two similar acts passed by the Irish parliament, be referred to the committee. Some discussion here arose upon a point of form, whether instructions to the committee ought to be moved upon the question "that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house," which was now the question before the house, or upon the ulterior question, "that the house do now resolve itself into the said committee."

The lord chancellor, lord Holland, and earls Liverpool, Grey, and Spencer, took part in this discussion.

The question "that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house," was put and agreed to.

The lord chancellor next moved, that the several acts on the subject of foreign enlistment be referred to the committee.

The marquis of Lansdown said, that he should not be contradicted when he stated that this bill was introduced not upon the ground of general policy, but in consequence of a specific application from the court of Spain, and that the whole light of general policy had burst upon them in consequence of this application. The question for the consideration of their lordships, therefore, was, first, the right of that power to make such a demand, and then the expediency, in the present circumstances of this country, of complying with the demand.—Their lordships were called upon, first, to inquire whether the demand ought to be acceded to upon any general principle of the law of nations, upon the ground of the usage of this country, or upon the stipulation of any particular treaty; and next, if the demand ought not to be acceded to on any of those grounds, to consider how far, in the present condition of the world, there existed any expediency to induce their lordships to depart from the undoubted law, and still more the feeling of this country for more than a century back. He might, if he referred to German jurists, incur the censure of criticism from the noble earl who had spoken first in the debate. All the writers upon this subject had been proscribed by the noble earl; and all the sovereigns of England who had acted upon the principles of those writers, the noble earl would not forsooth admit as any authority upon this question. He would not refer to many authorities; he would only allude to one who might stand in lieu of any other, because he did not so much give any original opinion as reduce the opinions and doctrines of others in a sort of compendium. The writer to which he referred was Martens. Martens stated, that it was consistent with perfect neutrality to give every assistance to either of the belligerents, except warlike expeditions. Would the noble lords on the other side say that the efforts of individuals in the South American cause could be termed warlike expeditions? This could not be pretended, and nothing else, according to Martens, was

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to be refused. This writer proceeded to state, what his lordship would have hesitated to say, that "every state has a right to give liberty of raising troops in its dominions, and marching them through the country, and may grant to one state what it refuses to another, in war and in peace, without infringing its neutrality." This reference he made, not for the purpose of showing their lordships what the law was upon this subject, but only to meet what the noble earl had stated. The noble earl (Bathurst) had represented this as a novel and unheard-of doctrine, but he had stated not one single exception to it.

He would now advert to the circumstances to which the noble earl had alluded, and which he had selected as if for the purpose of inducing their lordships to abandon the ground on which questions of this sort had always been placed. The noble earl had stated that queen Elizabeth was the first who had allowed subjects to engage in war, with respect to which the government maintained a neutrality. The notions of the noble earl on this point were rather surprising, because, when referring to queen Elizabeth, who allowed her subjects to engage in wars of neutral powers, "No," said the noble earl, "she did not allow her subjects to fight for the two belligerents; she allowed them to fight on one side only." His argument was, that the queen never allowed protestants to serve catholics, but protestants only. But if queen Elizabeth was able to enforce this policy, whence arose the inefficacy of the common law on which the noble earl had founded another of his arguments? The common law was said to be good for nothing, yet she had exerted that good-for-nothing power so successfully as to confine the assistance of her subjects to protestants only. James I. had been a great coward, it seemed, but the noble earl would admit that he had been no bad jurist. James I. then, being a coward, had, for the purpose of not involving himself, permitted 2,800 soldiers to be raised for the service of a foreign power. If the common law did not admit of this, why might he not as well have proceeded to war at once? The fact was, however, that he had given permission, or rather encouragement, for that was the noble earl's statement, to 2,800 men to go abroad, in the service of one of the belligerents, while he, protected by the law of nations, enjoyed peace at home. So far from its being difficult to find cases in which British subjects had engaged in the service of foreign states, he could show, that during the lapse of four centuries down to 1792, there did not arise a single case in which the subjects of this country had not engaged in the service of other states, without any material inconvenience having been found. There was no active interference of British subjects in the service of foreign states, which was inconsistent with the doctrines of neutrality. But their lordships had been told, that the government of Spain was entitled to particular rights by that treaty, which had been so often alluded to. Now, what was the conduct of ministers on this subject, or what did they mean when they acceded to that treaty?

treaty? It would hardly be contended that ministers, being aware that they had not the power of executing the treaty towards old Spain, had nevertheless engaged to perform certain acts; but if that were the case, what justification could they offer to parliament for not coming forward and saying, that it was necessary to adopt a particular law? Not a hint on this subject had been given; it had never been whispered that an alteration of the ancient policy of this country was necessary; but at the end of four years they came forward and stated, "Now we have to tell you, that four years ago we entered into a treaty with Spain, and the effect of that treaty is, that you must alter your existing laws."

Such was the language which his majesty's ministers now employed; but he would observe, that Spain must be supposed have entered into that treaty with a perfect knowledge of the existing laws; and if they were not acquainted with those laws, it was a breach of faith on the part of ministers not to inform her what they were. There was another circumstance in that treaty which showed how little it could justify a particular departure from the laws of this country. If their lordships looked to the treaties of commerce between Great Britain and France, they would find, that the subjects of the two contracting parties were not engaged in letters of marque. So that, according to the doctrines of the noble lord, this country, not having the advantage of a treaty of commerce with Spain, was supposed to have incurred the obligation which a treaty of commerce would have imposed. The difficulties which were attached to this question bore a little hard upon the independent states of America. The noble lord was ready to say that he should not adhere to the technical state of the law, where it gave great assistance to one of the parties, and refused it to the other. "Under this law," said the noble marquis, "if your lordships should consent to pass it, there is a complete prohibition of arms and ammunition to the independents; and yet, at this very moment, you are sending arms to old Spain. It must be well known, for the public prints have openly stated it, that the expedition from Cadiz has been delayed for the purpose of receiving arms from this country. So much for the strict impartiality and justice of his majesty's ministers. At this very moment, I say, you are furnishing materials. (No, no, from lord Harrowby.) I am happy that the noble lord contradicts this. It has been publicly stated in the newspapers, and hitherto it has not been denied. I shall be glad if he can say that no supply will be sent to Spain. But if I read this act rightly, he will find it difficult to state that arms may not be sent. It is not because arms have not been sent, that they may not be sent to Spain. I have no hesitation in declaring, that this law will give to the government of old Spain that assistance which ministers, professing the spirit of strict neutrality, are anxious to withhold from the colonies."

Their lordships were now to consider upon what principle of expediency they were called on to

to adopt the law of preventing any assistance from being rendered to the individuals of South America for establishing their independence. If they did not, as he thought they ought not, give way to any feelings to do an act of injustice, he asked, at least, that they would not allow themselves to be influenced by any principle, by any new, romantic, or Quixotic sentiment, to abstain from doing that which, consistently with the law of the country, might be done. Much had been said, both now and on former occasions, no matter where, with respect to our half-pay officers: and he now called upon their lordships not to forget the number and amount of those officers, who, after having fought the battles of their country, had become the victims of peace, and were driven to the means of obtaining that subsistence which our own policy had forced them to seek. It was well to describe in rhetorical periods, the blessings and comforts of domestic life; it sounded well to say that those who had been employed in war should now look up to the plough-share, and devote the remainder of their days, if peace continued, to the cultivation of the earth: but thinking as he did, that all war was an evil, and that peace was a blessing, he must say, that when a large body of men had devoted their lives to the service of their country, and were now unable to support themselves in their former rank, their lordships were bound to consider the situation in which those persons were placed, and were not to check them in the honourable career and employment of their future lives. They were at least so far entitled to the consideration of parliament, that they ought not to be debarred from any employment in which the circumstances of the world might allow them to employ themselves.

But there was still another view of this subject. He was also of opinion that the commercial interests of the country had a right to call upon their lordships not to dry up those new channels of enterprise which now opened to their view. This was a great and important consideration, and which ought not to be treated lightly. Indeed, when he looked at this question in all its various points, he could wish that their lordships would place themselves fairly before the object, and consider maturely how these transactions would appear in the eyes of posterity. He firmly believed that there was no man in that house who would state, that the independent colonies of South America would return to the government of old Spain: attached as they were to liberty and independence, not only from the natural feelings of mankind, but also from the very sacrifices of blood and money which they were making to obtain those blessings, was there any man who could assert that these states, in the growth and prospect of independence and liberty, would sink again into the arms of that government which was impotent for their defence, and which ruled only to oppress and tyrannize? If any man in that house should rise and say this, he was sure that he would forfeit all reputation for political sagacity. He was fully persuaded that, in future times, it would be a matter of deep regret that England had been engaged in such transactions by a bill of

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pains and penalties. His majesty's ministers, not content with the existing prerogative of the crown, not satisfied with dealing out, as they professed to do, a fair and equal measure of justice and neutrality, thought it necessary at such a moment to come to parliament and to invoke the assistance of the common informer to deprive the crown of its prerogative. But every man who had a heart to feel, must desire that the independence of South America might be established. The love of liberty which prevailed in this country must create a disgust of tyranny wherever it existed. We had long enjoyed the blessings of independence, and he trusted that the time was not far distant when they would be experienced in that quarter of the globe.

"Nosque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,
Illic sera rubens ascendet lumina vesper."

This country had been the birthplace of liberty, and it should not grudge to see it take its residence in another hemisphere. He agreed with his noble friend that the bill ought to be divided into two parts: he thought that by repealing the occasional statutes so often alluded to, a perfect measure of neutrality would be dealt out to old Spain; but he would not consent to that part of the bill which prohibited our subjects from enlisting in the service of any government whatever.

The earl of Harrowby said, that he felt great reluctance in troubling their lordships by citing authors to whom they were not disposed to listen with any satisfaction; but he thought that they could not do better than consult the opinions of men who, sitting in their closets, had examined the history of the world, and collected the sense of preceding writers. He had looked into many of those writers, and one in particular, an author of the highest authority, appeared to him not to have expressed himself in the terms which the noble lord opposite had stated. He had certainly said that the leaning of his own mind was, that persons might engage in foreign service; but he limited this by adding, that it must be considered whether they were or were not allowed by their own government to engage in that service; and he concluded by saying, that every person would judge for himself upon the arguments adduced; and yet this was the author who was relied upon by the noble lord opposite, as if he had said that in all cases the subjects of one country might engage in the service of another. [The noble earl then read several passages from Grotius and Vattel, in order to prove that one country had no right to interfere with another, unless it derived that right from the principle of self-defence.] It had been said, that this act was the result of a demand on the part of Spain. He was not aware of any such demand. Spain was anxious for nothing more than that strict neutrality which she had a right to expect in the fulfilment of the treaty we had made with her. This government did not interfere as long as there was no open or avowed support given to the insurgents. They did not notice one or two ships sent out; but when whole expeditions were prepared, when the proclamations of his majesty had been found to have

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no effect in restraining them, when no hope remained of any adjustment of the differences between Spain and her colonies, then, he contended, it became the duty of the British government to interfere, and prevent what would, if unrestrained, amount to a direct breach of neutrality on her part. We were, from the nature of the acts already in force, bound to legislate on this subject; for it was known to their lordships, that some of these acts made that a felony which, by the present bill, would be only considered a misdemeanour.

The object of the bill was not, as had been stated, to give a preponderance to one of the belligerent powers above the other, but to prevent (which was the essence of neutrality) any assistance being given to either. The acts to which he had alluded had left the question of neutrality in some respects doubtful; but were we for the omission of a few words in an act of parliament to sanction a system which would be a direct breach of the treaty we had made, and of that neutrality which even without a treaty the law of nations called upon us to observe? As to the government having been induced to adopt the present measure in consequence of an appeal from other powers, he should observe, that no appeal against a right would be attended to. There were not instances wanting, and he could show them, where an appeal had been made against the dearest of our rights—the liberty of the press, and that too by the most powerful state in Europe; but the appeal would not be listened to; and our government would not for a moment attend to an application which went to infringe what it held to be so sacred and dear to the country. But without any appeal, it would not be deterred from an act of justice to two contending parties—the only justice which was required at our hands—that of observing the most strict neutrality between each.

With respect to the assistance which might have been given in the exportation of arms, no argument could be deduced. That exportation was on a very limited scale as far as Spain was concerned. In 1816 the number of guns exported to her from this country was only 7; in 1817, 12; in 1818, 220; and up to the early part of 1819, they were 1,403. The whole amount of stores, ammunition, &c. in that time did not exceed the value of 16,000*l*. It could not then be said that Spain had derived much assistance from this country as far as the supply of arms and ammunition were concerned. As to men, it was not pretended that any assistance in that way was derived from England. It was said, that it was a strange species of neutrality to give to one power a preponderance over the other. He denied that the object of his majesty's government was to give a support to either. We could not embrace any even the strictest neutrality, without in some respect giving an advantage to one or the other of the two belligerents; but then we were bound to adopt a system the most impartial that we could. Its effects afterwards we ought not to be answerable for. As to the influence which this system might have upon our commerce, we ought not to take it into consideration when we were

deliberating

deliberating upon an act of mere justice—an act to which we were bound by the law of nations. What, he would ask, were our feelings with respect to the interference of France in the war with our American colonies? We then went upon the principle *qui facit per alium facit per se*, and upon that principle we ought now to act. We could not in justice suffer our own subjects to adopt a line which we had resisted in the subjects of another state. Mention had been made of the great number of half pay officers in this country, of their inability to better themselves, and of the cruelty of preventing them from engaging in those scenes where they might have an opportunity of trying their fortunes. To this he should reply, that before the individuals were considered, the situations in which they might be employed should also be borne in mind. If the cause in which they were to be engaged were one in which we could properly interfere, it might be different: but then we were not to commit a direct breach of neutrality, from the wish, however desirable that might be, of bettering their condition. But as to the cruelty of not suffering them to join the South Americans, he thought, from some correspondence which he had seen, that it would be an act of cruelty to leave many who had gone out there in their present situation. There were, he had no doubt, many who would be most anxious to return to England, if they possibly could. Besides, it should be remembered what kind of warfare it was in which those men were engaged. It was a civil war, and from what he had heard, it was of a most deadly nature. He had seen a proclamation signed "Bolivar the deliverer," in which the murder of 800 persons in cold blood was not only sanctioned, but applauded. Were these scenes in which we should wish to have our soldiers engaged? Could we think them fit to join in our armies, or mix in our societies here? Could we bear to see the laurels of Victoria or Waterloo tainted with the atrocities of such sanguinary civil broils? However much he might wish to see our brave officers and soldiers provided for, he thought their personal comforts would be too dearly purchased at such a price.

The marquis of Bute opposed the bill. He did not see the necessity of creating a new law to provide for what was already sufficiently provided for by existing statutes. He could not agree with the noble earl who had last addressed their lordships, that there was any analogy between the case of our former American colonies and the independents, as far as the interference of France was concerned. In the case of the American war, there were individuals who took a share in it against us, but they were on their return to Versailles openly favoured by the French court. The case was quite different here. Whatever was done by British subjects for the independents was not favoured or supported by our government. The noble marquis went on to combat particular parts of the bill, but in a tone not perfectly audible below the bar.

Lord Holland wished to know whether any demand had been made by Spain for an alteration of our laws upon this subject, and whether the noble lord would have

have any objection to the production of the correspondence which had passed between the English and Spanish governments regarding it. He also wished to know, whether the noble earl would object to the production of all the licenses granted by an order of council, permitting exportation of arms, &c. to old Spain.

The earl of Harrowby had no objection to the production of the licenses which had been granted up to the present year. As to any correspondence having passed between the two governments, he must repeat what he had asserted before.

Lord Holland wished to know, whether the noble earl intended him to understand that no correspondence had taken place between the two governments upon this subject.

Lord Liverpool could only repeat that there had been no demand made by the Spanish government on this occasion; there certainly had been strong representations made, but nothing in the shape of a demand. Neither had this act originated from any hint given at congress. The representations which the Spanish ambassador had made to this government were not made until he had seen that the provisions of his majesty's proclamation to prohibit the entrance of British subjects into the insurgent forces was totally disregarded. There had been no direct representation from Spain desiring us to alter our laws; and if the Spanish ambassador had not made the representation which he did, he would not have discharged the duty which he owed to his king, his country, and himself. He must observe, that no satisfactory ground had been stated by the noble baron for the production of the correspondence to which he had alluded.

Lord Holland said, that he should take another opportunity of moving for the correspondence which he wished to see.

Strangers were ordered to withdraw, and the house divided on lord Holland's amendment: Contents present 27, proxies 20, 47—Non-contents present 49, proxies 51, 100. Majority against the motion—53.

House of commons June 28.—On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the report of the committee of ways and means was received, and the several resolutions of the committee were agreed to by the house. A discussion took place on the resolution granting 1000*l.* to provide implements of industry for the new bridewell in Dublin.

Mr. Hume said that this was one of the grants which had been proposed this year for the first time, none of which he approved of. He was convinced that such grants, instead of promoting the charitable purposes for which they were given, tended only to blunt the finer feelings of the mind, and to increase the number of objects.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald was willing to believe that nothing but a sense of duty had prompted the honourable member to object to this grant, for he was convinced the house would think it one of the least objectionable that had been proposed.

Mr. C. Grant thought himself justifiable in bringing forward this estimate for the following reason.

reason. The attention of the house had of late been much directed to the state of prisons throughout this country. This was the first instance in which the New Bridewell in Dublin had been appointed for the reception of prisoners, and he thought it desirable that the new and improved system should commence under the most favourable auspices. He did not propose that this should be an annual grant; it was only an experiment, and if it was to be tried at all, it ought to be tried fairly.

Mr. Wynn spoke in favour of the vote.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald explained.

Mr. M. Fitzgerald could not understand why grants should not be made for the benefit of Ireland as well as for that of England, or why they should be refused merely on account of their novelty. He was, however, most anxious that all these charities should be strictly inquired into, and he believed that in many important branches retrenchment might be made. There was one institution which he thought had a most mischievous effect, he meant the house of industry. The system which was carried on in this establishment would have the effect of introducing the poor laws, with all their evils, into Ireland.

Mr. W. Smith thought that the honourable gentleman who opened this debate had been most unjustly treated, as it had been supposed that this was the only grant to which he (Mr. Hume) had objected. With respect to this particular vote, he (Mr. Smith) thought it the most unobjectionable of the whole; but as to the grant of 20,000*l.* to the Irish linen board, he certainly entertained a different opinion.

Mr. Peel hoped that, provided the house was satisfied with the propriety of these grants, it would not withhold its liberality, because he was convinced of their necessity. The inhabitants of Dublin had done much by their charitable donations; but yet assistance was required from parliament. In one instance, he particularly recollected that at a meeting between 600*l.* and 700*l.* were raised. With respect to the linen board, he thought that no grant was so much required as for that establishment. An honourable member had alluded to the house of industry. He assured that honourable gentleman that very lately a great alteration had taken place in that establishment, and he was satisfied that it would be found that great improvements had been made.

Mr. M. Fitzgerald explained. With regard to the liberality of the people of Ireland, he well knew that since the union the charitable donations had greatly decreased in amount. This was indeed a most melancholy reflection.

Sir H. Parnell supported the grant. He hoped that an inquiry would be instituted into the Irish linen board. The examination of a very few witnesses would prove the justness of their claim.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald explained, that the gentlemen who composed the linen board derived no benefit from this grant. The whole of the sum was expended in bounties upon the linen manufacture.

Mr. Bankes spoke in support of the grant.

Mr. Charles Grant explained.

Lord Carhampton made a few remarks, after which the vote was agreed to.

Mr. Hume, on the reading of the resolution for 7,000*l.* towards defraying the salaries of law-officers, &c. made some observations in reply to what had fallen from the noble lord and the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fitzgerald), by whom he thought himself to have been much misunderstood.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald, in explanation, had understood the objections of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) to apply generally to the management and administration of all charities in Ireland. The honourable gentleman, he might with more reason complain, had quite misunderstood himself.

Mr. Hume explained; and after a few words from Mr. Waithman and Mr. R. Martin, the resolution was agreed to; as were also these resolutions:—

3,000*l.* for the erection of schools in Ireland, &c.

17,076*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* for making good the deficiencies of the civil list in Ireland.

On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the house then resolved itself into a committee of ways and means.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the amount of outstanding exchequer-bills, last year, was 49,000,000*l.*, which might, this year, be considered as reduced by a sum of 10,500,000*l.* viz.: 5,000,000*l.* to be paid to the bank, and 5,500,000*l.* in the hands of individuals. The first amount would thus become reduced to 38,500,000*l.* 20,000,000*l.* had been granted in exchequer-bills, and he was now about to propose a grant of 16,500,000*l.* exchequer-bills: there was a quantity of Irish bills now outstanding, amounting to 4,500,000*l.*; but he presumed that a grant of 2,000,000*l.* Irish exchequer-bills would be sufficient to replace all that might be now so outsanding. Taking, therefore, into consideration the state of our unfunded debt, and these arrangements, and seeing how we were likely to stand at the close of the year, there was only one other item of ways and means which it would be necessary for him to mention. There was a surplus of monies granted for ways and means, for the service of last year, amounting to 244,892*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* remaining, which he should move the house to advance in aid of the services for the present year. He would not delay the house any longer, but for the purpose of communicating to them with great satisfaction a circumstance attending the present state of the revenue. When he submitted what was usually called the budget to parliament, he thought himself bound to state the precise condition of the revenue as it then stood; and comparing it at the quarter ending the 5th of April, with the same quarter the last year, there was an improvement of 250,000*l.*; but he thought himself also compelled to observe, that there was a diminution, as taken with preceding quarters, of 100,000*l.*; no very gloomy prospect even that; nor any very considerable sum; but he considered it his duty to inform them. He had now the pleasure of informing the committee, that having

ing procured the accounts to be made up to last night, he found that there was an excess in the present quarter over the corresponding one of last year, of more than 300,000*l.*, without taking into consideration the tea duties. This excess had not arisen from those articles upon which new duties had been imposed during the course of the present year; although it might have been imagined that there would have been immediate payments for the purpose of avoiding such new duties; but such was not the case, for, if it had, the money must have come into the treasury. The right honourable gentleman then brought up the two resolutions.

Mr. J. Smyth wished to know what was the total amount of exchequer-bills, outstanding, exclusive of those which were in the hands of the bank, at the end of the year?

The chancellor of the exchequer had great pleasure in rising to satisfy the honourable gentleman on this point. The total amount of exchequer and of Irish treasury bills at the close of the year would be 38,500,000*l.*; having been reduced by 10 millions and an half from 49,000,000*l.* Of these 38,500,000*l.* the bank of Ireland would hold about 2,500,000*l.* and the bank of England about 14,000,000*l.* Taking these sums jointly as 19,000,000*l.*, and from that amount deducting the 5,000,000*l.* to be paid to the bank, the bills will amount to 14,000,000*l.* If they took 16,000,000*l.* from 38,500,000*l.* there would then remain upwards of 22,000,000*l.* of unfunded debt, exchequer bills, in the hands of private individuals. He had forgotten to mention that there were nearly 3,000,000*l.* deposited by various acts of parliament in the present year, in the exchequer, which of course still further reduced the amount of these bills held by private individuals.

Sir Henry Parnell was of opinion that the transfer of stock from England to Ireland had had an unfavourable effect on the exchanges, as regarded the latter. He wished to call the attention of the chancellor of the exchequer to the subject.

The chancellor of the exchequer was very open to any arrangement that might be suggested.

Mr. alderman Wood said, that from letters which had reached him, Ireland was in a state of great commercial distress from the want of that capital necessarily taken into England. He could not here help regretting the loss of a bill which had for its object the investing of English capital in Irish concerns.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald spoke against the bill which had passed on the subject (57 G. III.) After some further observations from the right honourable gentleman and the chancellor of the exchequer,

Mr. Ricardo observed, that he thought, in regard to the depreciation of the Irish exchange, as there was no common measure of currency in the two countries, there would necessarily be a variation between the exchanges. Now, in the month of February there would be that common measure of currency, when they would both pay in the same currency, and at the same value. He did not doubt, that the exchanges be-

tween us would then be at par, or very nearly so. With respect to the transfer and grant of English stock to Ireland, he thought it certainly on the whole a beneficial measure; and that it would be very beneficial also, if the transfer of Irish stock to England were encouraged. Some slight tax, even for the accommodation, might be advisable. The excellent measures now adopted would, he doubted not, in February effect that which hitherto the bill had failed to do.

Mr. Callaghan and Mr. Bankes said a few words; and the three resolutions—

"That a sum of 16,500,000*l.*, be raised by exchequer-bills, for the services of the present year, 1819;"

"That 2,000,000*l.*, British currency, be raised by exchequer-bills, for the service of Ireland for the present year;"

"That the sum of 244,892*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*, being the surplus amount now remaining in the exchequer of the ways and means voted for 1818, be applied to the service of the present year;" were severally agreed to.

CHAPTER VI.

Sinking Fund Bill—Reversal of the Attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Reform of Parliament—Grampound Election—Criminal Laws—Charitable Foundations—Finance—Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope—Retrenchment—Prorogation of Parliament.

HOUSE of commons, June 29.—The house having resolved itself into a committee on the bill for appropriating a portion of the sinking fund to the service of the year, the chancellor of the exchequer remarked, that the period of fluctuation in the public funds would now be at an end, by the settlement of our currency, and the sufficiency of our resources to answer all public purposes, without resorting to borrowing. It might be supposed that the present measure would have an unfavourable effect upon the funds by diminishing the purchases of the commissioners. This, however, he hoped might not be the case. When we had no more need for loans, and when we were found to possess a really effective sinking fund to the amount contemplated, he was convinced that there would be a gradual improvement in public credit, and that the funds would make a progressive advancement, without being liable to fluctuation. In the course of the ensuing year there would only be four or five millions to be provided for. He hoped that the sum might be so reduced as to be provided for in other ways than by loan, and so to prevent any new burthen on the money market. Thus the present measure of taking so much from the sinking fund, would have no bad effect upon the funds. The state of the supply and the demand governed the market. Now, as there would

would be no new supply of stock, the demand might be supposed to be increased. On the 5th of January 1818, the price of the 3 per cent. stocks had risen above 80; it had even at some time gone higher than that: the amount of the 3 per cent. consolidated fund was then 372,000,000*l.* of capital stock. On the 5th of July 1820, it would only be 368,000,000*l.*, showing a reduction in these two years of 4,000,000*l.* On the 5th of January 1818, the amount of the 3 per cent. reduced was 135,000,000*l.*; and on the 5th of July 1820, it would not exceed 132,000,000*l.*, exhibiting a reduction of 3,000,000*l.* Thus, there would be a smaller supply, while the demand might be supposed to be increased. A gradual but slow improvement might be expected to take place in all our resources, indicating a healthy state of our circulation. Nothing could promote this more than an abandonment of the system of borrowing. The amount to be taken from the sinking fund next year would be as great as in the present; but its operation would be increased by the addition of the new taxes. Its influence on the funds, too, would be aided by another cause which it gave him great pleasure to mention—he meant the sums invested in the public funds from the saving banks. He was happy to mention that these wise and salutary institutions were so encouraged, after a general admission of their utility, that twenty thousand pounds a week were invested in the public securities. The amount of stock already purchased was so high as 3,000,000*l.*, and was progressively increasing. As these savings were to be paid into the public stocks without coming again into the market, they acted as a real sinking fund, and produced as great an effect as the purchases of the commissioners to the same amount.

Mr. Ricardo observed, that the right honourable gentleman had, in mentioning the reduction of the 3 per cent. consolidated funds, forgotten to mention that a new stock of 3½ per cent. had been created. The whole of this stock he had entirely kept out of view. He was glad to hear of the improving prosperity of the savings' banks. There was one disadvantage that resulted from the improvement of the public funds—that as the capital rose, the interest fell; and persons would thus be induced to sell out when they were high, in order to re-invest their money in them when they were low: thus they might sell out at 70 or 80, and when war occurred buy in again at 60 or 70, creating a loss of 20 per cent. to the nation.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he was glad to be reminded by the honourable gentleman of the 3½ per cents. as he had forgotten to mention the important fact, that of the twenty-seven millions of that stock created, seven millions had been reduced, leaving only twenty millions unredeemed. If he had this year brought forward no plan, he begged not to be understood as having none in contemplation. He was uncertain what he might do next year; but at any rate, when the sinking fund had attained eight millions, it would be time for him or his successor to propose some final arrangement.

The sinking fund bill then passed through a committee.

House of lords, June 30.—The

earl of Liverpool signified to the house, that he had to communicate an act of grace on the part of the prince regent. That was, a bill to reverse the attainder of Edward Fox Fitzgerald commonly called lord Edward Fitzgerald. Without adverting to the circumstance of the original proceeding, he should only call the attention of the house to the preamble to the bill, in which it was stated, that the late lord Edward Fitzgerald had never been tried, and that the attainder by the parliament of Ireland had taken place several months after his decease. Whatever might be the merits of the original transaction, he stood there as the advocate of innocent and unoffending individuals, a son and a daughter of the deceased; the former of whom had distinguished himself in arms in the service of his country.

The duke of Wellington bore testimony to the merits of the individual alluded to, whom he had the honour to command.

Lord Holland begged to express his gratitude and satisfaction at the act of grace, both for public and private reasons. With his private reasons he should not trouble that august assembly, and his public reasons were already on record. The proceeding was both handsome and just. No difference of political opinion could diminish his early friendship with the noble earl at the head of his majesty's councils. He could assure that noble lord, that he could have proposed nothing to the house more congenial to his feelings, and for which he thanked him both as a public and a private man. The act of grace emanating from the prince regent, was an act worthy of a magnanimous and a generous heart.

The bill was read the first time.

In the commons, the same day, bills were read the first time, for raising 16,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, and 2,000,000*l.* for the service of Ireland, for the year 1819.

July 1.—Mr. Bankes, after some remarks on the general excess of our expenditure in public works, moved the three following resolutions, which were agreed to:—1. That whenever a great public work was to be undertaken, the surveyor general should invite a competition of architects to furnish designs and plans. 2. That the work should be undertaken by contract, under public advertisement, care being taken to have the superintendence of a competent architect to regulate the various operations. 3. That a fixed and moderate compensation be allowed to such architect for his superintendence, the usual mode of a per centage being ill calculated to produce a controul over the expenditure.

The marquis of Tavistock presented a petition from 1800 of the most respectable inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining that they were not admitted to the elective franchise, and praying that they might be allowed to participate in the election of their own representatives. The marquis, whilst an enemy to those wild and visionary reformers, who started projects of impossible execution, and reforms of destructive extent, was yet anxious for a reform, radical, but moderate; radical, in remedying abuses, and moderate in the remedies applied.

Sir Francis Burdett then addressed the house on the subject of

of reform. The honourable baronet quoted Blackstone to show the principle of representation in this country, which was, that in "a free state every man who is a free agent ought to be in some measure his own governor;" and that the true reason of a qualification as to property was "to exclude such persons as are in so mean a situation, that they are esteemed to have no will of their own." Now it was perfectly notorious, that the greater part of the house were returned by such voters; by persons whose names were kept off the poor-books, for the sake of enabling them to give their votes. Those also who were returned by the influence of peers, were, in violation of the constitution and the standing orders, admitted to be good members. He then quoted a passage from chief justice Fortescue, in the time of Henry VII. in which, contrasting the effects of the free government of England with those of French despotism, he says, "And therefore cometh it to pass that the men of this country are rich, having abundance of gold and silver, and every thing necessary for man's delight. They drink no water, unless it may be for the purposes of devotion, or being upon a pilgrimage; abundance of silk and golden stuffs have they also," and so on. He was afraid that if a comparison were to be drawn between the two countries in their present state, as regarded the condition of the people, the result of the comparison formerly made by the chancellor Fortescue would be reversed. The people, in claiming the elective franchise with regard to members of that house, were demanding only a small portion of their hereditary privileges, for anciently they elected all magistrates, from sheriffs downwards. They now satisfied themselves with asking to be allowed to elect those who had the privilege of taking from them the fruits of their hard-earned labour; they claimed the right of electing those who were to take from them their means of subsistence, who were to have power over their very bodies even! The borough system of representation robbed the crown of its rights, as well as the people of theirs. The ancient property of the crown had been taken from it, and it was now placed in the odious light of a great pensioner on the public. Such a condition of things was wholly inconsistent with the plan of government established by our ancestors, and in his opinion quite adverse to the real interests of the country. The present system had produced an expenditure which the country could not much longer support.

Many years ago, Mr. Pitt had declared a reform in the representation to be absolutely necessary; he had said, In the present state of the representation no honest man could conduct public affairs, and in fact no honest man could be minister. He predicted, that without a reform the country would be plunged into new wars, undertaken, like the American war, for the purpose of extinguishing liberty in whatever quarter of the world it should appear. He foresaw the accumulation of fresh debts and difficulties, and unfortunately lived to verify and illustrate his own predictions. The honourable baronet then adverted to the enormous expense of our standing army, the fees and taxes

in law proceedings amounting to nearly a denial of justice, and to other grievances resulting from the present system of government; and concluded with moving a resolution, that the house should early in the next session take into consideration the state of the representation.

Mr. G Lamb was pleased that the honourable baronet had concluded with a motion tending to comprehend all those whose views were friendly to reform. His own wishes were to see, in the first place, the elective franchise removed from boroughs whose corruptions had been exposed, and from others of limited extent, to large and populous towns; and in the next place to shorten the duration of parliaments. He did not, however, anticipate from these measures the removal of all the evils under which the country now laboured, but he believed the effect of such a reform would be to give the people, what, in his opinion (and he was sorry to say it) they did not at present possess—reliance on their rulers.

Mr. Grenfell would never consent to go into a committee until some specific plan were laid down. He should therefore move that the other orders of the day be now read.

In the sequel of the debate the original motion was supported by Mr. R. H. Gurney, sir R. Wilson, aldermen Wood and Waithman, Mr. Williams, Mr. P. Moore, Mr. C. Hutchinson, and Mr. Byng; and the amendment was supported by Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Martin (of Galway), and lord John Russell.

On a division, the amendment was carried by 153 to 58.

House of lords, July 5.—The marquis of Lansdown opposed the poor rates misapplication bill, and moved to postpone the second reading of it for three months.

The motion, after some observations from lords Liverpool, Harrowby, and Darnley, was agreed to.

In a committee on the insolvent debtors' bill, several amendments proposed by lord Redesdale and others were carried.

Lord Auckland observed, that the amendments just made were not likely to be agreed to in the other house.

The lord chancellor said that in this case a bill might be brought in, to continue the act about to expire until three months after the next session of parliament.

In the commons, the same day, the examination of witnesses relative to the Grampound election was resumed in a committee of the whole house.

The chairman having reported proceedings, lord John Russell moved the two following resolutions: "1. That so notorious a system of corruption had prevailed in the borough of Grampound, as to call for the serious animadversion of the house. 2. That the house pledged itself to take this subject into consideration early in the next session." The noble lord further gave notice, that as the precedent of extending the elective franchise to the freeholders of the adjacent hundreds was not likely to cure the evil of bribery, he should propose to transfer the right of representation in this case to some populous seat of trade and manufactures now altogether unrepresented. The resolutions were then agreed to.

House

House of lords, July 6.—On the third reading of the bill for reversing the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, lord Clare expressed his approbation of it, and said, that had his father's life been spared, he intended to have proposed such a measure. The bill was then passed.

On the motion of lord Lauderdale, the second reading of the Scotch poor relief bill, publicans' licensing bill, and the silk manufacturing regulation bill, were postponed for three months; and a new standing order was made to the effect, that no bill for regulating any trade or manufacture, altering apprenticeships, affixing marks on goods, extending patents, &c. shall be read a second time until a select committee of their lordships shall institute an inquiry relative to the measure proposed, and report thereon.

Sir J. Mackintosh brought up the report of the committee on the criminal laws. The first part of it, he said, consisted of returns of convictions and executions throughout the kingdom, much more accurate and important than were ever yet laid before the house. The first document was a return of convictions and executions in London since 1689. They had also returns from the home circuit; and he trusted they would have fuller accounts from the counties; but they had no returns from Ireland. The committee had also inquired into the crimes which had ceased or were greatly diminished. Crimes of violence had diminished in a proportion which no one would believe, except on the authority of documents laid before the committee. In the home circuit murders had diminished in the proportion of three or four to one. From a comparison of the last 30 years, with the 30 immediately previous, it would be found that the murders in the city of London had greatly diminished. In the Western circuit the number of murders had continued nearly the same for the last 50 years. Thus from distress, though the people had been driven to offences against property, yet they had lost none of their horror for bloodshedding, or their ancient character for humanity. Their next inquiry had been, what capital punishments had been found to be useless, and these they considered such laws as had not been acted upon for more than a century. The committee proposed, in the next session, to submit two bills to the house, one to repeal some laws altogether, and another to substitute transportation for death in certain cases. Mr. Colquhoun, Mr. Mainwaring, the clerk of the indictments at the Old Bailey, &c. &c. and the traders of the cities of London and Westminster, all concurred in giving it as their opinion that there was a very great reluctance to prosecute, notwithstanding the very great losses they sustain by depredations. The traders prayed to have the punishments mitigated, in order that they might prosecute to conviction, without exposing themselves to the painful risk of prosecuting a fellow-creature to destruction. For the 12 years before the crime of forging excise licenses was made a felony, there were 21 prosecutions and 19 convictions; in the 12 succeeding years there were nine prosecutions, and only three convictions. Mr. Harmer, a solicitor at the Old Bailey,

Bailey, who had, in the course of twenty years, practised in 2000 prosecutions for capital offences, and whose evidence was entitled to the greatest weight, had known many instances in which juries had given verdicts of acquittal where the proofs were clear; and thieves, especially old ones, aware of the humanity of juries, would rather be capitally prosecuted than otherwise. This gentleman gave it as his opinion, that instead of punishing thieves with death, they should be punished by the opposites to their indulgencies. Idleness was one characteristic of thieves, punish them with labour; they were fond of company, apply to them solitary confinement; they were accustomed to uncontrouled license, oppose to it restraint. The opinions of the great bulk of bankers and merchants considered the punishment for forgery too great for the offence, and prevented the prosecution of such criminals in a great many instances. The committee proposed two bills, as he had already said; one to abrogate from 30 to 35 useless capital statutes; and the other to consolidate the criminal laws with respect to forgeries, and to alter the punishment. The committee proposed that, as long as the small notes of the bank of England continued in circulation, the *actual* forgery of bank notes should continue a capital offence; but as the actual forgers could seldom be come at, they proposed extraordinary rewards for discovering them. The cases of uttering and having forged notes in possession to be punishable, the last as it now was, except a discretion in the judge to imprison, with hard labour; and the first, to transportation for the first offence. The report was ordered to be printed.

Lord E. Fitzgerald's attainder reversal bill was received from the lords, and, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, was read the first and second time.

Sir W. Fitzgerald expressed, for himself and family, their deep sense of this distinguished mark of royal benevolence.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that this act of magnanimous justice on the part of the prince regent, would be justly applauded and appreciated by the whole country.

The house having gone into a committee on the charitable foundations bill, Mr. Brougham said, that in a part of England, consisting of nine counties, and where the population amounted to a million and a half, the number of endowed schools was 780, the number of children educated in them was 26,000, and their revenues amounted to 26,000*l*. In the same districts the number of unendowed schools was 3100, and the number of children 92,000. The number of Sunday schools was 850, and the number of children educated in them was 70,000. The number of schools for the whole of England was 4800, and the number of children educated at the endowed and the unendowed schools, comprehending day-schools, was about 700,000. The number of day-schools was 3500, and the number of children educated there was 50,000, leaving 650,000 for the number educated at the endowed and the unendowed schools throughout England. An infant asylum had been established by some gentlemen not far from that house, at which 170 were at present educated. A calculation had

had been made in France, that if there were schools for one tenth of the population, that would be sufficient for the education of the country. But in this country the proportion required was from one-eighth to one-ninth of the population, as the existing proportion, which was that of France, was found to be too small. A society had lately planted 850 schools in France, and reduced the deficiency from one-half to a third. In Holland the deficiency was much less. The deficiency of schools was different in different counties of England. In the county of Cumberland there were means for educating 12,000 children; and in Bedfordshire for only 8000; and it was deserving of notice, that the parish rates were in the inverse proportion to the means of education. In France no distinction was made betwixt the children of catholics and protestants; and on that point a truly noble example had been set by the king; and the conduct of the prince regent was entitled to similar praise, from his equal patronage of the schools of the national society, and of the British and foreign society. The schools belonging to both amounted to 1200. Next session he should bring forward a measure on the subject.

Lord Castlereagh and Mr. V. Fitzgerald having made some observations with regard to the great progress recently made in the establishment of schools in Ireland, the house was resumed, the report received, and the bill passed.

House of lords, July 7.—The royal assent was given, by commission, to several public and private bills.

Lord Auckland moved for the rejection of the insolvent debtors' act amendment bill, on the ground that, as there was no chance of the alterations made in it by their lordships being acceded to by the commons, it was useless to proceed further with it. The motion was agreed to.

A message from the house of commons brought up a bill for continuing the present insolvent act till the commencement of the next session of parliament.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Vansittart referred to the practice of laying before parliament an abstract of the produce of the revenue at the expiration of each quarter; he should move, therefore, that an account of the net produce of the revenue of Great Britain for the last three years should be presented. He might take this opportunity of stating, that it was exceedingly gratifying to him to observe the progress that had been made in the revenue during the last three years. In the quarter ending 5th July, 1817, the total amount of the revenue of Great Britain, exclusive of arrears of war taxes, was 11,060,000*l.*; in that ending 5th July 1818, it had increased to 12,181,000*l.*; and in that just concluded, viz. on the 5th July 1819, it was 12,604,000*l.* being an augmentation of more than 400,000*l.* beyond the corresponding quarter of 1818, and of more than 1,600,000*l.* above the corresponding quarter of 1817. The view of the revenue of the whole year was equally gratifying. On the 5th July 1817, the total amount was 43,760,000*l.*; on the 5th July 1818, it was 46,800,000*l.*; and on the 5th July 1819, just expired, it had risen to 49,071,000*l.* being an

an increase of 2,200,000*l.* since 1818, and of more than 5,200,000*l.* since 1817. The house would not fail to recollect that within this period no new taxes had been imposed. He accordingly moved for an abstract of the revenue for the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, up to the 5th July in each year.

Mr. Abercrombie having stated that the insolvent debtors' act amendment bill had been rejected by the lords, moved for leave to bring in a bill for continuing, during a limited period, the acts relative to insolvent debtors. After a discussion of some length, the motion was carried, on a division, by 80 to 26, and a bill brought in accordingly, and forwarded through all its stages.

Sir G. Hill introduced a similar bill with regard to Ireland, which also was forwarded.

Mr. Wilberforce proposed an address to the prince regent, that negotiations be entered into for the further suppression of the slave trade. The honourable gentleman was grieved to say, that of the powers of Europe, Portugal alone had withheld its consent to the general declaration of the cruelty and inhumanity of the slave trade. Portugal was the power which had rendered itself a solitary and discreditable exception. He hoped, however, that she would open her eyes to the policy and humanity of abolishing a system which all Europe unanimously denounced. He was grieved to say that two nations—France and the United States—were to be found amongst those who had not exerted themselves for the destruction of this abominable trade.

July 9.—The second reading of the bankrupt acts amendment bill and commissioners of bankrupts' bill was postponed for three months.

The marquis of Lansdown moved an address to the prince regent, which was unanimously agreed to, praying him to take measures, in concert with foreign powers, to put an end to the slave trade.

The cases of the Penryn and Barnstaple elections not having been brought to a close in the house of lords, it was ordered that the speaker should not issue writs for those places until 14 days after the commencement of the next session.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proposed an address to the prince regent for a sum not exceeding 50,000*l.* to be issued from time to time, under such regulations as might be thought necessary, for the encouragement of persons disposed to settle in his majesty's colony at the Cape of Good Hope. He said, the principal place chosen for the reception of emigrants was on the south-east coast, and possessed a good harbour, with many other local advantages. It certainly was not proposed to carry out persons wholly destitute of the means of providing for themselves. That experiment had been tried, but had been found to be attended with great inconvenience. A small deposit would therefore be required from them before leaving this country, as a security for their providing for themselves when they arrived at the colony. The country was peculiarly favourable to the growing of fruit; and upon the whole, there could be no doubt that persons, as soon as settled, would find themselves comfortable.

Mr.

Mr. Hume thought that parishes should be obliged to subscribe for sending out able-bodied men, who could not get employment in this country.

Mr. alderman Wood would not consent to send people out of the country, whilst there was a sufficiency of waste grounds at home to afford them means of subsistence by proper cultivation; in one place, there were 80,000 acres, which, if cultivated, would give employment to many labourers, and yield a considerable revenue to government.

Mr. C. Hutchinson thought that government ought to make advances to such emigrants as the poor manufacturers of Cork, which could soon be repaid, if the site of the proposed colony was as promising as had been stated.

The address was then agreed to.

Sir H. Parnell, in rising to move the order of the day on the resolutions which he had laid on the table, thought it unnecessary for him to enter into the general question of the finances of the country. He should therefore confine himself to a few observations on the motives that had induced him to submit these resolutions to the consideration of the house. After all the attention which he had been able to give to the subject during the time that he had sat in that house, he found his opinion at variance with that of the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer). He was convinced that if an investigation were seriously entered into, with the view of reducing the public expenditure, very important reductions might be effected in various departments. The committee of finance, in their last report, had calculated upon a reduction of 200,000*l.* upon the expenditure for 1820, but they had not in that calculation taken into account any retrenchment of public offices. The right honourable gentleman opposite, in his statements, had held out no prospect of such retrenchments. Yet he was prepared to maintain, that in every branch of those offices a considerable saving might be made. The collection of the revenue at present cost the public 7 per cent.; by reducing it to 5 per cent. 1,200,000*l.* would be saved. Whatever might be the merits or defects of his resolutions, he had spared no labour in making them as correct as possible; and he had been careful not to make the several statements more favourable to his views than the strictest accuracy warranted. He had stated the money paid to the bank as paid for managing generally; it ought to have been for managing the public debt. He had stated the number of seamen at 19,000; the number ought to have been 20,000. He had been led into a mistake, also, in calculating the expenses in the office of the secretary at war. Here the honourable baronet explained how he had been led into the mistake. The expenses under this head for 1796 had been stated at 8,000*l.*, when they ought to have been stated at 51,000*l.* But still the sum voted this fourth year of peace, 55,000*l.*, was 4,000*l.* more than it had been in 1796, which had been the third year of the war. In stating the increase of the civil list, it ought to have been stated to have increased from 900,000*l.* to 1,030,000*l.* He was aware that in offering any resolutions

solutions upon the subject, he exposed his statements to the charge of wanting official authority, and laid himself open, perhaps, to the imputation of interfering with the province of official men. But the state of the finances of this country was such as to call for every retrenchment that could possibly be made, and to require retrenchments to be effected, not in the manner which had hitherto prevailed, but with a considerable degree of innovation. The saving that could be made by reducing the expenses, while the establishments remained untouched, would be very trifling; but by a totally different system a very considerable saving could be made. For instance, if the patronage of offices, instead of being vested in the government, were given to the heads of the several departments, and if greater attention were given to the keeping of public accounts, much expense might be saved. He should not now enter more fully into the subject, but on a more convenient occasion he should prove that his inferences were correct.

Mr. C. Long disclaimed any imputation against the honourable baronet of having intended to mislead the house in any respect. The honourable baronet had stated in excuse, that he had not had access to official documents; but his resolutions had not referred to any thing but documents which had been laid before the house, and the honourable baronet had misquoted those documents. His misquoted statements had been printed in every newspaper, and had been commented on as correct. The honourable baronet had instituted a comparison of customs and excise; and the inference to be made was, that the one was extremely well collected, and the other extremely ill. To make such a comparison fair, the things compared ought to stand upon the same principle; but no fair comparison could be instituted between things so different as the customs and excise—the one amounting only to 10,000,000*l.*, while the other amounted to 20,000,000*l.* In the charges of collection, things were charged which had nothing to do with them—such as expenses arising from navigation laws, quarantine laws, and warehousing of goods. The honourable baronet had compared the charges of 1810 and 1819. But in 1811 the abolition of fees had been enacted, which threw large charges upon the collection of the revenue. The honourable baronet had taken many of his statements from the report of the committee of accounts in 1786. But considerable improvements had been made during the last 30 years. The honourable baronet had recommended a consolidation of the customs. Now, not less than three several acts of consolidation had passed; one in 1807, and one which had been introduced by his right honourable friend, this year. The act of 1807 had been said by the honourable baronet to have produced no benefit, because the treasury had interfered and taken into their own hands the disposal of surcharges. But if questions of surcharges had been left to the auditors of accounts, did the honourable baronet believe that that would have afforded the same security to the public? Party was said to have many uses; one of its

its uses he believed to be, to call upon public men to give a full account of their conduct. Did any one believe that, if auditors of accounts had been intrusted with this business, this satisfaction could be obtained? He should say nothing of the statements respecting the secretary at war's office, because his noble friend was present, and because the honourable baronet had acknowledged his mistake. Without arrogating any merit to himself, he could say that he had done all in his power to reduce the expenses of the army pay-office. The honourable baronet had expressed surprise that the expenses were now double what they had been in 1796. But the expenses were not doubled, for in 1796 they had been 19,000*l.* instead of 15,000*l.*: for there had been 6 paymasters instead of 1, as supposed by the honourable baronet. Since that time 5,300*l.* were paid yearly as retired allowances, and the extra clerks employed in the ordnance-office made this sum 8,000*l.*, which left only an excess of 3,000*l.* over the expenses of 1796. The half-pay officers in 1796 had been 3,000; they were now 9,000. In 1796 they had been paid twice in the year; now they were paid four times. It was the same with widows' pensions. Those changes had necessarily increased the expenses. He should be sorry, however, to be understood to state, that no retrenchment could be made in the collection of the revenue. But a resolution had already passed the house, binding ministers to retrenchment.

Lord Palmerston said, that he felt anxious to say a few words, both in reply to the honourable baronet and also to explain the regulations adopted respecting half pay officers holding civil appointments. He had to take blame to himself for not having had his attention directed to this subject while the appropriation bill was passing through the house, as the alteration proposed might have been introduced as an amendment upon the third reading. The government stood pledged to make an alteration in the oath taken by half pay officers, and the treasury would, with the fair understanding of the house, make an arrangement to give effect to this measure. They were to give half pay officers holding civil appointments, a military allowance equal to and in lieu of their half pay, and for such allowance no oath was required respecting civil offices. At present the half pay officers swore that they held no office civil or military, &c.; the alteration proposed was, that they held no military office, except colonial offices, which were now allowed, which exceeded three times the rate of half pay. As it had been suggested that it was a hardship to take such an oath, in cases where the other emoluments barely exceeded three times the pay, the following arrangement was to be adopted:—The half pay was calculated at the highest rate which it could possibly be, and this was to be considered 1-4th of the income which a half pay officer could have. But if his half pay were really less than this sum, he was to be allowed to exceed the 3 times his half pay, so far as to make up this deficiency. He should feel it his duty to bring a bill into the house upon this subject early in the next session.

With

With respect to the resolutions of the honourable baronet, he thought that a table of *errata* ought to have been laid before the house, in order to be printed. The corrections ought surely to proceed *pari passu* with the errors. He imputed no intention to the honourable baronet of misleading the house; but he must admit, with some degree of limitation, that the honourable baronet had paid great attention to the subject; or, if he must admit that, he must suppose that the honourable baronet had disqualified himself for the task which he had undertaken. From statements so full of errors, he could not think that the house could expect to find the honourable baronet a very able assistant in conducting economy and retrenchment. The honourable baronet had complained that he had not had access to official documents; but this was no excuse for errors, because it was his duty not to state resolutions unless he had means of making them correct, and because there were no documents which every member of the house had not the power of moving for. But he would next show that the honourable baronet had not made use of those documents which were accessible to him. The honourable baronet had compared the expense in the office of commander in chief at the present day with what it was in the year 1793. It did not, according to his statement, at that time exceed the sum of 813*l.*, exclusive of any salary to the commander in chief. Now, it was rather an unhappy comparison for the honourable baronet to make, for there was no such office as that of commander in chief then in existence. Lord Amherst was general of the staff at that period, and his authority extended only to the troops at home; and in his letter of service he was directed to act under the orders of the king, who was the commander in chief, or any superior officer who might be placed over him. So that the honourable baronet was comparing an office which did now exist with one which was not in existence at the period to which the comparison referred. The office had since been created, and the authority and care of the person who filled it, not only extended to the troops at home, but to those in every foreign station. It was scarcely necessary to add, that the business of the office was considerably increased, and much more complex in its nature at present, than at any former period. The honourable baronet was not only mistaken in the comparison he had made, but also in his calculation of the expense at the date to which he referred. Instead of 813*l.* it was 1230*l.*; the salary of lord Amherst's secretary was, it was true, only 10*s.* per day, but then he held another situation in the war office, which, with the fees belonging to it, produced him an income of 800*l.* or 900*l.* a year. This situation required not much of his attention, and it was in consequence of his holding it that his salary as secretary was nominally so small. As a proof that the 10*s.* a day were not considered a sufficient salary, distinct from the other situation which he held, he need only mention, that his retiring allowance was 1*l.* per day. If then these allowances were taken into consideration, the expenses of

of lord Amherst's office, independently of his salary, amounted to 2,000*l.* instead of 813*l.* as had been stated. This certainly was an error in the honourable baronet's calculations, which could not be overlooked; but it was trifling when compared with another, to which he should refer. This was of not a less sum than 49,000*l.* in the war office. The honourable baronet surely would not shelter himself under the plea for this mistake, that he had not meant the whole establishment. The words of his resolution were clear enough, and could only be comprehended in their literal sense. The honourable baronet had stated, that the expense of the war office in 1796 amounted only to 8,256*l.* Now, in this calculation, unfortunately, the honourable baronet had omitted to notice many items and contingencies which were then charged, and which, if added to the sum he gave, would amount to 57,000*l.* some odd hundred pounds, making on the whole more than 2000*l.* above the sum voted for the war office in the present year. This was the accuracy with which the honourable baronet had made his calculations. With respect to the expense of 18,000*l.* for bringing up the arrears of army accounts, he should only observe, that, according to the reports of committees of the house, this commission had already saved, by disallowances, which had been recovered, more than 90,000*l.* (a year we understood), upon the average of one year with another, since its formation, a sum which was more than the whole expense of the war-office together. As to the proposition of the honourable baronet to consolidate the offices of paymaster of the army, treasurer of the navy, and treasurer of the ordnance into a board, to transact the business of the bank for the whole military expenditure, &c. for the purpose of creating a reduction of expense, he should only say, that the abolition of those offices altogether would be a still greater saving; but he could assure the honourable baronet, that if he regarded the speedy and correct despatch of public business in those departments, he would find himself mistaken in thinking that they could be better done together than separately. The expense would, he had no doubt, be considerably greater than it was at present, besides introducing the utmost confusion into the accounts of the different departments.

Mr. Calcraft felt himself obliged to his honourable friend (sir H. Parnell) for the course he had pursued in bringing those resolutions before the house. The country would also, he had no doubt, feel obliged to him for his exertions on this occasion; and he trusted that he would not be deterred from following the career he had commenced, by the criticisms of honourable gentlemen on the other side. The very word "economy" was sufficient to alarm those honourable gentlemen; and the moment it was pronounced, of that any measure that was likely to lead to it was introduced, it was attacked with all the ingenuity which those honourable gentlemen possessed. Considering this disposition to criticise with severity every motion of the kind to which he had alluded, he thought his honourable friend had

escaped well on the present occasion; for, notwithstanding all the address and ingenuity of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. C. Long), who had spoken last but one; notwithstanding all the official information which he possessed on the subject before the house, he had left the main point untouched. He had indeed alluded to some parts of the resolutions where he sought to point out errors in the calculations; but with the main principle of them he had not attempted to grapple. He had not touched upon that part which complained of the immense sum of 5,500,000*l.* for the collection of the revenue. He had not alluded to what had been so justly condemned, the extravagance, in the present state of the country, of expending so large a sum, which was rendered more necessary to support the patronage and influence of ministers than to collect the revenue. This was the key-stone of their popularity and consequence of the country. As long as they had 5,500,000*l.* to give away, so long would they be popular with a certain part of the public, and so long would their administration be praised. They did not, therefore, pretend to grapple with this part of the resolutions. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Long) had indeed dropped a hint at the extravagance of the collection, and gave to understand that something might be done to remedy the evil; but this, with his usual address, was in such a manner as to leave nothing tangible to the house upon the subject. He was not then prepared to go into the detail of the resolutions. As he was aware that this could not be the subject of much discussion at so late a period of the session, he had not looked into them minutely. He should, however, observe, with respect to the argument of the noble lord (Palmerston) on the subject of the office of commander in chief, that he saw nothing in it against the resolutions of his honourable friend. His honourable friend had said, that the expense in 1793 was only 813*l.*; and the noble lord added, that it was about 2,000*l.* This was the usual accuracy of the other (the ministerial) side in small matters. On his (the opposition) side, they complained of the lavish expenditure of millions, while the explanations from the side opposite only referred to hundreds. He differed from the noble lord in thinking that the resolutions of his honourable friend implied that there was a commander in chief at the period to which he had alluded. The noble lord had told the house, how well his own department was managed, and that the comparison of the honourable baronet was in this instance quite erroneous; but his honourable friend had, with the candour which belonged to him, acknowledged his mistake on this subject, and corrected it as soon as he could. It should also be recollected, that at the period referred to (1793) there was no commander in chief, and that the expense of that office at present might be put as a set-off against the expense of the office of secretary at war at the former period. But the kind of criticism which had been used against his honourable friend was following up the system adopted on the other side. It was to fly

in the face of every man who introduced the disagreeable subject of reform. They seemed not to recollect the state of the country, the reduced condition of the people, whose demands for reduction were answered by increased taxation. He contended, with his honourable friend, that the expenditure of the country was most extravagant; that the present heavy expense of collecting the revenue was most wasteful, and that it ought to be reduced; and that it was only continued at its present height to support the influence of those who fattened upon its produce. But it was said "Where is the necessity of these resolutions now? Have you not already a resolution for economy and reform in the public expenditure? Are not ministers pledged to this resolution?" He should say, he cared not for such a resolution. He thought nothing of this paper cant of the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer). He had no reliance upon it. It would produce no good, and was only held out for the people to gaze at while the right honourable gentleman's new tax collectors were going round to pick their pockets. "Oh! mighty man!" continued Mr. Calcraft, "what may we not now hope? See what he has done for us! He who would never before attend to any proposition for economy, now comes forward with a resolution in its favour." But, whatever hopes might be built upon this resolution, he (Mr. Calcraft) had no expectations from it. He gave no credit for it; he had seen no one overt act of economy in the right honourable gentleman which could make him think that there was any real benefit to be expected from the resolution to which he had alluded. This resolution he believed was not yet printed and sent into circulation. ("Yes, it is printed," from the ministerial bench.) "Well (continued Mr. Calcraft), it is printed. It may be printed; but printed or not, my hopes from it are just the same. (*A laugh from some members on the ministerial benches.*) The honourable gentlemen may laugh, but really I see no joke in the business before them. It may, to be sure, be very agreeable, that after what we have done in the course of the session, we should now at the end of it part so pleasantly; but I see no real ground for laughter, no ground for satisfaction in this promise of future economy. If any economy were really intended, why not move the resolution in the shape of an address to the throne? This would be adding dignity to it, and giving to the public some ground of hope. This was not done; and looking at it as it now stands, I see no one reason to expect more from it than from the former promises of a similar kind which have not been fulfilled."

Sir T. B. Martin contended, that the increase of expense in the naval departments arose from a necessary increase of the salaries of several of the officers employed, from the increased duties which many of those officers had to perform, and from the larger scale on which many of the public works connected with the navy were conducted. At the periods to which the resolutions of the honourable baronet had referred, many of the officers employed in

the dockyards were allowed to pay themselves by fees, and by being allowed to take apprentices. This it was found led to many abuses, by which thousands of pounds were lost to the public. In order to remedy this evil, salaries were given, and the fees and other allowances abolished. It was also to be recollected, that the salaries and expenses of several departments were now brought into the estimates of the year, which were never in it before, and this made them appear larger; whereas, in point of fact, the same expenses had already existed, though they were not, as now, brought under the immediate view of parliament. The honourable member then referred to and read some extracts from his own evidence before the committee of finance, in which he had accounted for the apparent increase of the navy estimates, in the same manner which he had just mentioned. The good results of the regulations he had mentioned had been acknowledged in the reports of committees of the house; and if the honourable baronet had read the 50 folio reports which had been published on the subject of the different branches of the public expenditure, he was certain he never would have framed such a set of resolutions as were then before the house. So convinced was he that those resolutions were erroneously drawn, that he should, if they were put, move four others, which he begged he might then be allowed to read. The honourable member then read the four resolutions, of which the following is the substance:—First, that the resolutions of the honourable baronet did not contain a full statement of all the expenses of the different branches to which they referred at former periods. Secondly, that the apparent increase of expense in many of the public departments connected with the navy was occasioned by the introduction into the estimates of many services, which though before in existence were not included therein; by the increased duties which were to be performed, in consequence of increased conquests and colonial acquisitions; and by the improvements which had been made for the greater facility of despatching business in many departments. Thirdly, that a great increase had been made to the salaries of several of the officers in the dock yards and other places, to remove the abuses which had crept in, in consequence of their being allowed to pay themselves by fees and allowances, &c. Fourthly, that the 47 resolutions proposed by the honourable baronet were brought in without stating the causes of the increase which they had mentioned; and, therefore, that the comparisons made in them of the expenses of the present with some former years, were calculated to mislead the public.

Colonel Davies compared the expenses incurred in the war department in the year 1796, with those which are incurred in it at the present period. In 1796 the salary of the secretary at war, and the 19 clerks who acted under him, amounted to 16,070*l.* In 1806 the number of clerks had increased from 19 to 112, and their salaries from 16,070*l.* to 29,970*l.* In 1816 there were 147 clerks, and their salaries amounted to 47,937*l.* He wished the house would

would contrast the expenditure which we were now incurring, in the fifth year of peace, with that which we had incurred in the year 1796, when the nation was involved in an arduous and difficult contest; it was strange that at that period nineteen clerks were found sufficient to transact all the business at the war office, and that now 147 should be found scarcely sufficient for the same purpose. In his opinion the statements which he had made spoke for themselves. It could not fail to carry conviction to the bosom of every thinking man in the country. He was aware that a great part of the sums to which he had alluded had gone to the commissioners appointed to bring up the arrears of army accounts; but to him it appeared that these commissioners had not advanced a step from the place from which they had set out in the year 1811. The honourable gentleman then spoke against the impolicy of keeping up a large standing army in a time of peace, especially as it was to cost the country in its present financial difficulties, no less a sum than 10,000,000*l.* annually. Our national debt was now 840,000,000*l.*, the sinking fund out of which it was to be paid was 5,000,000*l.*, supposing that the new taxes, which he was not sanguine enough to hope, were productive of 3,000,000*l.*; but even supposing we had a sinking fund of 20,000,000*l.*, that would not be too much in the present exhausted state of our resources. It was clear that, unless we were at peace for the next twenty years, (and where was the man who could anticipate such a prospect?) that the debt could never be paid off; and if we were obliged to go to war with a national debt of 400,000,000*l.* or 500,000,000*l.*, how was the country to support the expenses which would naturally arise out of such a state of things? Under these circumstances, he should certainly vote in favour of the resolutions of his honourable friend, who, in spite of the casual errors which had crept into them, was fully entitled not merely to the gratitude of the house, but also to the gratitude of the whole country.

Mr. Frederick Douglas thought that the question was not, whether his honourable friend, who had proposed these resolutions, had fallen into some errors, which were certainly pardonable under the disadvantages under which he and every other gentleman in opposition laboured, in bringing a subject of this nature before the house, but whether he had pointed out any method by which useful and salutary retrenchments could be made in the public expenditure. If he had pointed out such retrenchments, (and it was his, Mr. Douglas's opinion, that he had done so,) it was the duty of the house to adopt them, notwithstanding any errors which might have crept into his other statements. Honourable members on the other side of the house had blamed his honourable friend, some on one account, and others on another; but he was inclined to find fault with him on grounds which differed much from those of any of the honourable members who had preceded him in the debate. He should blame him for not having contrasted our expenditure, now that the country was ground down to the dust by taxation, with that which we supported when our national debt

did not exceed 200,000,000*l.*—The case which his honourable friend had introduced to the house had been fully made out, whilst that of the honourable members opposite had totally failed of producing any thing like conviction. He then contrasted the expenses of the navy-pay-office, at a time when we had 100,000 sailors in employ, with those of the present, when the number has been reduced to 19,000, and, if we heard him correctly, maintained that they were greater at present with a reduced than they had been formerly with a full establishment. He wished to know whether the house would permit such a system to continue any longer: he thought that it ought not to do so, because the real danger of the country in its present circumstances was entirely one of a financial nature. It was requisite, therefore, to force those who conducted its affairs into something like economy: the people were daily feeling anomalies in taxation, were daily witnessing anomalies in expenditure; and economy was therefore become a measure, which it was not sufficient to talk about, but which it was necessary to carry into immediate execution. He could not help noticing how changeable the gentlemen opposite were in their opinions regarding the respect which it was requisite to pay to the recommendations of committees appointed by the house. When the committees recommended that the expenditure should be kept up to its present amount, none more ready to praise those recommendations than the gentlemen opposite; when the committees recommended any reduction of expenditure, none more inclined to disregard their advice. He should vote for the resolutions of his honourable friend.

Mr. Ward expressed his disagreement with all the arguments adduced by sir H. Parnell.

Mr. C. Hutchinson was of opinion, that if a reduction was not speedily made in our expenditure, things would not go on much longer. Some reductions had indeed been made; but they were only small, whereas they ought to have been gigantic. The establishment of auditor at Lisbon might have been beneficial at its institution in 1813; but he more than doubted of its utility at present, and almost suspected that, if the papers had been granted for which he had moved, the removal of it to London would have been found advisable.—The member for Aberdeen had moved for the accounts incurred on the St. Helena station; they had not indeed been granted; but if he was to believe certain returns which he had himself seen, they amounted to 500,000*l.*, a sum which was quite enormous. As this was an expense in which the character of the country was materially involved, he thought it his duty as a public man to take this notice of it, especially as there were statements in print regarding the purposes to which that expense was applied, of a most extraordinary and unparalleled description. It was unnecessary for him to say that he alluded to the imprisonment of the late emperor of France, Napoleon Buonaparte. He was not going to impugn the act of parliament by which that individual had been consigned to his present bondage, though he entertained a strong feeling against the policy which

which dictated it: yet still it was necessary for him to observe, that if certain statements which had been circulated in print be true, the character of the nation was ruined for ever: it was therefore incumbent on those who managed its affairs, either to prove those statements to be incorrect, or else to give redress to the injuries of which they complained. Surely the ministers of the country had not consented to become the gaolers of Buonaparte, in order to serve the purposes of other countries; and yet, unless they had, he did not know how to reconcile their conduct to the rules of common prudence. It could not be that they had expended this half million of money for the safety or the defence of the nation; it must be for other objects which they could not or durst not avow. From the inclination which he knew that people of every nation now entertained to peace, he would say, "Place Napoleon Buonaparte in the centre of Paris, and let the king and his advisers act in that constitutional manner which of late they have adopted, and there is no danger either to France or to Europe from him." He would put it to the right honourable gentleman opposite, as a good man (and on his conscience he believed him to be such), whether it was not the duty of this great and religious nation (for religious it still was) to see that that illustrious individual, if he was to be a prisoner for the remainder of his life, was treated with the utmost decorum, kindness, and civility. He should have been ashamed to allow the house to separate for the summer without having brought the treatment of Buonaparte before them. If there was any thing unkind in the treatment of that individual, he hoped that the executive government would remedy it before the next period in which they again met in parliament. The honourable member then proceeded, after condemning the British government for depriving him of the attendance of one whose attachment to him would be an eternal honour to his memory, to say that the nation ought to demand his removal to some wholesome climate, instead of allowing him to remain in one which was so notoriously—he had almost said, so proverbially unwholesome.

After a few words from sir I. Coffin and sir B. Martin,

The chancellor of the exchequer rose. The honourable member for Cork had in his opinion introduced many extraneous topics into the speech which he had just delivered. Instead of the expenses on the St. Helena station costing the country 500,000*l.*, they did not cost the country above one quarter of the sum. As a considerable discussion had taken place on the items, which had been disputed one by one, he should not enter at any length into the debate of the evening, especially as the resolutions which were now proposed were totally unavailable at the end of the session. He then read a resolution of one of the committees lately appointed by the house, and said that it called upon the executive government to do that which parliament could not itself do in the recess—he meant, to make retrenchments. So little was the

executive government inclined to shrink from the duty imposed upon it, that already was the work of retrenchment commenced, and the commission of inquiry issued. When he said this, he was not sanguine enough to expect that great retrenchments would be made, though he was far from wishing to discourage the house from expecting that some would be made. He should therefore move, for these and other reasons, that the house do now proceed to take the other orders of the day into consideration. Before he sat down, he could not help observing, with regard to what had been said regarding the department of the customs, that in former times the officers in that branch of the public service had in general been paid in fees which devolved to them; whereas at present all that comes through their hands comes into the public treasury, as their salaries are no longer paid by fees, but by a stipulated allowance given them by government. He concluded by moving that the debate on these resolutions be postponed until this day three months.

Mr. Gordon adverted to the illogical mode in which the chancellor of the exchequer had reasoned upon this subject. Because the honourable baronet (sir H. Parnell) was in error as to 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.*, did it follow that he was wrong as to so many millions? Because the honourable baronet had made a mistake as to smaller and insignificant items, was it fair to argue that he was wrong as to millions? The noble lord (Palmerston) indeed had made what was termed on the other side a triumphant speech, which, properly explained, meant that he had taken an item from page 164, instead of from page 171, of the report. This was the mighty difference; yet this it was that the noble lord had taken hold of with such animation, and regarding which the honourable and right honourable gentlemen opposite had cheered so rapturously: and no wonder, for it was their business to support a system of profligacy and expenditure.

General Phipps spoke to order: he could not sit silent under such imputations.

Mr. Gordon did not think that his language had been unparliamentary; and certain it was, however it might be worded, that those honourable gentlemen were not the best or most impartial judges upon the subject, who themselves were living upon the excess of the public expenditure. He denied that the reports of the finance committee had produced any advantage to the country; on the contrary, they had perhaps prevented retrenchment by holding out expectations that had never, and would never be fulfilled. He had no reliance whatever upon the boasted resolution of ministers next session to proceed to actual reductions. In what he had said, he did not at all wish to disturb the general harmony, and particularly that of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, in the beginning of the late session, had assured the house that he had passed a most unpleasant summer. He (Mr. Gordon) sincerely hoped that nothing would occur to disturb the comfort of the right honourable gentleman before parliament was again assembled.

Sir

Sir H. Parnell replied, adding, that in the next session he would again bring forward this subject, whether by address or resolutions he had not determined.

July 13.—Mr. Hume addressed the house on the enormous expenses of the store-keeper general's department. His remarks were rendered nearly inaudible by the discharge of the park and other guns, saluting the prince regent on his way to the house of lords. Mr. Hume concluded with moving an address to the prince regent, praying for a strict inquiry into every branch of the public service, but particularly the department alluded to; and also that the nature of any vacancies in that department should be duly considered before filling them up.

Mr. Vansittart objected to the course this day pursued by the honourable gentleman, as most extraordinary and unfair. Taking two periods, it would be found that the amount of ordnance stores in thirteen years (we believe) under the old establishment of this department, was only 1,800,000*l.* In the same period, since the new arrangement, it was 3,500,000*l.*

An honourable member was just rising, when the usher of the black rod summoned the commons to the house of peers.

House of lords, July 13.—Their lordships met about twelve, and before that hour the seats within the house were nearly filled with ladies. Several foreign ambassadors, and among the number the Persian and the Algerine ambassadors, were present.

At two the prince regent entered in the usual state, and took his seat on the throne, and sir T. Tyrwhitt, gentleman usher of the black rod, was directed to require the attendance of the house of commons. In a few minutes the commons appeared at the bar, and the speaker delivered the following address:

"May it please your royal highness,

"We, his majesty's faithful commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled, attend your royal highness with our concluding bill of supply. The subjects which have occupied our attention have been more numerous, more various, and more important, than are usually submitted to the consideration of parliament in the same session. Upon many of these subjects we have been engaged in long and unwearied examinations; but such has been the pressure of other business, and particularly of that which ordinarily belongs to a first session of parliament; and such the magnitude and intricacy of many of those inquiries, that the limits of the present session have not allowed of bringing them to a close. But, sir, of those measures which we have completed, the most prominent, the most important, and, as we trust, in their consequences, the most beneficial to the public, are the measures which have grown out of the consideration of the present state of the country, both in its currency and its finances. Early, sir, in the present session, we instituted an inquiry into the effects produced on the exchanges with foreign countries, and the state of the circulating medium, by the restriction on payments in cash by the bank. This inquiry was

most

most anxiously and most deliberately conducted, and in its result led to the conclusion, that it was most desirable, quickly, but with due precautions, to return to our ancient and healthful state of currency; that whatever might have been the expediency of the acts for the suspension of payments in cash at the different periods at which they were enacted (and doubtless they were expedient, whilst the country was involved in the most expensive contest that ever weighed down the finances of any country), still that, the necessity for the continuance of these acts having ceased, it became us, with as little delay as possible (avoiding carefully the convulsion of too rapid a transition) to return to our ancient system; and that if at any period, and under any circumstances, this return could be effected without national inconvenience, it was at the present, when this mighty nation, with a proud retrospect of the past, after having made the greatest efforts, and achieved the noblest objects, was now reposing in confident, and, as we fondly hoped, a well-founded expectation of a sound and lasting peace. In considering, sir, the state of our finances, and in minutely comparing our income with our expenditure, it appeared to us, that the excess of our income was not fairly adequate for the purposes to which it was applicable, the gradual reduction of the national debt. It appeared to us that a clear available surplus of at least 5,000,000*l.* ought to be set apart for that object. This, sir, has been effected by the additional imposition of 3,000,000*l.* of taxes. Sir, in adopting this course, his majesty's faithful commons did not conceal from themselves that they were calling upon the nation for a great exertion: but well knowing that honour, and character, and independence, have at all times been the first and dearest objects of the hearts of Englishmen, we felt assured, that there was no difficulty that the country would not encounter, and no pressure to which she would not willingly and cheerfully submit, to enable her to maintain, pure and unimpaired, that which has never yet been shaken or sullied, her public credit, and her national good faith. Thus, sir, I have endeavoured, shortly, and I am aware how imperfectly, to notice the various duties which have devolved upon us, in one of the longest and most arduous sessions in the records of parliament. The bill, sir, which it is my duty to present to your royal highness, is entitled, 'An act for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1819, and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.' To which, with all humility, we pray his majesty's royal assent."

The royal assent was immediately given to the appropriation bill, the churches' building amendment bill, and several private bills.

His royal highness the prince regent then delivered the following speech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with great regret that I am again obliged to announce to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition. I cannot close this session of parliament without expressing the satisfaction

satisfaction that I have derived from the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to the several important objects which have come under your consideration. Your patient and laborious investigation of the state of the circulation and currency of the kingdom demands my warmest acknowledgements; and I entertain a confident expectation that the measures adopted, as the result of this inquiry, will be productive of the most beneficial consequences.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the service of the present year. I sincerely regret that the necessity should have existed of making any addition to the burdens of the people; but I anticipate the most important paramount advantages from the effort which you have thus made for meeting at once all the financial difficulties of the country; and I derive much satisfaction from the belief, that the means which you have devised for this purpose are calculated to press as lightly on all classes of the community as could be expected when so great an effort was to be made.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

"I have observed with great concern the attempts which have been made in some of the manufacturing districts, to take advantage of circumstances of local distress, to excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and government of the country. No object can be nearer my heart than to promote the welfare and prosperity of all classes of his majesty's subjects; but this cannot be effected without the maintenance of public order and tranquillity. You may rely, therefore, upon my firm determination to employ for this purpose the powers intrusted to me by law; and I have no doubt that, on your return to your several counties, you will use your utmost endeavours, in co-operation with the magistracy, to defeat the machinations of those whose project, if successful, could only aggravate the evils which it professed to remedy; and who, under the pretence of reform, have really no other object but the subversion of our happy constitution."

Then the lord chancellor, by the prince regent's command, said,

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is the will and pleasure of his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 24th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 24th day of August next.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VII.

Reasons for reassembling Parliament in November 1819—Prince Regent's Speech—Debates on the Address—on the Acts to check the Licentiousness of the Press—to prohibit military Training and tumultuous Meetings—to seize Arms, and to afford speedy Means of prosecuting Misdemeanours.

IN a subsequent part of this volume we shall enter at some detail into the particulars respecting the disturbed state of the nation, which, in the opinion of all parties, rendered the re-assembling of parliament highly advisable: at present we shall merely state that ministers were informed, and indeed all the accounts from the manufacturing districts, both in England and Scotland, announced that there were frequent and large meetings held for the purpose of military training: and the fact of immense assemblages of people being collected to petition parliament was notorious.

One of the most numerous of these meetings had been held at Manchester: this was dispersed by the military, and at the dispersion some lives were lost, and many persons were wounded: the necessity of thus employing the military was variously represented: on this point we shall offer our sentiments afterwards: here we shall merely observe that the Manchester meeting was one of the reasons for reassembling parliament.

We have given the debates during this reassembling very shortly: though the measures then adopted were of great moment; but the speeches, though in general very long, were almost entirely filled with the statements of the respective speakers, regarding the meeting at Manchester, and the situation of the country; and as subsequent events have proved that the representations on these points from all parties were very wide of the truth, in consequence of want of adequate and authentic information, we have deemed it proper to give only such an abstract of the speeches, as will explain the nature of the acts passed for the purpose of tranquillizing the country, and the opinions of the principal members in each house on these acts.

House of lords, Nov. 23.—This day the prince regent came in the accustomed form, and being seated on the throne, the usher of the black rod was sent to command the attendance of the house of commons. The speaker and a great number of members shortly afterwards came to the bar, when his royal highness delivered the following most gracious speech:

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"It is with great concern that I am again obliged to announce to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

"I regret to have been under the necessity of calling you together at this period of the year; but the seditious practices so long prevalent in some of the manufacturing

facturing districts of the country have been continued with increased activity since you were last assembled in parliament.

"They have led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the community; and a spirit is now fully manifested, utterly hostile to the constitution of this kingdom, and aiming not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this country, but at the subversion of the rights of property and of all order in society.

"I have given directions that the necessary information on this subject shall be laid before you; and I feel it to be my indispensable duty to press on your immediate attention the consideration of such measures as may be requisite for the counteraction and suppression of a system which, if not effectually checked, must bring confusion and ruin on the nation.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"The estimates for the ensuing year will be laid before you.

"The necessity of affording protection to the lives and property of his majesty's loyal subjects has compelled me to make some addition to our military force; but I have no doubt you will be of opinion that the arrangements for this purpose have been effected in the manner likely to be the least burthensome to the country.

"Although the revenue has undergone some fluctuation since the close of the last session of parliament, I have the satisfaction of being able to inform you that it appears to be again in a course of progressive improvement.

"Some depression still continues to exist in certain branches of our manufactures, and I deeply lament the distress which is in consequence felt by those who more immediately depend upon them: but this depression is in a great measure to be ascribed to the embarrassed situation of other countries, and I earnestly hope that it will be found to be of a temporary nature.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country.

"It is my most anxious wish that advantage should be taken of this season of peace to secure and advance our internal prosperity; but the successful prosecution of this object must essentially depend on the preservation of domestic tranquillity.

"Upon the loyalty of the great body of the people I have the most confident reliance; but it will require your utmost vigilance and exertion, collectively and individually, to check the dissemination of the doctrines of treason and impiety, and to impress upon the minds of all classes of his majesty's subjects, that it is from the cultivation of the principles of religion, and from a just subordination to lawful authority, that we can alone expect the continuance of that divine favour and protection which have hitherto been so signally experienced by this kingdom."

The prince regent then retired; and the house was adjourned *pro tempore*.

At

At five o'clock the lord chancellor resumed his seat; and the speech having been read,

Earl Manvers rose to move an address of thanks. The noble lord touched upon the different topics of the speech, and dwelt with much force on the causes which had occasioned the meeting of parliament at the present season of the year. The spirit of tumult and sedition which pervaded the country called for the prompt interference of the legislature, and he trusted, that, as that spirit, if not checked, would prove not only subversive of the government of the country, but ruinous to the nation at large, their lordships would direct their attention to the danger; and that no palliative but energetic measures would be adopted, in order to put a stop to the evil designs of the disloyal and seditious, thereby preserving the internal tranquillity of the country. The noble earl then moved an address, which was an echo to the speech.

Lord Churchill briefly seconded the address.

Earl Grey moved an amendment. He considered that it was now too apparent to be denied, that a spirit of disloyalty and discontent did exist throughout the country: but he would ask whether it was likely that the desired end would be accomplished by the enactment of new and more vigorous laws. He contended that the present laws, if properly and energetically administered, were of themselves sufficient to meet the desired end, and re-establish peace and order amongst the people. He would ask, if, by adopting more coercive measures to put down one evil, another equally baneful and mischievous to the liberties of the people might not be produced? He contended that the only way to effect the restoration of peace and tranquillity amongst the lower classes of society, was by a strict and complete reduction of all useless expenses. Had this been done? Had the prayers and petitions of the people been attended to? These were questions of importance; and it would be well if they could be answered in the affirmative. He was as anxious as any of his majesty's government could be, that the factious leaders, who had anarchy and confusion in view, and who sought to subvert all public and established institutions, should be proceeded against with all the vigour that the law would admit. The noble lord dwelt at some length on this topic, and seriously called upon the house to be alive to the dangers with which the country was menaced. With respect to our trade and commerce, he, for one, could not see that they were in that flourishing state which some had considered them. In Glasgow, in the west riding of Yorkshire, in Manchester, and other places, there was not only a falling off, but a total stagnation in trade; the distresses of the people in these places produced discontent, and consequent disorder. The noble lord then alluded to the affair at Manchester: this subject, however, said the noble earl, requires a distinct and calm investigation: but he would observe, from all the facts which had come to his knowledge on this melancholy event, that the proceedings upon that memorable day could not justify the conduct of the magistrates. The noble earl next adverted

verted to several of the topics which are made subjects of censure on ministers, especially the dismissal of lord Fitzwilliam; and concluded by moving an amendment, expressing that their lordships would take into consideration the general distress of the country, and especially into the circumstances which took place on the 16th of August at Manchester; at the same time pledging themselves to support the laws and constitution in every part.

Viscount Sidmouth traced the proceedings of the disaffected and of the magistracy at Manchester, and vindicated the conduct of the latter. He adverted to the dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam; but said, he would enter no further into these matters until the subject should be brought in another shape before the house.

Lord Erskine denied that a meeting to consider of a reform of parliament was illegal; but even if it had been so, they ought to have dispersed it by legal means.

The earl of Carysfort and the duke of Athol vindicated the conduct of the magistrates of Manchester, and the subsequent conduct of ministers.

Lord Lilford said, he was the advocate of thousands, and tens of thousands, of their loyal and peaceable fellow-subjects, who called upon them to put a stop to those turbulent proceedings, which interfered with their quiet ordinary habits of life.

The lord chancellor maintained, that no man could say that such meetings as the Manchester one were legal, when it was held that numbers constituted force; and other such language was held, to intimidate the peaceable subjects of the state.

The marquis of Lansdown said, if no other person would, he should, in a short time, move for an inquiry into the state of those distresses in the country which had given rise to so many dreadful occurrences.

The earl of Liverpool, in an able speech, defended the conduct of the magistrates at Manchester.

The marquis of Buckingham said, that he had heard nothing which could induce him to think the courts of law were not open to the investigation of the conduct of the Manchester magistrates; and therefore he saw no reason for parliamentary inquiry. They had seen treason abroad, and the religion of the land called a farce to delude the unwary. Were they to pause before they sought remedies of these evils, while they were inquiring into the events at Manchester? They had heard the constitution threatened with destruction, and had seen persons threatened and even murdered for doing their duty. Were they to pause before they found remedies for these evils, whilst they were inquiring into the events at Manchester? For these reasons he should oppose the amendment, and support the original address.

The house then divided—

For the original address—

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In the commons, the same day, the clandestine outlawry bill having been read the first time, the honourable J. S. Cocks, agreeing in the sentiments contained in the speech,

speech, and approving the measures adopted by ministers, moved an address to the prince regent, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech. The honourable gentleman contended, that a systematic attempt had been made by certain individuals to undermine and overthrow the constitution; all the acts and measures of ministers had been adopted with a view to the defence and support of our constitution and old customs. He was no enemy (he observed) to moderate and rational reform; but the word in the mouths of those persons who talked of universal suffrage, and annual parliaments, was nothing less than a cant term for revolution. In the meetings which had been held by these individuals, was it not notorious that they had been regularly organized, that the multitude had proceeded from town to town in systematic order, in marching order, with flags and banners bearing inscriptions wholly inconsistent with the peace and safety of the loyal and well-disposed part of the community? On the subject of the transactions which took place at Manchester, he wished to refrain from giving an opinion at present; but he must be permitted to say, that he saw nothing in the transactions which induced him to think that the inquiry should be taken out of the usual channel. He was also of opinion, that no individual, especially a magistrate, should be put upon his trial, unless upon bills returned by a grand jury; and he must strongly deprecate public opinions expressed by public meetings upon subjects like this, whilst investigation was pending before the regular tribunal. The honourable gentleman then adverted to the increase of our military force; and expressed his hopes that the measures already adopted by government would have had the desired effect.

The address was seconded by the honourable Mr. Cust.

Mr. Tierney rose to move an amendment: he was fully aware of the difficulty which attended the course he was about to adopt; he felt that he should subject himself to misrepresentation; but he also felt it his duty to take this course. The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to answer the arguments of the mover and seconder of the address, and to allude to what had been said by them on the subject of the recent blasphemous publications. He contended that the law, and the religious principles of the people, were sufficient to put these down without any new enactments. So also with respect to sedition, there wanted no new laws on that subject, if the people could be rendered content, as they formerly were, with the power under which they lived. These, however, were not times for concealment; he might be termed an alarmist; he was indeed alarmed at the present state of the country. The fact was, the people were taxed beyond bearing; and what was worse, they had not confidence in the house of commons. To satisfy them, the house must do something to reform itself, and regain the confidence of the people. With respect to those who were called radical reformers, he was a decided enemy to them and their objects; he believed some of their leaders had designs of their own, and made the deluded people

ple their dupes; others of them were leaders from a foolish ambition; and others were so because they wanted sense to know what they were about. But unless the people were suffering the most trying distress, these men would not be able to mislead them. The speech did not allude to the Manchester meeting at all: the honourable mover had, however, adverted to it, and very properly. He also must say a few words on that most important subject.—The complaints of the people since the 16th of August had not been a cry for parliamentary reform, but a cry for redress of the outrages of that day. He wished not to prejudge the question: he was ready to grant that the meeting was illegal; but why, he would ask, after the leaders were taken into custody, were the military retained to attack and cut down an unarmed and unresisting multitude? Mr. Tierney next observed, that a noble lord had lately been dismissed from his office only because he had called for inquiry, and had attended a meeting for that purpose; though he had held the office for twenty years, and was universally beloved and esteemed; and had preserved the peace of the county, from the respect due to his personal character. The whole of the proceedings evinced that no confidence was to be placed in ministers. An additional military force might be necessary, though he knew of no instance in which the military had been overpowered. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving an amendment, in substance as follows:—That parliament having been called together in a season of distress, the house had taken the matter of the speech into its most serious consideration; that the house deeply reprobated the attempts that had been made to agitate the lower classes, and would strenuously support the principles of the constitution; but the people, at the same time, ought to be satisfied that their complaints would meet with attention. That the house, without prejudging the case, had felt deep regret at the events of the 16th of August, and that inquiry was necessary, to show whether an illegal meeting had been assembled, or whether the constitutional rights of the people had been violated.

The marquis of Tavistock implored the house not to oppose inquiry into the events of the 16th of August. There was a great contrast between the former and the present state of the country; when in order to preserve the balance, the sword was obliged to be thrown into the scale. Parliament had done itself no credit by the repeal of the income tax; and he would be ready to support such a tax, provided other taxes should be taken off the poor, and useless offices abolished. From the experience of the last twenty years, there could be no doubt of the loyalty of the great mass of the population. He entreated the house to grant a full and a fair inquiry.

The address and amendment having been read,

Lord Castlereagh said, he had no doubt that government still possesed that confidence of the country that had followed the whole of their ministerial career, and without which no administration could possibly exist. Should

the house meet the difficulties at home in the same spirit as they had met those abroad, the same result would ensue. He should to-morrow lay the necessary papers before the house, without the medium of a committee, and on Friday state the measures that it was in the contemplation of government to adopt. It had been stated that lives had been lost at Manchester; but many great calamities had occurred in the history of the country without recourse being had to parliamentary inquiry, than which no proceeding could be more fatal to the due administration of justice. Parliament was not the proper tribunal, and should he be compelled to answer questions relative to individuals, that necessity was forced upon him. There was no intention to arrest Hunt on the day before the meeting; and it was only his conduct on that day that made the magistrates regard the meeting as of a treasonable nature. He had been asked, Why was the multitude assaulted after the arrest? But it had not been the intention to disperse the meeting in the manner that had taken place; as, had their purpose been so sanguinary, they might have dispersed an avowedly illegal meeting on the 9th of the same month. Harrison had fled to London to avoid an arrest; and he must protest against the doctrine that the presence of a multitude should prevent the execution of the law. A military support had not been granted till the constables had stated they could not act without it. The magistrates had nothing to do with the selection of the yeomanry for the service, as that depended on colonel L'Estrange, who conceived that description of force to be the most constitutional; and that had formerly been the opinion of the right honourable gentleman himself. His lordship declared that the riot act had been read twice, and a third reading was prevented by the mob.—On the subject of lord Fitzwilliam, government and he had differed on their sense of public duty; and by repairing to such an assembly, lord Fitzwilliam had virtually tendered his resignation. The king's commission had never been more disgraced than by the conduct of lord Fitzwilliam on the day of the Yorkshire meeting. In the Black Dwarf, all the speeches had been described as in favour of radical reform.—[The noble lord here read several passages from the Black Dwarf, descriptive of the opinions of the duke of Norfolk, and others present at the meeting.]—Though the principles of the great bulk of the people were sound, yet a deliberate conspiracy had been formed against the constitution, that if not checked would lead to rapine and ruin. But he trusted to the wisdom of parliament, to preserve the British constitution, a monument of glory to the latest posterity.

Mr. Bootle Wilbraham defended the conduct of the grand jury, of which he had been a member.

Lord Milton adverted to a proposal that had been made to him and his friends, to incorporate certain resolutions with those originally proposed to the meeting at York, but which had been rejected, as not in unison with them.

Mr. S. Wortley observed, that the noble lord had rejected the support

support of him and his friends. For himself, he was not an enemy to public meetings, and was only hostile to the plans of the radical reformers.

Sir J. Mackintosh and Mr. Scarlett spoke in behalf of the amendment; Mr. Plunkett in a masterly speech opposed it.

The attorney general defended the conduct of the magistrates, on the ground that the Manchester meeting was an illegal one.

Sir W. De Crespigny, on account of the lateness of the hour, moved to adjourn the debate.

The house divided.—For the adjournment 65—Against it 453.

Mr. Wilberforce insisted that the great body of the nation, at least the great body of the thinking part of it, was satisfied with the steps the magistrates of Manchester had taken, and would be dissatisfied if inquiry at the bar was instituted. He knew that the house of commons acted, in many instances, as the grand inquest of the nation; yet when gentlemen considered that they would be called on to investigate the conduct of the magistrates in their official capacity, and that in so doing they would be obliged to examine men—not on oath at the bar—men too, it should be observed, who professed the new system of morality, who defied the laws of God and man—perhaps they would pause before they determined to exercise those functions, by agreeing to the amendment. He admitted that there was considerable distress in the country; and if, in our present situation, it could be done without detriment to the state, he would be willing to take off some of those taxes that bore on the lower classes. But gentlemen should recollect that the exigencies of the government must be provided for, and that it was much easier to remove a tax than to propose a subtitute.

It was ultimately agreed that the debate should be postponed.

November 24.—Lord Castlereagh presented certain papers relating to the internal state of the country, in pursuance of the promise held out in the regent's speech *. He then moved the order

* These papers are very voluminous, containing various communications from lords lieutenants and magistrates in what are called the "disturbed districts," and furnishing evidence respecting the nocturnal training of numerous parties of men, and the endeavours made to obtain clandestinely supplies of arms. The writers of these communications declare their firm conviction that the objects of those who are now so generally employed in misleading the lower classes are "no other than to reverse the orders of society which have so long been established, and to wrest by force from the present possessors, and to divide among themselves, the landed property of the country." It is further stated, that the radicals do not affect to disguise their diabolical intentions: the fact of their being regularly drilled in military exercises, and of the manufacture and use of pikes by them, is duly substantiated by numerous affidavits; and the result of the information of the several journeys lately made by general Byng is a full conviction, that, notwithstanding the schism among the leaders, any relaxation of the means of suppressing sedition would be attended with fatal consequences. The last letter of this officer (who is brother to Mr. Byng, the member for Middlesex) is dated so late as November 18th, and concludes with the following important statement:—"A plan has been adopted to circulate more generally seditious and blasphemous tracts, which is, to send gratis such publications weekly, directed to the servants in large

order of the day, for resuming the debate on the address.

Mr. Hume said, that the contents of the letters laid this day before the house contradicted, in many particulars, his lordship's statement. From passages in the letter of Mr. Norris, it appeared that the meeting had dispersed before the military charged the populace.

Lord Castlereagh, in explanation, observed he had never said this was an illegal meeting originally; he had said, its illegality arose out of the subsequent conduct of the meeting. Certainly the force of 40 yeomanry were sent in to aid the civil power in executing the warrant of the magistrates; and after having done so this small force was surrounded by the mob, assailed by them, and, he might say, overpowered. This was observed by the magistrates, and colonel L'Estrange who was with them; and by their advice the 15th dragoons and Cheshire yeomanry were called in to their aid.

The honourable Grey Bennett had been at Manchester, and had made particular inquiry into the most minute circumstances. He had ascertained, that there were at least 8 persons killed, and 58 taken to the infirmary, and that between 300 and 400 persons had been cut down, rode over, and trampled on by the horses. It now appeared that the riot act had not been read till after the attack on the people commenced; for he, when the time of inquiry arrived, should be able to prove that three persons were killed in the *approach* of the yeomanry.

Sir W. De Crespigny stated some facts of aggravation on the part of the yeomanry.

Lord Nugent could prove at the bar of the house, that wine and brandy had been served out to the troops before they advanced to the charge, and many of the constables were so indignant at the duty in which they had been employed, that they broke and burnt their staves, and declared they would never act again.

Mr. Warren said, a few days before the meeting at Manchester, a letter had been sent from Coventry by Hunt, stating the necessity of making a demonstration by physical force. Many thousands had marched to Manchester in military movement with Hunt at their head.

Mr. Phillips said, that much difficulty existed as to the facts, and that in his opinion called for inquiry.

The solicitor general said, there existed nothing to warrant the charge that the legal advisers of the crown had recommended to stifle inquiry. The principles

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families; which I think worthy of mention, not merely to show how indefatigable the authors and leaders of sedition are in effecting their purpose, but that it may be thought expedient to put the heads of families upon their guard. Six different attempts have come to my knowledge to seduce the soldiers, but without the least effect: some of them are under legal investigation. I have only further to add, that whatever disunion may prevail among the leaders of sedition and radical reform, they still unite in the endeavour (though I hope with less success) to excite irritation and discontent among their followers, and to intimidate the loyal and well-affected. With a firm belief in the accuracy of the foregoing statement, I consider it my duty to make this report."

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of the reformers were, annual parliaments, election by ballot, and universal suffrage, or, in other words, the overthrow of the constitution; and their language was, that the fate of Charles and James awaited the present ruler of the kingdom. Hunt had presided at a meeting at Smithfield, at which he had asserted, that the acts of parliament since 1800 were not binding on the country, and that the national debt ought not to be paid. Orders had been given to prosecute him criminally, till the proceedings at Smithfield had been subsequntly sunk in the superior importance of those at Manchester.

Sir F. Burdett said, that all the arguments of the learned gentleman had shown the necessity for inquiry, instead of stifling it. If any man could identify a soldier who had wounded him, it was very well for him to apply to a court of law for redress; but what was that to them? What was that to the people of England, who believed that the constitution had been violated? The people were perfectly loyal, but the noble lord had threatened new infringements on the constitution. They would no doubt be invited to a new property tax; but the people were deceived if they thought it would be easing them to lay heavy taxes on the rich, who were their bankers, and on whom they might draw for the reward of their industry and talent.—He asked where was the proof of mischief among the reformers? The training he admitted,—but how long had they borne their grievances! A rational reform would satisfy all; and calling hard names instead of granting it, only proved ignorance and error. There was no ground for the accusation in bulk that the reformers were hostile to religion, though no doubt some might be found who were so.

Mr. Wynn observed, that it had been said that meetings of people marching with banners inscribed "liberty or death," &c. were perfectly legal, and conducted with the greatest order and regularity. But whatever the honourable baronet might assert, he (Mr. Wynn) would assert that such practices were treasonable. If such meetings were allowed, others might be held to consider the propriety of changing the succession to the throne.

Sir J. Sebright said he should vote against the amendment, because he thought inquiry would be carried on with more effect in a court of law. He would gladly vote for parliamentary reform, because he believed it would satisfy nineteen out of twenty persons in the nation.

Mr. Littleton said he would vote against the amendment, because the question proposed for parliamentary inquiry ought to be discussed in another place.

Mr. Canning said, there were two grounds on which the Manchester question was pressed as a fit subject of investigation: first, as being an attack upon the constitution; secondly, because inquiry was demanded by the resolutions of various meetings. As to the first ground, he considered that already disposed of; and for the resolutions, it was curious to observe, that *all* the meetings in which they were passed, set out with the admission that the meeting was a legal one. There was

every reason to believe, that if the meetings at which such resolutions were passed were to be held again, they would, after what had passed in the present debate, be disposed to alter their determination. The house should not bend to any popular will, or be led away by temporary popularity. There were quiet and loyal millions who looked up to government for protection, and they should be protected. There were seditious persons who should be put down; and if they and their abettors could only be put down by vigorous measures, those measures should and would be resorted to without delay.

Mr. Brougham agreed with that honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) in all the eulogiums which he bestowed on a voluntary and respectable magistracy. Their labours were useful, and hence were they particularly fenced round by the sanction of the legislature. If, however, the conduct of any part of the magistracy deserved reprobation, they should be the more severely punished; inasmuch as they were armed with an authority for the purpose of protecting, and not invading, the rights and liberties of the people.

The house then proceeded to a division, when there appeared—

For the amendment . . .	150
Against it	381
Majority	231

The address was then carried without a division.

Nov. 25.—Mr. S. Cocks brought up the report on the address. On the question that it be agreed to, the address was supported by Mr. B. Wilbraham, Mr. Shepherd, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Martin (of Galway), lord Castlereagh, Mr. Bathurst, and lord Compton. On the other side, sir R. Wilson, Mr. G. Lamb, Mr. Denman, Mr. J. P. Grant, and Mr. Baring, spoke in favour of an inquiry. Lord Stanley was also for an inquiry, but regretted that much misrepresentation had prevailed as to the conduct both of the magistrates and yeomanry.—The report was ultimately agreed to without a division.

House of lords, Nov. 29.—The lord chancellor introduced a bill for taking away the right of traverse in all cases of misdemeanor. The noble lord declared, that this bill had no reference whatever to the present state of the country. Its object is to prevent the defendants from postponing trial in indictments for misdemeanor; but a discretionary power is to be vested in courts of justice, of postponing trials, upon good and sufficient cause being shown.

Viscount Sidmouth then called the attention of their lordships to the measures which ministers deemed it necessary to propose in the present perturbed state of the country. The first was a bill to curb the licentiousness of the press. It proposed no increased punishment for the first offence, but it provided that on a second conviction for publishing a blasphemous or seditious libel, the offender should be liable, at the discretion of the judges, to the punishment of fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation. It was also proposed that, in such cases of second conviction, a power should be given to seize the copies of the libel in the possession of the publisher; the copies so seized to be

be preserved until it should be seen whether an arrest of judgement was moved, and then to be returned to the publisher, if the judgement of the court should be in his favour. In another place it was intended to propose that all publications, consisting of less than a given number of sheets, should be subject to a duty equal to that paid by newspapers, and that the publishers should enter into recognisance, or give security, to a certain amount, so as to ensure the payment of any fine inflicted on them in case of delinquency. In another place, also, a bill will be brought in for regulating meetings for the discussion of grievances, and petitioning the king and parliament, which, in its provisions, would be found not to trench on the right of petition. Another measure which he should have to submit to the consideration of their lordships, was a bill to prohibit military training, except under the authority of the lord lieutenants or magistracy. A very large portion of the disaffected were possessed of arms; and therefore it was intended to give to the magistrates a power of seizing and detaining arms in the disaffected districts, upon a well-grounded suspicion that they are to be used against the peace of the country. These were the measures intended to be proposed to parliament, for the welfare of the people, and the safety of the state. Ministers wished to act with conciliation, but with firmness. They would be most happy if they had any means to propose, which might alleviate the distresses of the people. They called on those who had differed with them, both on external and internal policy, to join them in preventing anarchy and the destruction of property. His lordship then presented the bills for regulating the press, and preventing military training, and moved that they be read the first time.

Earl Grey protested warmly against the proposed measures, particularly that which relates to the press, which he thought the severest blow that had for a long course of time been inflicted upon the liberty of the press.

The earl of Liverpool said, the peaceable and industrious part of the population were endangered and intimidated by the acts of the seditious, and they called upon parliament for security. He denied that any of the proposed measures, with the exception of the bill empowering magistrates to search for arms, invaded any of the rights and privileges of Englishmen.

In the commons, the same day, lord Castlereagh addressed the house on the dangers which threatened the internal peace of the country, and explained the series of new measures by which ministers proposed to avert them. The first would relate to tumultuous meetings. The second related to training and exercising. The third measure was to give extraordinary powers of seizing arms. The fourth was to give speedy means of prosecuting misdemeanors; and the fifth would relate to the press, to restrain, as far as possible, the publication of treasonable and blasphemous writings. As to the first measure, it was clear that no government could long exist if the present system of popular meetings were to go on all over the country, keeping up an incessant

state of alarm, occasioning continual suspensions of business, and perpetually harassing the magistracy, military, and all the loyal part of the community. He denied that such meetings as those held at Manchester, and in other places, were legal; but if they were, it was high time that they should be prevented from being so any longer. The bill which he had to propose on this subject would not affect any county or corporation meeting, or generally any called by the magistrates; but it was intended that all others should be held only on a notice signed by seven inhabitant householders of the parish or township where it was called. It would be made a misdemeanour for an individual, not within the parish, to call a meeting of the inhabitants. In thirty parishes the population exceeded the number of twenty thousand; and it was intended, in such cases, to divide the population, so that no meeting should take place where the population exceeded ten thousand persons. By such regulation two objects would be gained: the meeting would be really deliberative; and numerous meetings would be prevented. Those men, also, who make a trade of travelling about the country, and proclaiming grievances, would be stopped in their career. At present a number of simultaneous meetings were frequently assembled. In order to counteract such a practice, it was his intention to propose to the house that a notice of six days, previous to any meeting, should be given to a magistrate, who, within two days from the notice, might alter the time and place of the meeting, provided the time did not exceed the period originally fixed by more than four days. It was also intended to strip these meetings of their warlike appearance, and that none should be allowed to go in military array, so as to intimidate the peaceful subjects of the king. This provision would be applicable to county as well as other meetings. It was also proposed to introduce a clause against the appearance of females at those meetings, a practice unheard of till the French revolution, when they were poured in from the markets and the brothels. All who should come armed to any such meeting would be liable to a misdemeanour, by the bill proposed to be brought in; and power would be given to the magistrates to apprehend those who should so offend. In the case of strangers crowding to the meeting, the magistrate might be allowed to order them to withdraw; and in the event of the order not being obeyed, he might proclaim the meeting illegal. Such disobedience, however, was not to be made a capital but a clergyable felony. A quarter of an hour was to be allowed for strangers to withdraw, and half an hour for the meeting to disperse. On the subject of training in the night, such a practice was obviously contrary to all the principles of the constitution. But it was proposed to make a distinction betwixt the party drilling and the party drilled; the former it was proposed to make a transportable offence, and the latter to be subject to fine and imprisonment. Such an enactment was to be confined, in the first instance, to the disturbed districts, and to be extended to the others, if necessary. The noble

lord

lord then explained the alterations proposed to be made with regard to prosecutions for misdemeanors, and the new regulations with regard to the press, which will be found stated in our report of the proceedings of the upper house. It was intended that the full newspaper stamp-duty should attach to political pamphlets under two sheets. It was proposed that the new enactments relative to the press should be permanent; some of the other measures might be temporary. He hoped that these measures, with the active and zealous co-operation of the sound part of the community, would be fully adequate to meet and repel the existing danger. He concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill for more effectually preventing seditious meetings.

Mr. Tierney denied that the papers before the house authorized such measures as those submitted to them, and had no doubt that the present laws, if duly executed, were strong enough to meet the present dangers; he condemned ministers for not adopting a conciliating line of conduct to the people, instead of resorting to force upon every occasion. Mr. T., however, seemed to be doubtful whether public meetings of the kind recently held should not be put under some regulation.

Lords Folkestone and Rancliffe, and Messrs. Brougham and Lamb, warmly opposed the measures, as subversive of the liberty of the press, and the rights of public meetings.

The honourable G. Bennett presented a petition from Manchester, praying for an inquiry into the proceedings of the 16th August.

A petition was also presented from Henry Hunt, denying the truth of the allegations contained in the papers laid upon the tables of both houses, relative to the internal state of the country, and offering to disprove them by evidence at the bar of the house.

House of lords, Nov. 30.—The marquis of Lansdown moved for a select committee to inquire into the state of the country; and more especially to the executing of the laws relating to public meetings.

The marquis Wellesley contemplated the quietness and peaceable separation of the late meetings with alarm, though they were praised by some noble lords of stronger nerves than he possessed. They peaceably met to overthrow the constitution, and most loyally parted to meet again for the same purpose. It was to degrade the people of England to say, that these meetings were by them. They were snares for the people of England. He had been accustomed to consider British liberty as described in the phrase "liberty of the subject," which he considered to imply subjection to the laws and religion of the state. He therefore thought they should proceed to the discussion of the bill now before the house, instead of any other inquiry.

Lord Erskine considered, that if such doctrine as that held by the noble marquis were received, it would depend on that house how long he continued to be what he was born—a freeman. He contended that the country was by no means in so alarming a state as at the time of the state trials in 1794. When the bills proposed to

to remedy the existing evils came to be discussed, he trusted he could show their lordships the existing laws were sufficient to remove the things complained of, and to punish the guilty. The event of Carlile's trials showed, that the present laws were amply sufficient for the punishment of offences. But since that man's trial, he (lord E.) had seen in many shops, "Infamous conduct of the judge; Mock trial of Carlile."—He wished to know if such atrocious libels had been punished; for when an individual entered into a contest with the law, he ought to be shown that the law was too strong for him. To show a neglect of the people, and not to inquire into violence committed on them, was doing the greatest service to those persons whose wish was to corrupt the people. He thanked God that he had yet strength enough to stand up in defence of the people; and he would do so while he was able.

Lord Grenville said, every man in the country must consider that the progress of our evils had brought us into a most dangerous crisis, which he had watched so long, and for which he was so often treated as an alarmist. At no period of his life did he ever anticipate the amount of peril, which required a firm and manly effort to meet it. He was indeed anxious that parliament should do every thing possible to alleviate those distresses, which they all must deeply lament; but he did not agree that parliament must be blamed if it was found impossible to do so. He considered the conduct of the Manchester magistrates not only as free from all blame, but as highly meritorious. Courts of law were open to receive well-founded complaints against the magistrates for so doing; and, thank God, they were also open to receive the triumphant answer of those magistrates. If there be any individuals who have contributed to increase the distress of the people, those were they who seduced the people from habits of industry. He earnestly conjured them to maintain that constitution which they ought never to sacrifice to any fanciful or pre-conceived ideas.

Earl Grey said, it was with pain that he found himself opposed to one whom he had been accustomed to consider as his guide and counsellor. But, notwithstanding this, added to an infirm state of health, he would yield to no noble lord in love for the constitution, and he therefore rose to support the motion of his noble friend for anxious and instant inquiry. We had sufficient law to suppress sedition and blasphemy; but he had yet to learn, that meetings to obtain reform in parliament, whether to the extent of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, were illegal. He contended that the magistrates were wrong in not preventing the meeting, if it was illegal, to assemble in military array, with banners, caps of liberty, &c. of which, according to their own evidence, they had previous information. They suffered those poor deluded persons to arrive at the meeting-place; and, before a single act of violence was committed, the cavalry advanced at a trot and a gallop, by which, and their sabres, seven or eight were killed, and about 400 wounded.

This,

This, of itself, demanded inquiry. He mentioned a number of other circumstances, such as the sharpening the swords of the cavalry, &c. as sufficient grounds of such inquiry; and that from what he had heard and read, the magistrates were the disturbers of the public peace; and ministers were now identifying themselves with the magistrates.

The earl of Liverpool had to apologize to the house for addressing them after every thing he could say had been so ably anticipated by a noble marquis, and the noble baron who spoke early in the debate. Distress had been alleged as the ground for inquiry: however that distress was to be deplored, it was connected with circumstances over which the executive government or parliament had nothing to do. It grew out of our commercial relations, and prevailed in a much greater degree in America and other countries. The people ought to be told that their evils were not to be ascribed to any form of government; and were almost entirely out of the controul of any government,

"How few of all the ills that men endure,
Are those which kings and laws can cause or cure!"

All those evils would have the fullest consideration of parliament; but they formed no good grounds for immediate inquiry. He entered into an examination of the proceedings at Manchester; and contended, that from them no inquiry was necessary. If the disorder they apprehended was popular clamour, the best friends of the country were those who would put it down, and protect the peaceable part of the community from outrage and danger.

Earl Grey explained.—Earl Darnley supported the motion, and the marquis of Lansdown very shortly replied; when the house divided—

For the motion	47
Against it	178
Majority	131

In the commons, the same day, lord Althorp made his promised motion on the state of the nation, and concluded by moving that a select committee be appointed to consider the papers laid before parliament, by order of his royal highness the prince regent, and to report thereon to the house. The speakers in support were lord Milton, Mr. Tierney, Mr. W. Lamb, sir M. W. Ridley, Mr. Denman, the honourable Douglas Kinnaird (his maiden speech), and Mr. Benett (the member for Wiltshire): those against it were lord Castlereagh, lord Lascelles, Messrs. Bathurst, Long Wellesley, S. Wortley, Courtenay, Lawson, Mansfield, and Martin of Galway. On a division, the motion was negatived by 325 to 150.—Majority 175.

House of commons, December 1.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, sir George Warrender stated, that it was found expedient to increase the marine forces of the kingdom by adding 2,000 to their present number. By that means the marines would be able to perform all the duty in the dock-yards, which had heretofore been performed by troops of the line. He should therefore propose a permanent increase of 2000 men; and concluded by moving that

23,000

23,000 men, including, 8,000 royal marines, be employed for the sea service during the year 1820. After some conversation, the motion was agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed a resolution for subjecting pamphlets of a certain description not exceeding two sheets in size, and sixpence in price, to the same stamp duty as newspapers.

After a few words from Mr. Brougham, the resolution was agreed.

House of lords, December 2.—The training prevention bill, and the seizure of arms bill, were severally read a second time. The only new feature in the debate on this subject was the admission on the part of the earl of Darlington, that some such measures as those now proposed by ministers were necessary; and that he had received information from the county of Durham, since his departure from thence to attend his duty in parliament, that secret associations were still held in that part of the country.

In the commons the same day, on the motion for the second reading of the seditious meetings prevention bill, which was proposed by Mr. Grenfell from the opposition bench, that gentleman stated, that he was prepared to give his steady and hearty concurrence and support to all the measures recommended by lord Castlereagh. A lengthened discussion took place. The speakers in support of the new bills were the solicitor-general, lord Lascelles, Mr. Peel, Mr. Wilmot, and lord Palmerston.

Mr. Abercromby stated, that as far as he could collect the state of opinion in the house, in this case, there were three parties: one comprehending those who were ready to support the noble lord (Castlereagh) to the full extent of his proposition; another, who were determined to oppose his views altogether; and a third, who, thinking the dangers of the country of such a serious character as to require some measures of restriction, were still unwilling that those measures should be either general or permanent. To the third party he himself inclined, and therefore his vote for the second reading of this bill should be conditional—namely, that its existence and operation should be temporary and local.

Lord Archibald Hamilton, Mr. John Smith, and Mr. Maxwell, professed that they should give their vote for the bill under the same view as Mr. Abercromby.

Lord Folkestone, Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Coke (of Norfolk), Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Macdonald spoke against the bill.

On a division, the second reading was carried by 351 to 128.

House of lords, Dec. 3.—The lord chancellor moved the second reading of the bill to accelerate trials in cases of misdemeanour. His lordship explained the inconvenience felt from the existing delays, and said he should have no objection to the introduction of a clause allowing a defendant a copy of the information or indictment for or against him, free of expense.

The bill was opposed by lords Grosvenor, Erskine, and Holland, and supported by lords Liverpool and Lilford. It was then read a second time.

The seizure of arms bill and the training prevention bill went through

through committees without any amendment; those proposed by lord Darnley and others having been negatived without a division.

Lord Strathmore's assertion on a former night, as to there being 16,000 persons connected with the collieries in the Wear and Tyne ripe for rebellion, was confirmed by the duke of Northumberland. They were said to be all armed, and boasted that they could muster a force of 100,000 men.

In the commons the same day, lord Castlereagh moved that the seditious meetings prevention bill be committed.

Mr. Lambton and sir M. W. Ridley contradicted what had been stated in another place, as to numbers of persons having attended meetings at Newcastle and other parts in the north, with arms in their possession.

Lord Castlereagh brought up a bill, to make certain publications liable to the stamp duty, in order to prevent the publication of seditious and blasphemous libels. He moved that it should be read the first time.

Mr. Brougham protested against the measure in this early stage, as an unjustifiable encroachment on the liberty of the press. The bill was read the first time.

House of lords, Dec. 6.—Viscount Sidmouth rose to move the second reading of the bill for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels.

Lord Erskine said, it fell to him to apprize their lordships, that the bill related both to blasphemous and seditious libels, two offences totally and essentially different. The present bill was not calculated to deter the blasphemer; and the object which they all had in view, would be best attained by a rigorous enforcement of the law now in operation. If he were to advise the people how to act, he would say, Give up your wild notions of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, which must bring ruin upon your country, stick to your present constitution; and if you unite firmly, and express your opinions strongly, it will be impossible to affect the integrity of your freedom.

The earl of Harrowby contended that they who proposed the means of correcting the abuses of the press, were the best friends of its liberty; they only pruned licentiousness to secure its eternity.

The marquis of Lansdown remarked, that the punishment of transportation was wholly inapplicable to this kind of offence, that it was in itself unequal, and was particularly inappropriate when applied to those individuals who were most likely to compose such writings as would be termed libellous. Buonaparte, whose extraordinary apprehension of the freedom of the press was one of the defects in his understanding, never contemplated so severe a punishment as transportation, well knowing that the very severity of the law would defeat its own object.

Lord Ellenborough said, the libels which had been disseminated, went to dissolve the groundworks of the constitution, and it was therefore that he desired more effectual means of checking them, than existed at present. This would be attained by the present bill; and he doubted not that its

its provisions would be found effectual.

Lord Holland declared, that of all the measures which had come before parliament, or were still threatened, not one was possessed of greater deformity than that which was then before them. It went to alter the law of the country by assimilating the punishment for small faults to that for great crimes; and it went to put honourable men, who might err in their zeal, on a level with felons: for these reasons he would vote against the bill.

The lord chancellor said, that the bill was necessary for the support of the constitution of the country.

Earl Grey looked upon these bills as an infringement of the constitution, and that they would tend to the destruction of it. He hoped he might be deceived, and that they would turn out as ministers had prognosticated, and be the preservation of the constitution.

The earl of Liverpool contended that the measure was necessary for the preservation of the constitution, and of every thing that contributed to social order in the community.

The earl of Carnarvon was opposed to the whole of the measure.

The duke of Sussex and the earl of Blesington could not conscientiously support the present bill.

The bill was then read a second time.

On the motion for bringing up the report of the search for arms bill,

Earl Grey said, he must pause before he consented to a bill of this nature. It was a measure of unprecedented power, and subversive of the rights of Englishmen.

The earl of Strathmore read extracts from letters received that morning from two magistrates and the commanding-officer at Newcastle, which stated their apprehension of a simultaneous movement of the disaffected as likely soon to take place. He hoped no time would be lost in passing the bill, conceiving it, as he did, a measure necessary to prevent insurrection.

Lord Erskine said the bill was without a precedent in the annals of parliament.

In the commons the same day, lord Castlereagh, on moving for the re-committal of the seditious meetings bill, said that it was intended to propose some amendments on it. The first would exclude from its operation all meetings held in rooms or apartments. Another would obviate the objection made on the ground of attaching penalties to persons accidentally attending meetings in the parish they did not belong to, by limiting the penalties to persons knowingly offending: and to prevent strangers going designedly to make the meeting illegal, he should propose that after proclamation made, every inhabitant of the parish should be armed with the authority of a constable, and justified in apprehending and taking before a magistrate any stranger found present. He could not agree to make the measure local, as that would entirely defeat its object; but as there seemed to be a general feeling that it should not be permanent, he would accede to a proposition limiting its duration to five years, and

and to the then next meeting of parliament.

Mr. Curwen could not vote for the measure, unless confined to the disaffected districts.

Mr. V. Fitzgerald strongly approved of the measure, more especially as proposed to be amended by lord Castlereagh.

Sir R. Wilson strongly reprobated the series of measures in progress, as showing an inclination to govern by the sword instead of the law.

Mr. Grenfell approved of the bill, limited as it was to five years. He regretted the countenance given by the gallant general to Mr. Hunt at the Southwark meeting.

Sir R. Wilson said, he had shaken hands with Mr. Hunt as a man who stood forward in support of the liberties of his country. He should have felt himself more dishonoured if he had stretched forth his hand to take the bloody hands of those who had presided over the massacre of their countrymen.

Mr. V. Blake thought it might reconcile the gallant general to the bill, that Cobbett had said there was still enough of the liberty of the press for him (Cobbett) to work with.

Mr. Ricardo thought a moderate parliamentary reform the best means of preventing the meetings complained of.

Mr. alderman Waithman condemned the proceedings at Manchester, and the whole series of coercive measures now resorted to.

Mr. Wilson (member for the city) supported the bill.

Mr. G. Lamb said, the only remedies for the distress of the country were the equalization of the national income with the expenditure, and parliamentary reform. He wished the poor to be relieved from a number of taxes, and a tax on property to be substituted.

After some observations for and against the bill, by several other members, the question for the re-committal of the bill was carried without a division. On that for the speaker leaving the chair, colonel Beaumont moved an instruction to the committee, to provide that the bill should not extend beyond six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament. Mr. Vansittart proposed an instruction limiting the duration of the bill to five years. Mr. Calcraft and lord Milton opposed the measure *in toto*. Mr. Bankes supported it. Mr. Perceval said he should vote against the bill, as a dangerous innovation on the constitution. Mr. Wilberforce approved of extending the period to five years. Mr. Marryat wished the period to be three years; and Mr. F. Buxton said, if colonel Beaumont's motion was negatived, he should move an instruction to that effect.

After some observations from Mr. C. Wynn, Mr. Maxwell, and others, colonel Beaumont's motion was negatived without a division; and that of Mr. Buxton was negatived, on a division, by 328 to 153. Mr. Vansittart's instruction was then carried without a division, and the house went into a committee, *pro forma*, when progress was immediately reported.

House of lords, Dec. 7.—The misdemeanour traverse prevention bill

bill went through a committee, in which, on the motion of the lord chancellor, the blank as to the time within which parties must plead was filled up with the words "twenty days;" and a clause was added for granting copies of indictments to defendants.

On the question for the third reading of the search for arms bill, lord Darnley again urged the propriety of limiting the right of search to the day-time.

Lord Sidmouth could not consent to any alteration. The bill was read the third time and passed, as was also the military training prevention bill.

The libel bill went through a committee, in which some amendments proposed by lord Sidmouth were agreed to.

In the commons the same day, lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for going into the committee on the seditious meetings bill.

Mr. C. Hutchinson opposed the extension of the bill to Ireland. He was convinced, when the noble lord brought this measure forward, he did not contemplate extending it to that country, which he had described as quiet and flourishing. He should certainly move to exempt Ireland from the operation of the bill.

Lord Castlereagh said, the proper time for doing so would be in the committee.

The house then went into a committee.

Sir Charles Monck, as an amendment, proposed to exclude lord lieutenants of counties from any power of granting meetings; but the amendment was negatived without dividing.

Mr. Brougham strongly objected to the clause confining the right of a meeting in aggregate numbers to cities, boroughs, and corporate towns. This clause, as it was now worded, would exclude some of the most populous towns in the kingdom, and amongst them Manchester and Birmingham.

Lord Castlereagh stated, that it was his intention to extend the provisions of the bill to meetings for the purposes of trade and manufacture, if held in the open air. From recent examples, it appeared that such meetings had occasionally deviated into political discussions, and made such a provision necessary.

Mr. Marryat stated that no room would be sufficient to hold such a number of the merchants, traders, and bankers of London, as had upon former occasions, by the resolutions they had come to, given confidence both to the government and to the public.

Lord Castlereagh was fully sensible of the beneficial effects of such meetings; but thought Guildhall would be sufficient for the purpose.

After debating on various proposed amendments, which were negatived,

Mr. W. Smith moved that the house should now adjourn, on account of the hour (half-past one).

The committee divided, for adjourning 36, against it 166.

Some further conversation ensued, when

Lord Castlereagh said he would not now press a proceeding, but move that the chairman should report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

This motion was agreed to.

Dec. 8.

Dec. 8.—The drilling and training prevention bill was brought from the house of lords, read the first and second time, and ordered to be printed. This bill was expedited through all its stages, in consequence of alleged information that the practice of drilling and training was gaining ground to an alarming extent in the north of England.

Mr. Stuart Wortley stated, upon the authority of information received by himself, that the practice had spread into the county of York; that bodies of from one to two hundred men assembled nightly in the vicinity of Barnsley, Burton, and several of the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of training.

Sir J. Graham said it had spread into the county of Cumberland, and had become frequent in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. They had recently cut down young plantations, chiefly for the purpose of fitting pike-heads to the staves which they formed from the young trees. One smith had received orders to make twelve dozen of pike-heads, which he had communicated to a magistrate: orders to a large amount were given to other smiths, who did not give any information to the magistrates.

Another member declared he had heard that these nocturnal meetings were very frequent in the vicinity of the manufacturing towns in Lancashire.

The search for arms bill was also brought from the lords, and read the first time.

The house sat in committee for a considerable time upon the seditious meetings bill, and about one in the morning the report was brought up, and ordered to be received next day.

House of lords, Dec. 9.—An amendment was introduced into the bill for preventing delays of justice, by which it is provided, that copies of indictments shall be furnished to defendants before instead of after appearance.

Lord Holland suggested another amendment, providing, that if defendants, who were indicted on *ex officio* informations, were not brought to trial for eighteen months, dating from the first process, no further kind of proceedings should be had thereupon, excepting where the trial stood postponed by order of the court. His lordship, however, withdrew this amendment, on a promise from the lord chancellor, that he would lend his aid in framing a separate bill calculated to accomplish the object in view, if not precisely to the same effect as the clause proposed.

The bill for preventing and punishing seditious libels next occupied the attention of the house.

In the course of the discussion, lord Ellenborough introduced, by way of amendment, the following definition of what was to be considered a seditious libel:—That after the words "seditious libels" should be inserted "as were calculated to bring into hatred and contempt his majesty's person and government, or either house of parliament, or to aim at the subversion of the constitution in church and state as by law established."

The earl of Liverpool would not object to the amendment.

Lord Erskine and lord Holland both spoke against the transportation or banishment of per-

sons convicted of seditious libels.

In the commons the same day, Mr. Bennet addressed the house at great length on the state of the manufacturing districts. He described the extreme distress existing in various districts in England and Scotland, from the want of employment, the low rate of wages, and the severe pressure of taxation. In Lancashire this distress, and the discontents arising therefrom, were greatly aggravated by the animosities between the magistrates and the great mass of the population, and from the denial of all inquiry into the occurrences at Manchester on the 16th of August. The magistracy of that place had uniformly been of high tory politics, whilst the people, from having been Jacobites, had become attached to liberality of opinion and social liberty. If no relief was administered to a starving population, discontent must increase, and in the end produce despair. It was not fair to expect that the people should do every thing, and the government nothing. Many public works might be undertaken, though not palaces. Roads and canals might be constructed, and the absurd laws against emigration might be repealed. All who could not earn a livelihood at home should be allowed to go abroad, and to people desert lands, which at no distant day might become important parts of the empire. He concluded by moving for the appointment of a committeee to inquire into the present state of the manufacturing districts.

Lord Castlereagh objected to the appointment of a committee, as tending to no practical good, whilst, under all the circumstances of the case, it would be a recipe for discontent and disturbance, by leading to a discussion of all the topics which had already occupied the attention of parliament.

Mr. Canning, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stuart Wortley, the lord advocate of Scotland, Mr. Peel, Mr. Bootle Wilbraham, and Mr. Mansfield, were also averse to the motion, connected as it had been by the honourable mover with so many extraneous subjects, and so much of party politics.

Mr. Baring spoke in favour of the motion; in the course of which he averred, that the great capitalists in the manufacturing districts were sending their property abroad.

Mr. Tierney spoke with great energy and ability in support of the motion, and was followed by lord Folkestone, Messrs. Ellice, Phillips, Maxwell, and others. The motion was ultimately negatived without a division.

House of lords, Dec. 10.—The training prevention bill was received from the commons with amendments, which, on the motion of lord Sidmouth, were agreed to by their lordships.

Lord Sidmouth moved the third reading of the blasphemous and seditious libel bill.

Lord Carnarvon moved an amendment for limiting the duration of the bill to two years.

It was supported by lords Rosslyn, Erskine, Holland, and Grosvenor, and opposed by lords Sidmouth, Westmorland, and Lilford, the duke of Wellington, and the bishop of Llandaff. It was then negatived without a division, and

and the bill passed and was sent to the commons.

In the commons the same day, a long conversation took place upon a question of privilege, brought forward by Mr. Wm. Courtenay, arising out of a pamphlet lately published under the title, "A trifling mistake in Thomas lord Erskine's recent preface." The work, from which several extremely violent passages were read, was introduced to the notice of the house in the debate of Thursday night by Mr. S. Wortley. The subject was disposed of for the present by summoning the publisher to the bar on the 13th inst.

The libel prevention bill was read the first time; and the arms seizing bill a second time.

House of lords, Dec. 11.—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the bill for the prevention of military training.

Dec. 13.—The lord chancellor, on moving the third reading of the traverse bill, introduced a clause, fixing the time within which prosecutions for misdemeanors on information or indictment by the attorney-general, should be brought on. The clause enacts, that if the trial does not take place at the expiration of 12 months from the time of pleading, the defendant may then call upon the attorney-general to proceed to trial within 20 days; and if the latter should not then proceed, he must enter a *noli prosequi*, and the defendant would thus be entirely freed from the prosecution.

Lord Holland expressed his warm acknowledgements to the noble and learned lord for this clause, and declared, that, united with another which had been introduced (that of allowing to defendants copies of indictments), he had no hesitation in giving the bill his vote; for, compared with the law as it now stood, the measure altogether was a great improvement.

The bill was then passed.

In the commons the same day, the question of privilege, as respecting the "scandalous libel" against the house, came under discussion. Previously to calling in the publisher of the pamphlet, Mr. Ellice stated in his place, that he was authorized to declare John Cam Hobhouse, esq. the writer of it. The publisher was accordingly dismissed; and after a short debate Mr. Hobhouse was ordered to be committed to Newgate. An amendment was proposed, that instead of being sent to Newgate, he should be committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, which was negatived by 198 to 65.

Lord Castlereagh moved the third reading of the seditious meetings prevention bill.

Lord Archibald Hamilton supported the measure, on accouut of the disturbed state of the manufacturing districts; begging it, however, to be understood, that he assented to none of the proceedings that had taken place as to Manchester, and that he regretted that the house had not acceded to Mr. Bennett's motion for a committe of inquiry into the distressed state of the country.

The bill was then supported by Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Robinson, Mr. L. Wellesley, the attorney and solicitor generals, Mr. Martin (of Galway), and Mr. Bankes, jun.; and opposed by Mr. C.

Hutchinson, lord Milton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. W. Williams, lord Morpeth, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Scarlett, Mr. Denman, lord Folkestone, and Mr. Honeywood; and on a division the motion was carried by 313 to 95. The bill was then read the third time.

A clause, proposed by way of rider, by Mr. Wharton, authorizing reporters to attend meetings, on sending their names to the magistrates 24 hours before, was opposed by lord Castlereagh, and supported by Mr. Tierney and others. It was negatived without a division. One proposed by Mr. Hume, empowering magistrates to admit reporters, was negatived, on a division, by 262 to 83. A clause, proposed by Mr. Hutchinson, providing that the bill should not extend to Ireland, was negatived on a division by 265 to 69. Some verbal amendments were then made, and the bill passed.

House of lords, Dec. 14.—The seditious meetings prevention bill was brought up from the commons, and read the first time.

Lord Liverpool suggested that the bill might be read a second time on Thursday, and that the debate on the principle should take place on the question for going into the committee on Friday.

This arrangement, after a few observations from lord Holland and the marquis of Lansdown, was agreed to.

In the commons the same day, lord J. Russell said, he rose on the present occasion under considerable embarrassment, in consequence of the importance of the subject out of which his present motion arose, and increased by the change which had taken place in the state of the country since he gave his notice on the subject at the end of last session. At this period there were two parties in the country, one contending for extraordinary privileges, attached to old institutions; the other, desirous of overturning old institutions altogether. He was, however, encouraged to bring forward his present motion by recollecting that Mr. Pitt, in 1788, brought forward a motion and submitted a plan similar to that he was now about to propose. The noble lord then cited the opinion of Mr. Pitt, as to the necessity of reform, and said, he founded his opinion now on that given by Mr. Pitt at that time. He would not now enter into the abstract question of general suffrage, or into the argument whether universal or various suffrage was preferable, but only observe that, as circumstances varied, a variance in systems was necessary. A town which centuries ago sent members to parliament might now be scarcely able to superintend the repairs of a bridge; and places then merely villages might now be fit to send members to the legislature; and this change might, he contended, take place without any invasion of the constitution, and had repeatedly taken place. Till the time of Charles II. places were frequently omitted in one parliament, to which the king sent his writ in another. Since the revolution however no such changes had been made; the evil consequences arising from which had been, that the small boroughs had become notoriously corrupt, and in some instances called irresistibly for punishment. This was obvious in the cases of the bo-

roughs of Cricklade and Shoreham. He believed there were various modes of election in these boroughs; one was, as he understood, by a direct negotiation with the treasury, in which the treasury defrayed the expenses of the election in consideration of having the vote. Others were taken by individuals themselves on private speculations, for contracts, privileges, &c. and these were the persons who, by voting with ministers, decided the great questions of peace, war, and taxation; and that too without the risk that would attend even an absolute monarch, the fear of public censure; for, as the names of the majority were seldom published, these persons sinned with the impunity of obscurity. The noble lord contended that this was a system which ought not any longer to exist; the power of election ought to be taken from the rotten boroughs, and given to Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Halifax, Birmingham, &c. large towns which had increased in population within the last half century fourfold, and some of them now contained upwards of 100,000 inhabitants. Manchester, for instance, at present contained upwards of 110,000, being an increase from 28,000 within the course of the last century. He was persuaded, if the right of election were transferred to these towns, we should have a house less inclined to war, and of course less called on to impose taxes. And it should also be considered, that this house was the guardian of the public expenditure, and as such ought not to encourage any useless expenditure or extravagant waste. The famous question of the increasing influence of the crown brought forward by Mr. Dunning, was carried by a majority of 18; but, in the same session, a question of economy was lost, it appearing that though a majority of the county members of four to three were in favour of the economical measures, yet the majority of borough members, and at least eight out of nine of the members of a large county, were with ministers. The noble lord cited several similar instances up to the present time, and urged these facts as reasons for reform: he would now propose certain resolutions to that effect. The first of these would be, that boroughs convicted of corrupt practices should be deprived of the right of election. The second resolution, that the right of election should be given to the large towns. The third resolution was, that it was necessary the house should take into further consideration the subject of reform in election. The fourth, that the borough of Grampound, having been found guilty of corrupt practices, should no longer send members to parliament. And the fifth, that the right of election should be transferred from that borough to some populous town. The noble lord continued at some length to urge arguments in support of his motion, but in a tone so low as to render it extremely difficult to collect what he said in the gallery. He however strongly urged the house to take this question into its serious consideration, and throw out some measures of conciliation to the people, by which alone, he believed, the constitution could be preserved.

Lord Normanby seconded the resolutions.

Lord Castlereagh thought it of the last importance that the house should attend to the practical question, and not suffer the subject to travel into the wild field of parliamentary reform. The speech of the noble mover was extremely temperate; but it did not completely separate the general topic parliamentary reform from the particular question before the house. At no time had a more morbid feeling prevailed on that subject than the present, for there was a spirit abroad that undervalued any change that might be made in the state of the representation; and any steps that might be taken by parliament on the subject, would probably be imputed to the influence of fear. It was much to be desired that the house should show the country that no essential difference prevailed on the subject of reform on either side of the house. To this principle of disfranchising a borough that had abused the right of returning members to parliament, he should freely give his support, and that this right should be transferred to others. As to the borough in question, no opposition, he presumed, would be made to the plan proposed by the noble lord; and in that point he perfectly concurred with the noble mover. The only question was, what was to be done with the franchise of that borough. He hoped the noble lord would not throw the apple of discord on a question where both sides of the house were disposed to cooperate with him. Let particular cases be disposed of as the cases might require; and he offered his assistance to the noble lord for a practical remedy; but he could not consent to the laying down of general rules which would furnish arms against the reform that it was the object of the motion to obtain.

Mr. Tierney said, although he was in favour of a system relative to parliamentary reform, yet he was also glad to get what he could on that subject; and the promise of the noble lord opposite, that should the mover bring in a bill to disfranchise Grampound, he should not oppose it, was no trivial concession.

Lord J. Russell expressed his satisfaction at the result of the debate, as the noble lord had gone much beyond what he had expected. He should not say a word that might disturb a harmony so desirable. He should withdraw the motion, and give notice that on Thursday he should move for leave to bring in a bill to disfranchise the borough of Grampound.

Lord Milton rejoiced at the turn the debate had taken, and thought the mover justified in withdrawing the resolutions.

The resolutions were withdrawn.

The house went into a committee on the seizure of arms bill.

Mr. Bennett moved that information on oath of concealed arms should be taken by two magistrates, instead of one.

After a debate of some length, the house divided—For the motion 107, against it 215—Majority 108.

The other clauses of the bill were gone through, the house resumed, and the report was ordered

dered to be received the following day.

Dec. 15.—A petition from the booksellers of London was presented by Mr. J. Smith, pointing out, in a temperate and respectful manner, the evils to which they considered they would be liable, in common with the trade generally, if the bill for repressing seditious libels were to pass in its present form.

The petition having been brought up and read, lord Castlereagh stated, that when the house went into a committee on the bill to which it referred, it was his intention to propose an alteration in it which would, in a great measure, meet the views of the petitioners. He afterwards added, that he did not mean to press the punishment of transportation into the case of a second conviction for a seditious or blasphemous libel, but should substitute for it that of banishment at the discretion of the court. If the person banished returned into the country without the consent of the crown, he would then be liable to transportation.

On the second reading of the stamp duties bill, lord Castlereagh took the opportunity of stating some of its details. The act is to be framed so as not to affect those periodical publications, whether monthly or quarterly, which are devoted to literature, science, and religion. It is intended, therefore, to confine its provisions to periodical works published in succession within the term of 26 days. This will, of course, exempt all monthly and quarterly publications. With respect to the securities that are to be required, it was at first intended that 500*l.* should be the amount generally; the printer himself giving his own security to that extent, and securities for a like sum by one or more friends. It had been mentioned, however, that this sum was too large, and that it could be raised with much greater facility in some places than in others. To obviate these objections, and to make the law as little burthensome in its operation as may be consistent with the professed objects of its enactments, lord Castlereagh mentioned that the sum was to be reduced from 500*l.* to 300*l.* in London and its vicinity, and to 200*l.* in provincial towns.

Lord Althorp moved for leave to bring in a new bill for the relief of insolvent debtors. The noble lord said, that at the end of the last session, a bill was brought in to renew the old act, which passed the house with great celerity. His majesty's ministers had since removed the commissioner and all the clerks of the insolvent debtors' court. Instead of a commissioner to take the previous examinations, he would now propose that an examiner for that purpose should be appointed by the commissioner. The great objection to the bill which he had introduced last session, was the power it gave to assignees of compelling them to dispose of the real property of the debtor; and though it was his own opinion that real property should be liable to be charged with the debts of the insolvent, yet he would obviate the objection, by proposing that the real property should be sequestrated until out of the rents and profits the debt should be discharged; but the real property was not to be removed from the debtor's possession.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

Dec. 16.—Sir W. De Crespigny, after pointing out the advantages which might result in the amelioration of the state of the lower orders, from the adoption of Mr. Owen's benevolent project, concluded by moving for the appointment of a select committee to investigate the practicability of its adoption upon an extended scale. Lord A. Hamilton, Mr. Brougham, Mr. J. Smith, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. N. Calvert, Mr. Waithman, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. alderman Wood, and Mr. D. W. Harvey, spoke in favour of the motion being entertained; the chancellor of the exchequer and lord Althorp against it. On a division the motion was negatived by 141 to 16. Majority against the motion 125.

On the third reading of the seizure of arms bill, several members, amongst whom was sir J. Yorke, spoke against the clause giving a power to search houses by night, as repugnant to the feelings of the country. Mr. Tierney declared he would divide the house upon the question, and thereby give an honourable member opposite (sir J. Yorke) an opportunity of voting against government twice in 27 years. On a division the clause was rejected by 158 to 46. The bill was then passed.

House of lords, Dec. 17.—The seizure of arms bill was received from the commons with amendments, to which lord Sidmouth moved that their lordships should agree. Lord Darnley moved that the amendments should be printed; which motion being negatived, his lordship moved that the consideration of the amendments should be postponed for six months. This motion was also negatived. The amendments were then agreed to.

Lord Sidmouth moved the committal of the seditious meetings bill. The motion was supported by the duke of Athol, and lords Morley, Harrowby, Westmorland, and Liverpool; and opposed by lords Carnarvon, Donoughmore, Grosvenor, Lauderdale, Holland, Blesington, and the marquis of Lansdown. It was then carried without a division. A motion by lord Carnarvon, for instructing the committee to limit the duration of the bill to the 1st of July 1822, was negatived, on a division, by 135 to 38.

In the commons the same day, in a committee of supply, several sums, amounting to about 1,500,000*l.* were voted on account of the army.

On the report of the misdemeanour traverse prevention bill, Mr. Denman wished that a clause had been introduced, preventing prosecutors, as well as defendants, from removing causes by *certiorari*, except on very strong grounds.

The attorney-general moved as an amendment to the bill, that defendants under criminal informations should be enabled, after the expiration of 12 months from the filing the information, to move to bring on their trial free of expense. This was agreed to; and the bill was ordered to be read the third time on Monday.

Mr. Hume wished to know from the chancellor of the exchequer, whether there was any intention of appointing a committee, during the present session, to inquire

inquire into the state of our commercial relations with foreign powers.

Mr. Vansittart said, the subject had engaged the attention of his majesty's government; but he was not prepared to answer the honourable member's question.

House of lords, Dec. 18.—The royal assent was given by commission to the malt duties bill, and the seizure of arms bill.

20.—The bill for regulating the labour of children in cotton manufactories, went through a committee; the bishop of Chester speaking in its support; and lords Grosvenor, Lauderdale, and Holland, against it.

The seditious meetings prevention bill likewise went through a committee. Several amendments, after short discussions on each, were negatived, without a division.

In the commons the same day, Mr. J. Smith presented a petition from a great number of the London booksellers and publishers against the newspaper stamp duties bill. The petitioners stated themselves to be engaged in publishing in numbers standard works, on history, astronomy, divinity, and all other subjects, with the exception of politics and the occurrences of the day, against the sale of which last-mentioned books they took bonds from their agents. They had upwards of 1,000,000*l.* of capital embarked in this branch of trade, and it afforded the only means of support to several thousand persons.—A petition was also presented against the same bill from Henry Fisher, printer. The petitioner stated that he had upwards of 70,000*l.* embarked in various establishments at Birmingham, Liverpool London, and other places, and that he apprehended total ruin to himself and the numerous persons in his employment, from the bill in question, should it pass into a law. Mr. Birch presented a petition against the same bill from the Liverpool printers and booksellers.

Mr. Dugdale presented a petition from the Birmingham booksellers; Mr. W. Smith one from the Bristol booksellers and printers; and Mr. Bernal one from those of London, against the libel bill.

The house in a committe of supply, voted 250,000*l.* on account of the ordnance estimates.

Mr. Grenfell wished to know what reduction was to be made at the royal military college.

Lord Palmerston expected that a reduction might be made in the junior branches to the amount of 27,000*l.* a year.

Mr. Hume observed that the institution gave the army 25 officers a year, educated at the enormous expense of 1038*l.* each. The report was then gone through, and agreed to.

Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee on the newspaper stamp duty bill. On the question for the speaker leaving the chair, the bill was opposed by Mr. Macdonald, Mr. J. R. S. Graham, Mr. Marryat, Mr. Denman, Mr. Abercromby, Mr. G. Bennett, and alderman Waithman; and supported by Mr. Dickenson, Mr. serjeant Onslow, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Wilmot, and Dr. Phillimore, on grounds urged *pro* and *con.* in the course of the previous discussions.

Mr.

Mr. J. Wharton inquired, when there happened to be five or six booksellers in one firm, if, upon a second conviction for libel, banishment should be the punishment, was the whole firm to be banished, or was the eldest partner, or the first man in the firm, to be banished, the rest being allowed to carry on the business? To this question no answer was returned.

The question for the speaker's leaving the chair was then carried, on a division, by 222 to 76.

The house having gone into the committee, Mr. Marryat objected to the recognisance provision, as tending to the utter ruin of publishers in a small way of business, and moved an amendment to leave out the words "together with two or three sufficient securities." Several members observed, that the clause, as now worded, would apply to papers for charitable purposes, play-bills, shipping-lists, stock lists, &c.

The attorney general, lord Castlereagh, and solicitor general, opposed Mr. Marryat's amendment, which was supported by Mr. alderman Waithman, Mr. Macdonald, sir W. de Crespigny, and others. The amendment was then negatived, on a division, by 202 to 82.

An amendment to the clause enabling justices to bind persons charged with libels to "good behaviour," was negatived, on a division, by 129 to 9.

Several other amendments proposed were negatived without a division.

On the motion of the attorney general, a clause was agreed to, giving to individuals who became bound as securities for publishers, a power of withdrawing their liability, on sending 20 days' notice to a commissioner of stamps or to the stamp-office. Clauses were also agreed to, exempting from the operation of this bill proclamations, acts of state, votes printed for either house of parliament, books commonly used in the schools of Great Britain, books of devotion, piety, or charity; daily accounts of goods imported or exported within the bills of mortality, provided they contained no other matter; price currents, the state of the markets, and circumstances respecting the arrival and sailing of merchant vessels.

House of lords, December 21.—On the third reading of the seditious meetings bill, the earl of Liverpool moved an amendment, fixing the time of meeting to twelve at noon; and another, qualifying the obstruction justifying a dispersion of the meeting by the word "forcible." Both these amendments were agreed to. One by lord Ellenborough, compelling magistrates, in case of dispersion from casual obstructions, to re-assemble the meeting in forty-eight hours, was negatived.

Lord Liverpool then moved that the bill do pass.

Lords Erskine and Darnley repeated their objections both to the principles and the details of the measure.

Lord Ellenborough approved of the measure as a whole, though he had been anxious to soften some of its provisions.

Lord Grosvenor said he presented a petition from the city of Westminster against the bill, but, after some discussion, contented himself with generally expressing his hostility to the bill.

Lord

Lord Blesington condemned the extension of the measure to Ireland, and predicted that, if put in force there, it would produce tumult and bloodshed. He accused the late Mr. Pitt of having violated his promise of catholic emancipation, given at the time of the union; and concluded with giving notice, that after the recess he should move for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland.

Lord Liverpool reminded the noble lord that Mr. Pitt had distinctly disavowed having ever given any such pledge to the catholics. The noble lord should recollect that this country had taken on itself the burden of the Irish debt, and that the people of Ireland had paid nothing towards the property tax.

In the commons the same day, Mr. Vansittart, with the leave of the house, brought in a bill for the better securing of the money of suitors in the court of chancery. It provides for the appointment of an accountant-general and two masters, to be paid out of the fund called the dead money. The bill was read a first time.

Mr. B. Wilbraham said much mischief had resulted in Lancashire and the neighbouring counties from a rumour that government intended to apply the funds of saving and friendly societies to the payment of the national debt. He mentioned it, only for the purpose of its being contradicted from official authority.

Mr. Vansittart most willingly gave the contradiction required. The government could not in any way touch the funds alluded to.

Mr. Brougham said a similar mischievous rumour had been spread as to the committee on education and public schools intending to appropriate charitable funds to the same purpose.

Mr. Calcraft was of opinion that the chancellor of the exchequer would find there was no fund whatever applicable to the redemption of the national debt; for as to the 5,000,000*l.* sinking fund of the last session, it had burst like an air-blown bubble.

Mr. Vansittart said he saw no reason for thinking there would be any necessity for varying in any material point from the financial plan of the last session.

Mr. Calcraft and sir W. de Crespigny feared the expectation of the right honourable gentleman would prove fallacious.

Lord Nugent moved for a return of the number of persons liable to be struck off from the list of Chelsea out-pensioners by reason of the proclamation of the 28th of October last.

Lord Palmerston opposed the motion.

Lord Althorp, Mr. J. P. Grant, and Mr. Calcraft supported the motion, which was opposed by Mr. C. Long, and negatived without a division.

On the question for agreeing to the report of the newspaper stamp duty bill, Mr. Primrose opposed the measure, and Mr. Martin (of Galway) supported it. It was then agreed to, and a new clause was adopted for the deposit of copies of works affected by the bill with the commissioners of stamps.

Lord Castlereagh moved the second reading of the libel bill.

Lord Ebrington opposed the bill; and moved that instead of "now" it should be read a second time on "the 15th of February next." The amendment was supported

supported by colonel Davies, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. J. P. Grant, Mr. Tierney, sir J. Mackintosh, lord Althorp, the marquis of Tavistock and Mr. Scarlett; and opposed by Mr. Money, lord Castlereagh, the attorney and solicitor general, and colonel Wood. On a division the amendment was negatived by 190 to 79, and the bill was read a second time.

December 22.—Dr. Phillimore brought in a bill to amend the marriage act.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in answer to questions from Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Brougham, repeated what he had the preceding evening said as to his expectations that the financial arrangements of last year would prove efficient.

Mr. W. Parnell postponed, until after the holidays, his motion for leave to bring in a bill to enable catholic dissenters in Ireland to provide residences for their clergy.

Mr. C. Grant bore testimony to the excellent character and conduct of the catholic clergy, to which was owing, in a very great degree, the good order and tranquillity which generally prevailed in Ireland.

Mr. Maberley moved for several financial accounts, all of which, with some qualifications by Mr. Vansittart, were ordered, but three; the first being an account, showing how the sum of five millions, voted for the purpose of paying off the debt due to the bank of England on the 5th of July 1819, had been applied, distinguishing the dates of the different payments; the second, an account of all exchequer bills received in payment of duties between the 1st of July and the 21st of December 1819; the third, an account of all monies now in the exchequer, appropriated or unappropriated, and distinguishing the one from the other.

In resisting these motions, the chancellor of the exchequer urged the inconvenience which would arise from an inquiry into pecuniary transactions in progress, and the encouragement to stock-jobbing by partial and premature disclosures. With regard to the debt due to the bank, a large part had been already paid, and funds were provided for the discharge of the whole within the stipulated period. He then stated the principal items in the revenue accounts to the 10th Oct. last, and maintained that, though there had been a falling off in the customs, owing to the diminution in the exports and imports, the increased consumption of all articles under the excise, whatever local distress existed, afforded a very favourable picture as to the general prosperity of the country. It appeared that the produce for the current quarter would be nearly equal to, or as large as, that of any year he remembered, though there was the sum of 150,000*l.* short on the general account up to Saturday last. Looking to the state of the exchange, he was convinced that the sums of money sent to France, for investment in the funds of that country, had been very inconsiderable; and the law of France, which made all property divisible in equal shares among children, notwithstanding any testamentary disposition to the contrary, would operate against any permanent investment of British capital in those funds.

Mr. Ellice contended, that there had been a considerable falling

ing off in the duties on teas. It had been rumoured, that the sum paid to the bank in the last month had been 1,200,000*l.* and many singular stories had been circulated as to the way in which that sum had been raised. It had been asserted that the money had been raised abroad, and that securities had been pledged for it which the British government had in the French funds. The whole sum raised by the new taxes was 250,000*l.*

After some further conversation, in which Mr. Lushington, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Tierney, and others took part, the motion relative to the repayments to the bank was negatived without a division.

On the motion respecting exchequer bills, a suggestion by Mr. Vansittart to limit the account to the 10th of October not being acceded to, a division took place, when it was negatived by 90 to 30. The motion repecting the monies in the exchequer was withdrawn.

Lord Castlereagh moved the third reading of the newspaper stamp duty bill. Mr. Bernal and Mr. G. Lamb argued generally against the measure, and especially against the provision that publishers should enter into recognisances. The latter intimated that he should propose a rider, limiting the duration of the bill. Mr. Pryce, Mr. J. Smith, and Mr. Calcraft also opposed the bill, and Mr. Cooper supported it. The motion was then carried, without a division; and the bill having been read the third time, Mr. Bernal, in the absence of Mr. G. Lamb, proposed a clause, by way of rider, limiting the duration of the bill to one year. The motion was opposed by lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, Mr. Plunkett, and the attorney general; and supported by sir J. Mackintosh, Mr. Brougham. Mr. Denman, Mr. Tierney, and lord A. Hamilton. On a division it was negatived by 182 to 47.

On a motion of the attorney general, a clause was adopted, providing "that any thing in the present bill should not extend, or be construed to extend, to the publication of any work in parts or numbers, provided that more than two years had elapsed since the original publication of the work, and provided also that such work had not originally been published in parts or numbers." This clause was carried without opposition. The bill was then passed.

December 23.—Mr. Lyttleton brought in a bill to prevent improper persons practising as conveyancers.

Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee on the libel bill.

On the question for the speaker's leaving the chair, Mr. Bernal, Mr. Denman, Mr. J. P. Grant, and Mr. Birch, opposed the measure, both in its principle and details. It was supported by Mr. R. Martin, Mr. Bankes, and lord Binning. The motion was then carried without a division; and the house having gone into a committee, sir J. Mackintosh proposed that the part of the first clause, which set forth "that from and after the passing of this act, in every case in which any verdict or judgement by default shall be had against any person for composing, printing, or publishing, &c." should be amended by

by inserting the words "maliciously and advisedly" before the word "composing." These words formed part of the act of the 36th George. III. which in all other parts of the present bill were minutely followed. He objected to that part of the clause following the words blasphemous and seditious libel, viz. "tending to bring into hatred or contempt the person of his majesty, his heirs or successors, or the regent or the government and constitution of the united kingdom, as by law established, or either house of parliament, or to excite his majesty's subjects to attempt the alteration of any matter in church or state, as by law established, otherwise than by lawful means," &c. as being vague and confused surplusage, if intended merely as a definition of seditious libel, and as not being sufficiently clear and comprehensive, if intended as a description of an additional class of libels. This passage he proposed to amend by substituting the words "or any seditious libel tending to excite his majesty's subjects to do any act which, if done, would by the existing law be treason or felony; or any libel in which it shall be affirmed or maintained, that his majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, has not, or ought not to have, full power and authority to make laws binding on his majesty's subjects in all cases whatsoever." By this definition, instigations to murder, assassination, and other atrocious offences not touched in the original clause, would be brought under the operation of the bill. But its great advantage would be, that it would distinguish between the casual errors resulting from the warmth of political feeling, in the conductors of the regular daily press, and that class of writers, the outcasts of the human race, who applied themselves exclusively to preaching up irreligion, murder, rapine, the proscription of whole bodies of men, and the perpetration of atrocities never known in this country before, and scarcely even heard in the time of Marat, in the worst period of the reign of terror in France. He then panegyrized the conduct of the daily press in general, and particularly that of the editor of a morning paper, who, though on the side of opposition for 37 years, had never been prosecuted for private slander, nor convicted of a political libel. The conductors of the daily press had been the most efficient supporters of the nation's interest during the late common contest in which we had been engaged; and none had exerted themselves with greater energy and effect against the individuals whose inflammatory productions it was the object of the bill to suppress. Why then were they to be levelled with a set of ruffians, whom they had been the first to combat and defeat? He would not on this occasion appeal either to the mercy or the justice of the house: he would appeal to its prudence, and would ask them whether it was expedient to irritate the feelings of those respectable men against the institutions of their country; for in the present state of society—against which it was as useless to repine as against the planets in their course, since neither could be

be altered—it was impossible that the power of the press could be wrested from them. The house might alienate or conciliate them; but he must again repeat, that it could not destroy them. The honourable and learned member concluded by proposing his first amendment.

Mr. Canning objected to any alteration in the clause, except by such an amendment as might include instigations to assassination. In much of what had been said on the daily press he concurred; but he would not consent to surrender the freedom of parliament to the freedom, or rather the despotism, of the press—a power which, from the description given of it, acted with all the secrecy of a Venetian tribunal, and at the same time struck with all the certainty of the holy inquisition.

Lord Folkestone spoke generally against the provisions of the bill.

Sir J. Mackintosh and Mr. Canning explained.

Mr. Brougham, in supporting the amendment, condemned the appointment of Mr. Manners, the editor of that most slanderous publication the *Satirist*, to a consulship in New England.

Lord Castlereagh said, when the appointment took place, he (lord Castlereagh) was not aware that Mr. Manners had ever been connected with the publication alluded to.

Mr. Scarlett supported the amendment.

The attorney general opposed it, and contended, that in the 36th George III. the words "maliciously and advisedly" referred to words spoken.

Sir J. Mackintosh maintained that it applied to printing and writing, as well as speaking.

After some further discussion, the amendment was negatived without a division, and the clause was agreed to.

On the motion of the attorney general, the clause relative to the punishment of a second offence was verbally amended, so as to prevent the bill from having an *ex post facto* operation.

The attorney general then proposed to amend the clause, by authorizing the court to banish for "a term of years," thus doing away the power of banishing for life.

Sir J. Mackintosh said this was only a more insidious way of enabling the court to do the same thing.

Mr. W. Smith thought the longest duration of banishment should be for seven years.

Lord Castlereagh dissented from this proposition.

Mr. G. Lamb observed, that the present ministers thought banishment a mild punishment. Those of queen Elizabeth had a different opinion, when they enacted banishment as a punishment of greater severity than setting a culprit in the stocks, cutting off both his ears, branding him on the forehead, and making him a slave for two years. The committee then divided on the whole of the clause, when it was carried by 109 to 30.

The rest of the clauses being gone through, the house was resumed, and the report received.

Mr. alderman Heygate moved for leave to bring up a clause limiting the duration of the bill to three years. The motion was seconded by Mr. Denman, and opposed

posed by lord Castlereagh, and negatived without a division.

December 24.—The libel bill, after some observations against it by sir R. Wilson and sir H. Parnell, was passed.

Mr. Irving presented a petition from certain merchants and bankers in London, setting forth the general distress of the commercial and manufacturing classes, praying for an inquiry into its causes, and that such relief should be granted as might be deemed most effectual. Mr. Irving stated that the petitioners wished the attention of ministers to be directed to the removal of the numerous restrictions on our intercourse with foreign countries. The shipping and mercantile interests might, it was supposed, be let in for a share of the trade between China and the continent of Europe, which was at present almost exclusively in the hands of the Americans. In the progress of the bank towards the resumption of cash payments, it was conceived that it would be of great advantage to the commercial interest to have the first price at which the bullion was to be issued extended over the whole payments. No relief could be looked for from a revision of the corn laws, or an alteration of the poor-rates; nor could he agree to Mr. Ricardo's plan of paying off the national debt, in which, so far was there from being any novelty, that it had been repeatedly suggested and discarded within the last 100 years.

Mr. Grenfell expressed his surprise at the presenting of such a petition on the eve of a long adjournment. It was represented to some of the parties applied to to sign it, as having come from lord Castlereagh. He conceived the real secret of the petition was, that it was wished to get rid of the late regulations respecting the currency, which had crippled speculations in the funds and overtrading.

Mr. Irving and Mr. J. Smith denied that the petitioners had any sinister or selfish motives in view.

Mr. Ricardo deprecated any alteration in the regulations made last session for the resumption of cash payments. He conceived much evil had resulted from the corn laws; inasmuch as by raising the price of subsistence they increased the reward of labour, and diminished the profit of capital, thereby occasioning its transfer to other countries. He saw no reason to change his opinion as to the beneficial operation of a tax on capital, to be applied towards the reduction of the national debt.

Mr. Finlay admitted the respectability of the petitioners, but thought a committee of inquiry into the subjects of the petition would produce no good.

Mr. W. Douglas supported the petition.

Mr. Brougham was in favour of inquiry; but to render it beneficial, it must be cordially supported by ministers. Mr. Ricardo's plan for reducing the national debt was one which would have the effect of throwing all the property of the country, for five or six years to come, into the hands of solicitors, conveyancers, and fortune-hunters.

Lord Castlereagh was convinced, that to enter into so wide a field of inquiry would have the tendency to shake, and not to strengthen,

strengthen, the confidence of the commercial world; but if, on the re-assembling of parliament, any member should propose a specific remedy for any of the existing evils, ministers would be found ready to meet the proposition fairly, and to act with a full view of their own responsibility. With regard to the currency, he deprecated any doubts as to the permanency of the arrangement already adopted.

Mr. Ellice regretted that the business of inquiry was not to originate with ministers.

Mr. alderman Wood said, that at least a dozen of the petitioners were favourable to the late regulations as to the currency.

Mr. alderman Heygate had declined signing the petition, on account of its being couched in such general terms. The withdrawing of 9,000,000*l.* from the current circulation could not but produce much commercial embarrassment; but he believed that the greater part of the mischief had already taken place, and was convinced that trade and manufactures would revive as soon as the country clearly saw to what point the diminution in the value of our currency would extend.

House of lords, December 27.—The earl of Donoughmore presented a petition against the libel bill, from the Edinburgh booksellers.

Lord Sidmouth having moved, that the amendments made to the bill by the commons should be read, the earl of Donoughmore moved that they should be read this day three months. The latter motion was negatived, and the amendments were read.

Lord Ellenborough objected to the amendment substituting banishment for transportation.

The lord chancellor did not approve of any of the amendments, but would agree to them, rather than lose the bill.

The earl of Donoughmore disapproved of both the original punishment and the amendment: the cruelty of either was enormous.

Viscount Melville, adverting to the petition from the Edinburgh booksellers, said the present bill made no alteration in the law of Scotland.

The amendments were then agreed to.

Lord Sidmouth then moved the second reading of the newspaper stamp duty bill, and entered into a detailed explanation of its provisions, which, with the other measures lately passed, were, he contended, regarded by the great body of the people, as important safeguards of religion and public tranquillity.

Lord Donoughmore opposed the motion. He considered the measures alluded to as forming a system of pains and penalties inflicted on a distressed and suffering people.

The duke of Athol expatiated on the dangers which threatened the religion and constitution of the country, and justified the measures taken to arrest those dangers. He called upon the noble earl to disclaim any personal allusion to him, or impeachment of his motives, when he thought fit to describe a large portion of their lordships as the instruments of his majesty's ministers.

The earl of Donoughmore and the duke of Athol severally explained.

Lord Harrowby and the lord chancellor supported the bill, which was then read a second time.

House of lords, December 29. —The earl of Liverpool moved the third reading of the newspaper stamp duty bill.

Lord Erskine opposed it, as imposing severe and unnecessary restraints on the press, and particularly objected to the recognisance clause as an anomaly in the British code. He predicted, however, that the bill would not answer the purpose of its projectors; for rather than publish under its provisions, the authors of the publications it sought to put down would continue them in numbers of more than two sheets, or print them monthly, instead of at intervals within 26 days.

Lord Liverpool had no doubt as to the operation of the bill. It should be remembered, that in order to continue the obnoxious publications in their present shape, they must pay the duty in addition to the present price, and the other modes suggested by the noble lord would make them equally dear, or less frequent. The recognisance clause would occasion no difficulty or embarrassment to the respectable part of the press.

Lord Ellenborough supported the bill, as tending only to curb the pauper press, from which so much mischief had arisen to the lower orders.

The bill was then read the third time, and passed.

December 30.—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the libel bill, newspaper stamp duty bill, bakers' regulation continuance bill, and two private bills.

In the house of commons, the same day, Mr. Williams presented a petition from certain Irish labourers residing in the parish of St. Giles, complaining of the distress in which they were involved for want of employment, and praying the house would adopt some step for their relief. The petition having been read, was ordered to be printed.

Lord Castlereagh having moved that the house should on its rising adjourn to the 15th of February,

Mr. Grenfell took the opportunity of observing, that in what he had said of overtrading on a previous evening, he had been misunderstood. He could never have intended to apply it to such houses as the Barings, Smith, English and co. and the seventy or eighty other respectable firms whose signatures were affixed to the petition which called forth his observations.

Lord Castlereagh said that, on the occasion alluded to, Mr. Grenfell had spoken so as to imply some doubt as to the stability of the system adopted last session, as to the currency. He would again assure the house, that there was no intention whatever of interfering with the arrangements then made.

Mr. Calcraft begged leave to enter his protest against any adjournment of the house, without instituting an inquiry into the means of relieving the distresses of the country.

The motion was then agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to a question put to him by Mr. Maberly, as to the statement made by him on a former night, said he had no objection to repeat that statement. He

He then stated, that between the 10th of October and the 10th of December there had been a falling off in the revenue of 150,000*l.* as compared with the corresponding term of last year. This was taking the old and new duties together, and not including Ireland. Since that period, there had been a considerable improvement. He had been misunderstood as to another part of his statement; he had been represented as saying, that he expected there would be an excess above the expenditure of 5,000,000*l.* He did not mean to say so. The arrangement of last session only contemplated an excess of 2,000,000*l.* The rest was to proceed from the new taxes, which he did not contemplate would produce the full 3,000,000*l.* the first year. On the contrary, he did not expect they would yield within that period more than 100,000*l.*

Sir H. Parnell, in moving for several accounts relative to the salaries and expenses of several public boards, observed, that the charges for collecting and managing the revenue fell little short of 6,000,000*l.* a year, the means of reducing which enormous expenditure ought certainly to occupy the serious attention of the house.

Mr. Vansittart assented to the motions of the honourable baronet, but was not very sanguine as to the practicability of much further savings than had already been effected.

The chancellor of the exchequer gave notice, that after the recess the chief justice of Chester would move for leave to bring in a bill to provide for the employment of the poor of the metropolis. He at the same time signified, that the object of the plan was to employ them in the cultivation of Dartmoor.

Sir W. De Crespigny and Mr. H. Davies expressed their satisfaction at the notice now given; and the latter praised the generosity of the prince regent, who had refused to grant a lease of Dartmoor, and reserved it for the purpose of contributing, as far as he could, to the relief of the poor.

Adjourned to the 15th of February.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, during the Year 1819. *—Exports and Imports.*

THE contrast between the internal state of the British empire, during the period that it was engaged in a most expensive, arduous, and protracted contest, —and its state ever since that contest was brought to a termination, much more honourable and successful than it seemed to promise, is very striking; but so much at variance with past experience, and with what was confidently anticipated, that even yet it has never been satisfactorily explained. We have deemed it proper, as being at once instructive and interesting, and comprehending a species of history too little attended to,—to enter on a short exposition of the state of the

agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, during every year in which they have assumed this unprecedented and unaccountable condition: and we shall now proceed to a similar exposition with reference to the year 1819: for though we have hitherto not been able to satisfy ourselves that we have discovered either a single or a combined cause, sufficient to account for the continued depression of our manufactures, commerce, and agriculture,—yet in process of time, circumstances must occur, which by either increasing that depression, or partially lessening it, or exhibiting it in a new point of light, will probably solve this difficult and most important problem.

During the war, even as late as the year 1814, when the first overthrow of Bonaparte was accomplished, the agriculture of this country was in a most flourishing state; land hitherto deemed unsusceptible of cultivation, afforded a good rent, and adequate profits to the farmer; and all conditions of the agricultural classes were advanced several steps in the scale of wealth, intelligence, respectability, and influence. About the year 1814, agriculture first began to experience a depression,—the price of grain fell: inferior land no longer paid for cultivation; even farmers of considerable capital were hard pressed,—and those who possessed little or no capital were driven to ruin. The distress of the agricultural classes continuing, the legislature revised the corn laws, and fixed the importation price of wheat at 80*s.* the quarter, this price being deemed by competent witnesses a sufficient price to remunerate the farmer for the outlay of his capital and his labour, besides enabling him to pay his rent, taxes, &c. It appears from papers laid before parliament, that during the five years which have elapsed since the passing of the new corn bill, the average price of wheat, by which importation has been regulated, has been rather more than 78*s.* per quarter: one year it was as high as 94*s.* and another year as high as 84*s.* the quarter. Notwithstanding this, however, during the year 1819, the agricultural classes have been in a worse state than ever; they complain, and we believe with justice, that their capitals are wasted away, that in many instances the produce of their farms will not enable them to pay any rent, if they support themselves and families even in the plainest and most frugal manner; and that in all cases in which the landlord will either not remit a large proportion of his rent, or permit them to give up their farms altogether, they must be reduced to absolute beggary. And in fact in almost every county of England, particularly in the southern counties, the farmers are giving up their farms in many cases after having lost their whole capital; and the farms thus given up the landlord, unable to re-let, is obliged to keep in his own hands.

In a subsequent chapter we shall point out a cause which, in our opinion, has in no small degree contributed to the distressed state of the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, of the country: as this cause, however, operates on all these, it will be proper not to enter on its consideration in this place, but to confine ourselves to the explanation of

of a cause confined in its operation to agriculture. The landlords have been much blamed for the distresses of the farmers,—or, in other words, it has been contended, that if they did not seek such exorbitant rents, the farmers would not have been reduced to their present distressed condition. But ought not the blame rather to fall on the farmers who give exorbitant rents? Would not that man be laughed at, who in the purchase of any commodity which he afterwards found too dear, and of which he was a competent judge, should blame not his own rashness, but the person from whom he bought it? A farmer, before he agrees to rent land, should calculate the probable produce it will yield, and the expense of obtaining the produce of it:—the expense in labour, manure, &c. in obtaining this produce is fixed, and must be laid out: the parochial and king's taxes are known, and must be paid: the interest he ought to get for the capital he lays out (including in it the expenses of his living) must likewise be known to him: all these being deducted from the value of the produce, what remains is the rent he ought in safety and prudence to give for his farm: if he gives more, he must either fail to pay his landlord, or be content with less than the accustomed rate of interest, or with a humbler mode of life. The parochial and king's taxes must be paid:—if he expends less on labour and manure, the produce of his farm will be less in proportion: these difficulties cannot therefore be lessened, though they may be increased.

It must be acknowledged, however, that this explanation will not stand the test of close and strict scrutiny, if any causes operate to reduce the price of corn below what the farmer has just reason to suppose and calculate it will be on the average of the term during which his lease will continue. For it is evident that his estimate of the value of the produce must be made up of two elements: the first, the quantity of corn, &c. which the farm will produce, if managed in a certain manner; the second, the price at which the various articles of this produce will sell: and it is equally evident that, if he be mistaken in both these particulars, and especially if the mistake happen during the first years of his occupation, it will most probably be fatal to him.

Keeping these particulars in view, let us consider what has happened to the British farmer since the year 1814: we mean what causes peculiar to him (acting in conjunction with the general cause to which we shall afterwards allude) have contributed to his depression and losses. In 1814 the expenses of the war in provisions began to lessen; in the year 1815 these expenses were still further diminished, and foreign corn began to find its way into our markets. In the year 1816 one of the most backward and unproductive harvests ever known afflicted this country: the price of corn was undoubtedly high—94*s.* a quarter for wheat; that is, 14*s.* a quarter above what was considered the fair average remunerating price for the farmer; and this induced many who were ignorant on the subject to exclaim, that the farmers com-

plained without reason, for that, though the crop was deficient, this was amply compensated for by the high price.

Let us however consider this subject a little: in almost every case, the same causes which occasion a scanty crop render the quality of a great portion of the grain very indifferent: this was strikingly the case in the year 1816. The summer and autumn were excessively wet and cold: in some places the corn did not ripen: in almost every spot, it ripened unequally; afforded little meal, and was comparatively destitute of nutrition, if not positively unwholesome. When therefore the average price is said to have been 94*s.*, which after all was an inadequate price, even if all the grain had been good, we must recollect that a very great deal did not bring the half of that price; and that in all these cases the farmers had to labour under a very deficient crop and very inadequate prices. There is however still another consideration: the same causes—cold, and rain—which rendered the crop deficient and bad in quality, obliged the farmers to be at considerable more than their usual expense in harvesting the crop. So that the expense was increased, and the returns were diminished.

The ports being opened after the failure of the crop of 1816, foreign corn was most abundantly poured in, and a clause in the last corn bill was found to produce a very injurious effect on those for whose benefit this bill was principally intended; for it was legal, under this bill, to import foreign corn at all times; but it could not be brought into the market till the average price of wheat was 80*s.*: it might however be warehoused; The granaries therefore, and warehouses, were filled with foreign corn, which was brought to market the very moment the price rose to 80*s.*; and thus it was not possible that the price of wheat should ever continue long above this rate.

The farmers in the south of England again suffered in the year 1818 from causes directly the reverse of those which injured them so deeply in the year 1816; for extreme heat and dry weather seem as injurious to the crops in the south of England, as extreme wet and cold weather. During this year the importation of foreign grain was immense; amounting in value (estimated by the average price of the markets in Britain) to the enormous sum of 11 millions sterling. It may be added, that the value of all the grain imported into Britain to the close of the year 1819, from the passing of the last corn bill, was upwards of 20 millions; the greatest part wheat; and of this a small portion only was re-exported. It is proper however to add, that the corn imported from Ireland is included.

The season of 1819 was also unfavourable to the farmers in the south of England; and it need not be pointed out, for it is sufficiently obvious, with what increased *momentum* losses fall upon and weigh down a man whose stability has been already shaken.

The picture, therefore, which truth obliges us to draw of the state of agriculture, and of the condition and prospects of those engaged in it—labourers as well as tenants—during the year 1819, is very gloomy and discouraging; and

and it is sufficiently evident, that if tenants cannot pay their rents, or even if they can pay their rents only out of their capital, or by sinking in the scale of society, the landlords must ultimately suffer. Without suffering our observation and experience to be led away by the fanciful descriptions of the poets on the subject of the innocence of a country life, or of the superior advantages which a nation derives from a numerous and happy peasantry, we may safely admit that in some very important particulars, that nation is the most virtuous, as well as the most happy, and the best defended against foreign foes, which can boast of a numerous peasantry contented with their condition, and interested in the welfare of their country as inseparably connected with their own welfare. And though it might happen that the wealth of the nation would be increased by deriving our supplies of corn from whatever quarter they could most cheaply be procured, yet an object of much greater account than national wealth—though unfortunately almost always overlooked in the schemes and doctrines of political economists—national virtue and happiness, would receive a deadly wound. The attachment of the manufacturer and merchant to his native soil is feeble and loose, compared with those whose labour is constantly exerted on it, who yearly and almost daily see it yielding the means of their subsistence, and all whose most early and pleasing associations are inseparably connected with it.

The depressed state of agriculture, therefore, which it is our painful duty again to record, is one of the most alarming symptoms of the times: it does not often happen that the capital of the unsuccessful manufacturer or merchant is absolutely lost: it generally is partially preserved, though not by himself, and consequently the loss to the nation is only partial. It is otherwise however with respect to capital employed in agriculture, at least with respect to a large portion of it. Another observation, tending to the same object, may be made: the loss sustained by manufactures or commerce, by a destruction or estrangement of capital, is neither, while it continues, so deeply felt, nor is it so difficult to make up, as the loss or estrangement of agricultural capital. Land which either through ignorance or want of capital gets out of order, requires a large outlay of capital to put it into order again; and while out of order, it is comparatively very unproductive.

Whether any remedy can be applied to the present evils under which agriculture at present labours, it is difficult to say: so far as these evils are peculiar to agriculture, the only remedy, if our preceding observations are correct, must be sought in a reduction of rents: this remedy, with respect to farms out of lease, is entirely in the farmers' own hands: but with respect to farms still held on lease, it rests with the landlords: and those landlords must be selfish as well as short-sighted indeed, who cannot foresee, that the ruin of their tenants, or even the diminution of their capital, must in the issue most materially injure themselves.

From the state of agriculture we shall now turn to the state of

manufactures, during the year 1819. It has been argued, that though the export of our manufactures has considerably decreased, yet the internal consumption has not diminished: and two consolatory inferences are thence derived. In the first place, that our manufacturing population are not so destitute of employment as is represented; and in the second place, that those who purchase the manufactures for home consumption are not so poor as they are represented to be. The argument rests upon certain returns with regard to exciseable articles, such as tea, coffee, malt, tobacco, and British spirits. But there is a fallacy in the inferences deduced from these returns, and the inferences are also contradicted by other notorious facts. Whoever knows the habits and mode of life which prevail among the labouring people, especially in large manufacturing towns, must be sensible that spirits, tea, and tobacco in its various forms, are regarded by them as essential necessaries; and that they will forgo many things more nutritious and wholesome, rather than deprive themselves of these supposed necessaries. If lower wages, therefore, compel them to lay out less, their expenditure will be diminished in almost any thing rather than tea, spirits, and tobacco. It is notorious that tea and bread and butter, and often tea, with scarcely any of the latter, form the chief support of many of the lowest families in the metropolis and elsewhere. From these circumstances it is obvious that no just and warranted inference can be drawn from the fact that the consumption of tobacco, spirits, tea, &c. had either not decreased at all, or had decreased only in a very small proportion.

But the inference from this fact is not only erroneous—it is contradicted by another fact, which, as far as it relates to the place in question, is decisive of the question, and which probably, if proper investigation had been made, would have been proved to have existed in many other places. Of all our manufacturing towns, Birmingham has for the largest space of time been in a dreadful state: nearly one third of the population have, with few and short intervals, been now almost three years either unemployed, or employed at comparatively very low wages. Their means of subsistence are of course necessarily reduced: we do not know whether the consumption of exciseable articles has fallen off in this town; but it has been ascertained from undoubted authority that the consumption of flour and meat has fallen off in a very considerable degree.

Indeed it is absurd to suppose that the fact of the consumption of exciseable articles not having materially diminished is a proof that the consumers are as well off as formerly, when the diminution of most kinds of manufacturing wages—the distress not only among the lower classes, but even among a higher rank both in the agricultural and manufacturing districts—and the enormous increase of the poor rates, are notorious. Those who contend that this non-diminution in the consumption of exciseable articles proves any thing to the point, must contend that it proves that all classes, consuming as much of them

them as before, are as well off as they were before; that is, they must contend that it proves what they themselves do not believe.

But it is admitted even by them, that our external commerce has fallen off very considerably. A return was laid before parliament of the amount, in declared value, of the exports of our produce and manufactured goods since the year 1815. The largest declared value during that period was about 52 millions; the least declared value was in the year 1819, about 37 millions; in the intervening period the declared value had been as low as about 42 millions. Now comparing the exports of the year 1819, with the lowest amount of them previously since 1815, namely 42 millions, there is a decrease of 5 millions, or nearly one eighth: and if compared with the highest amount, 52 millions, there is a decrease of 15 millions, or rather more than one third. This is decisive with respect to the decline of our foreign commerce; but how is it possible that the internal consumption should remain the same at a time when one eighth or one third less goods were either not manufactured or not sold? In either case, the master manufacturer would not be able, or at least not disposed, to employ so many workmen; and it is well known that where fewer are employed—that is in cases where the demand falls off, the rate of wages is depressed: so that not only would fewer have any employment and consequently any wages—but those who continued to be employed would be obliged to work for less wages.—How under these circumstances is it possible that the consumption of exciseable articles should continue the same, unless there was a great diminution in the consumption of articles not liable to excise duties?

From the account of the exports laid before parliament for the period alluded to, it appears that our exports have decreased, during that period, almost in a uniform gradual rate; that they have decreased to almost every country; and that, with some trifling exceptions, all the most important productions of our manufactures have been exported in a diminished degree.

The causes of this diminution of foreign commerce, not depending on any circumstances existing within this country, or at least not essentially so depending, may be investigated in this place; but we are afraid the investigation will not lead to the discovery of any cause, or combination of causes, sufficiently satisfactory to account for the fact. There are two circumstances well known, that will, however, as far as they go, account for it: in the first place, almost every country on the continent of Europe, as well as the United States of America, are suffering under a great depression of trade; or, in other words, in these countries there is little demand for labour, consequently low wages, and a diminished capability of purchasing. Now it does not require to be elucidated or insisted upon, that where a man's sales decrease, his purchases must decrease also: this fact would seem at first sight to be decisive of the question, but a little reflection will convince us that it is not so. The great external purchasers of these nations were the

the British: so far, therefore, as their poverty and distress arise from the diminution of our purchases, no explanation can be drawn with respect to the cause of the decline of our foreign commerce; for such an explanation would be only saying that our foreign commerce declines, because foreign nations have become poorer, and they have become poorer, because we buy less from them. It is thus evident that we are thus brought back, to account for the decline of our foreign commerce, to a cause existing not in foreign nations, but in ourselves. At the same time it is evident, that want of internal demand, which after all is the great source of wealth, must have a greater effect in producing the poverty of foreign nations, and consequently in diminishing their capability of buying our manufactures, than want of our external demand for their produce. As it seems probable that many of the causes which diminish our internal demand, or in other words have paralysed the very sinews of our industry and wealth, have operated on the continent of Europe and in the United States of America, we shall in a subsequent chapter, when we advert to the causes of our distress, at the same time allude to, and endeavour to explain the causes of the distress felt in those countries.

But in the second place, besides the poverty of the continent of Europe and of the United States, it is well known, that with respect to the former at least, there is a national and powerful antipathy to the consumption of British manufactures. It is probable that on the return of wealth this antipathy would vanish; and it is also probable that, even in the midst of their poverty, the temptation which the greater cheapness of English goods holds out, will be too strong, in many cases, for their antipathy to us. But this antipathy does to a certain degree produce its effects; and though, if our manufactures here were flourishing, these effects might safely be despised, yet in the present depressed state of our manufactures they contribute not a little to aggravate that depression. It is worthy of remark too, that many of the sovereigns of Europe who exclaimed most loudly against the continental system of Bonaparte, and who are mainly indebted to Britain for re-establishing them on their thrones, are pursuing a system of exclusion of British manufactures. It must be a long time before countries destitute of our skill, capital, persevering industry, mechanical experience and improvements, and coal mines, can essentially and permanently injure us by their rivalry: but we should recollect that some of our now principal manufactures were nurtured and reared up by a system of exclusion, and that foreign nations are only imitating the example we set them, and, having seen us flourish by such a system, are naturally desirous of pursuing the same.

There are, however, some material points in which they differ from what we were at the period when we began to nurse up our infant manufactures, by prohibiting or heavily taxing foreign manufactures. The nations we meant to rival possessed very little capital, manufacturing skill, or improvements,

provements, compared to what we do at present, when foreign nations are attempting to rival us. On the other hand, these advantages on our part are in a great degree balanced by our excessive taxation; and we are afraid that foreign nations will acquire capital, skill, and industry long before our taxation will be reduced so low, as not to form an equipoise to our capital, industry, and skill. If this should be the case, it is evident that a country equal to this in all respects necessary for the flourishing of manufactures, and not burdened with its taxation, must successfully rival it.

Before we conclude this chapter, we shall offer one remark on a subject connected with its topics, not generally understood. The falling off in the excise branch of the revenue is deemed a worse symptom of our state, than a falling off in the custom branch: it is undoubtedly, so far as it indicates a falling off in our internal trade, which, as we have already observed, is the most material source of national wealth: but it is erroneous to suppose that a falling off in the excise and custom branches to an equal amount, indicates an equal depression of commerce. The excise duties are very heavy; in most cases nearly 100 per cent. in some cases much more: the custom duties, on the other hand, are comparatively light; perhaps they do not average 20 per cent. Let us take the excise duties at 100 per cent. and the custom duties at 33 per cent. Now, supposing there is a falling off in the excise duties to the amount of one million; it is evident that, as the duties are 100 per cent. on the value, there is a diminution in the produce or consumption of exciseable articles to the amount of one million. Let us suppose that the custom duties fall off also one million; it is equally evident that on the supposition that they are at the rate of 33 per cent. on the value, the diminution in the produce or consumption of articles liable to custom duty will be 3 millions, as the duty is 33 per cent. or about one third of the value.

CHAPTER IX.

State of the Circulation—Report on the Bank Restriction—Forgery of Bank Notes.

IT is well known that the restriction on cash payments was to cease within a certain period after the conclusion of peace. This period arrived; but the restriction was continued, and apprehensions were entertained by some, while hopes were cherished by others, that the restriction would never be taken off. The state of the circulation, however, seems at length to have compelled ministers seriously to resolve to return to cash payments.

This state of the circulation was in some respects very singular. We have seen in a former volume that between three and four millions of gold were coined; and that at the same time there was a large coinage

age of silver at 5*s.* 6*d.* an ounce, instead of 5*s.* 2*d.* the former rate: in other words, a pound of silver was coined into 66 shillings instead of 62. In a very short time after the gold coin was issued from the mint, it disappeared. With respect to the silver coin, it was supposed that the country would be inundated with forged coin, since an ounce of silver bullion bought for 5*s.* 2*d.* could be coined into legal shillings, and produce in this form 5*s.* 6*d.* This, however, has not happened.—The disappearance of the gold coin seems to have convinced government, that all attempts to resort effectually to the old circulation of the country, would not only be ineffectual, but attended with very great expense, so long as the bank had the power of issuing their notes, unpayable in cash. It was resolved, therefore, to take off the restriction; but the mode of effecting this object, so as to produce as little evil as possible, during the passage from bank-notes not payable on demand, to bank-notes payable on demand, required great caution.

It was palpably evident, that if the bank of England were compelled to pay their notes immediately, and to any amount, in coin, while gold was above the mint price, that is above 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*, they might soon be drained of all their specie, even by the instrumentality of a few individuals, and a comparatively trifling sum. For let us suppose gold to be at 4*l.* 4*s.* the ounce, and that the bank were compelled to pay their notes in cash at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per ounce; if a person took 100*l.* in notes to the bank, he of course for them would obtain gold at the latter rate, which he might immediately sell at the former rate for 100*l.* additional bank notes; and thus go on repeating the operation till the drain of gold from the bank was such as to reduce the market price of gold to its mint price.

It was necessary, therefore, that the bank should be protected; it was also necessary that regular commerce should not be cramped, either during the passage from notes to cash, or after the passage was completed: on this head several topics were to be investigated; the real effects which had followed from the restriction on the bank, and the consequent great increase of bank of England and provincial notes, and the facility of discount and accommodation which that increase afforded; the effect on the foreign exchanges, and through them on foreign commerce, which our paper circulation had produced, and which was likely to be produced by a return to cash payments; the amount of circulating medium of different descriptions that was necessary to carry on the commercial transactions of the country. These topics were investigated by the committees of both houses, which sat to deliberate on the resumption of cash payments.

There was one topic, however, which both the committees seem in a great measure to have overlooked; we allude to the diminished facility of paying the same amount of taxes, with a decreased circulation. As we shall have occasion hereafter to allude particularly to this point, we shall merely observe in this place, that this topic of inquiry, as it affected the

the nation at large, as well as the government, ought, in our opinion, to have been investigated with more diligence and completeness than any other topic.

Most of the witnesses who were examined by the committees, were men of the most extensive practical knowledge and experience in commerce and in money transactions. Some of them united to this a very high character for an intimate and profound acquaintance with the science of political economy; and yet, the evidence, where it does not speak to mere facts, but extends to an explanation of the causes and consequences of facts, and much more so, where it embraces principles of political economy, appears to us so vague, obscure, unsatisfactory, or contradictory, as to confirm us in an opinion which we have long held, that the science of political economy is still in its infancy, not only with respect to its elements, but with respect to any extended, regular, and safe application of it to practical purposes. Having premised these remarks, we shall now give an abstract of the report of the house of commons: that of the house of lords of course embraces the same topics, and treats them in a similar manner.

The report, though divided into three, may be comprised in two parts: 1. On the state of the bank of England; 2. On the resumption of cash payments. The argument comprised in the first part is simply this:—The bank is solvent, and can pay in specie, if government will clear off the public debt. The solvency of the bank is thought to result from the fact, that the government owes the bank more than the bank owes its creditors,—that is, the holders of its notes: the solvency of the bank, therefore, rests upon the solvency of the state; and the solvency of the state, we add, upon the economical administration of its revenues. As to the second part of the proposition,—that the bank can pay in specie as government discharges its debt,—we may observe, that it appears as a matter of fact, that the bank did at one period resume a partial payment in cash: this period was from November 1816 till the beginning of 1818; and previous to the commencement of this period, namely, from the month of August 1815 to February 1816, "a material reduction of the debt to the bank had taken place, it being reduced at the latter epoch to 18,988,300*l.*" It was no doubt this reduction that inspired the bank with the idea, and communicated to it the power, of recommencing cash payments: but the point of starting was ill chosen; for about the time that they made their partial issues, government recommenced the destructive habit of getting into fresh debts with them, and the result is known—the course of exchange altered, the money issued flew out of the country, and further issues are stopped by law. Not to embarrass our readers, therefore, or ourselves, with extraneous matter, it appears that to whatever extent government diminishes its debt to the bank, to that extent does the latter possess a control over its issues, and can supply the diminution of notes thus created (*i. e.* sent in by government), by a similar issue for the purchase of bullion,—by a similar issue for the

the discount of mercantile bills,—or by no issue at all,—simply cancelling that portion of its debt with the public. What then, we ask, is the practical result from all this? Why, that if the bank cannot at the same time pay its own notes in circulation and suffer government to remain in its debt, the directors should by all means press government for the liquidation of the debt now standing; making also, with a view to mutual convenience, now when the time of repayment is come, a proper allowance for the gains, —the exorbitant gains,—which their concern has derived from the distresses of the state, and the wants of government; but above all, on no account, and on no occasion, suffering government to increase its debt. With respect to the insolvent debtors' act, now or lately so much contested, our firm opinion is, that nine times out of ten the creditor ought to be sent to gaol, instead of, or along with, the debtor: and in the more important instance now before us, we are well aware that it was from no particular love of their country that the bank accommodated the state, but rather from a particular love of its money. It is time, therefore, that this relation between the needy debtor and rapacious creditor should cease, by the former adopting a system of rigid economy, and the latter contracting its affairs to a manageable compass. We trust, therefore, that with the proposed loan the bank will have neither directly, nor intermediately, any concern; that none of the government securities will come into its bureaux to increase a debt already so injurious to the people; but that those who undertake the loan will do it out of their own stores, and on their own responsibility.

The 2d and 3d heads, contracted into one, relate to the time of resuming cash payments. The first era of payment in gold is to be not later than February 1820, at the price of 4*l.* 1*s.* per ounce; the second, in October 1820, at 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ounce; the third era in May 1821, at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the mint price; and this last issue of bullion is to continue for not less than two, (1823,) nor more than three (1824) years. Upon this whole project it has been said, that if the bank at first supplies gold at only the current price, no one need carry his notes thither to buy the metal; and if at the last era (we add, for the sake of completing the argument), the current and standard price coincide in 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*, none still need carry their notes to the bank above other places to buy bullion. But it is not the object of the act, we reply, to send people to the bank in preference to other places to buy the metal, but to *make* the price of that metal *every where* coincide, at the given eras, with the corresponding prices affixed. For example, in February 1820, the price of gold might otherwise rise *above* 4*l.* 1*s.*; but the act in that case would come into play, and oblige the bank so to reduce its notes in quantity, that they shall have increased in value up to the point, that gold shall *not reckon* against them *at a higher rate than* 4*l.* 1*s.* per ounce. Again, the price of gold may not have sunk by October 1820, to 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ounce; but then the quantity of bank notes in circulation must

must be so diminished by that time, as not to suffer gold to be higher in a barter between the two. And the same reasoning will apply to the last era, 1821: for though the value of gold should not sink, it is obvious that the value of bank notes must rise, in proportion as there are fewer of them in circulation. The act, therefore, imposes on the bank the necessity to limit their circulating notes in quantity, and improve them in quality; that they shall be able to purchase bullion all England over, at the specified rates, at the specified times.

Such are the steps by which it is thought that the bank may return to the complete payment of its notes in coin, by 1823 at the earliest, or 1824 at the latest; and such also is the general nature of the measure proposed in the important report laid before the house of commons.

Connected with the subject of the resumption of cash payments, is that of the forgery of bank notes. It is evident that as soon as gold coin becomes again plentiful, there would be less occasion for one pound bank notes; and as the forgery of them is much more considerable than that of notes of a greater value,—if their circulation were diminished, the temptations and means of forgery would also be diminished. The dreadful number of persons annually executed or transported for uttering forged notes, has long been a source of horror to every well constituted mind; and it has equally been a matter of astonishment that the bank before this has not, in some degree at least, prevented the commission of so much crime. It is impossible to imagine for a moment that the bank directors can look with indifference on such a sacrifice of human life, and such an accumulation of vice and misery, as the forging of their notes occasions: and it is equally at variance with common candour to suppose, that the profits arising to the bank solicitor from prosecutions for forgery have any influence either with him or the bank directors. Neither of these suppositions can be admitted; and yet how can we account for these facts?—That the bank of England notes are executed in a much more slovenly and imperfect manner than the notes of the banks of Ireland or Scotland, or of most provincial notes—and that, in consequence of this imperfect execution, they are much more frequently forged; and that, while thousands are taken up for uttering these forged notes, there has not been an instance for years of a person having been apprehended and brought to trial for actually being engaged in forging them?

A committee has at length been appointed to inquire into the best means of preventing forgery of bank notes: this committee has made several preliminary reports; and it is generally believed that the result of their inquiries, experiments, and scientific knowledge will soon appear, and that bank notes will be issued that it will be scarcely possible to imitate.

We are well aware of the difficulty of the undertaking, and that two things scarcely compatible must be achieved before such bank notes can be produced. The distinctive mark or marks between a genuine and a forged note

note must be so obvious that they may be distinguished at once, without time or trouble, by the most superficial and ignorant observer; and yet, though so obvious, they must be incapable of imitation, without so much time, expense, and skill, as are by no means likely to be bestowed by any person whose habits or means of life would induce him to become a forger.

CHAPTER X.

Finances—New Taxes—Sinking Fund—Finance Reports—Expenditure—Windsor Establishment.

THAT branch of political economy which relates to the finances of a country, has always been considered as particularly involved and difficult of comprehension: but we do not think it is naturally and essentially so; for if the finances of a country were kept on the same plain simple principle as the account of a well regulated family, or an intelligent merchant, the mere circumstance of their magnitude should not create that almost inextricable confusion, in which we observe the finances to be involved. This confusion is not necessary or essential, but in part accidental, and in part it would almost seem designed. It is in part accidental, because, though the concerns and the expenditure of the nation extended, and consequently required more taxes, and a greater variety of branches of expenditure, yet these taxes and this multiplied expenditure were not classed, but in general added as separate and distinct heads. Thus we still keep up a separate head for the consolidated fund; the receipt of the taxes under that head, and the charges upon it; whereas the simplest and best way in every respect would be to have one grand head for the receipt of all the taxes, and one grand head of expenditure,—with the subdivisions according to the particular nature of the taxes on the one hand, and the particular nature of the expenditure on the other.

But the confusion and perplexity seem to be in part designed. It is a maxim with statesmen (we think a very unsafe and foolish one) to conceal what is unfortunate, or at least to diminish it, and to exaggerate what is prosperous: acting on this principle, they of course wish as much as possible to conceal from the nation the real state of the finances when they are bad. And this they can do most effectually, by keeping the accounts of the nation in a rude and complicated state.—There is another source of mistake to which we alluded in a former volume: if the receipts of an individual do not meet his expenditure, and he is obliged to borrow money in order to make up the deficiency, his affairs are regarded, and justly so, as bad; why should not the same sentence be pronounced on the affairs of a nation, if it was unable to meet its expenditure, only by borrowing annually? And yet this is not the case: the nation is congratulated by its rulers, and is

too

too apt to congratulate itself, if it can raise money on advantageous terms, or even not on hard terms. The expenditure is defrayed, and it seldom is considered that the mode in which it is defrayed increases the difficulties of the nation, and is in fact a most decisive proof that its finances are growing worse.

But of all the deceits practised on the nation, or to which it fondly lent itself, in spite of the clearness that a question of mere figures is capable of receiving, and in spite of the dictates of common sense, that of the sinking fund was the most glaring. It believed that it had a real sinking fund; and that the real sinking fund amounted to about twelve or fourteen millions,—was annually increasing, and would in the course of half a century pay off all the national debt. And this belief was entertained and encouraged when the fact was notorious, that this pretended sinking fund of twelve or fourteen millions was made up, almost entirely, of borrowed money; or, in other words, while the nation was paying a certain number of its creditors eight or ten millions, it was borrowing from others the same amount. This would have been only an absurd and useless transaction if the money paid and the money borrowed had borne the same interest; but it in general happened, that while the money borrowed bore 5 per cent. interest, the money paid bore a lower interest. This may easily be explained. When a portion of the national debt in the 3 per cents., for instance, is paid off, at a time when this stock is at 60, it is evident that the sinking fund will accumulate at the rate of 5 per cent., because for every 60*l.* paid off, 3*l.* interest is added to the sinking fund; which is in fact 5 per cent. interest: but if the 3 per cent. stock is above 60, (which it generally is,) it is equally evident, that for the sum paid off, an addition will be made to the sinking fund at a less rate than 5 per cent.

At length it was rumoured that it was the intention of ministers to abolish the sinking fund; or, to speak more properly, no longer to keep it up by borrowing; but to allow only a real sinking fund to exist: that is, to confine the sinking fund to the excess (if any) of the receipt above the expenditure. But as this excess could not be calculated at more than two millions, and as this would create a sinking fund very inadequate to the reduction of the debt, the chancellor of the exchequer resolved to lay on some new taxes; the principal of these were,

A tax of 1*s.* 2*d.* a bushel on malt, estimated annual produce -	£ 1,400,000
A tax on tobacco - -	500,000
Coffee and cocoa - -	130,000
Pepper - - -	30,000
Spirits distilled in England -	500,000
Tea - - - - -	130,000
6*d.* a lb. on foreign wool imported - - -	500,000
Total -	£3,190,000

Besides this, there was a plan of allowing any individual, for an immediate addition of 5 per cent., and in some cases of 10 per cent. on his assessed taxes, to be free from any increase for three years, whatever additions he may make during that period to his establishment. There was also a loan to be raised of twelve millions; half

of which was to be secured on exchequer bills, at a premium of one per cent., or, in other words, the floating debt in the shape of exchequer bills was to be reduced six millions, and the funded debt was to be increased by the addition of these six millions and six millions of loan. The necessity for a loan to this amount was unfortunately more apparent by an exhibition of the state of our finances in April 1819. From tables published containing the net produce of the revenue for 1818 and 1819, ending in April,—the returns of the specific articles of excise,—the revenue of Great Britain for the years and quarters ending 5th April 1818 and 1819, exclusive of the arrears of war duty on malt and property,—and the income and charge on the consolidated fund in the quarter ending 5th April 1819,—the following among other facts appear.

The first table is the most comprehensive: it includes the consolidated fund, the annual duties, and the war taxes. We observe from this, that the consolidated fund amounted for 1818 to upwards of 39,500,000*l.*; and for the year just ended, to about 42,250,000*l.*; the annual duties for the same periods respectively, to 2,941,841*l.*, and to 3,154,937*l.* In the war taxes, owing to the declension of the arrears of property-tax, the year before that just closed has the advantage; the aggregate in April, 1818, being 4,700,000*l.*; and in April, 1819, 3,600,000*l.* The total revenue, therefore for 1818 is 47,247,631*l.*, and for 1819. 49,056,563*l.*, making a difference in favour of the year just closed of 1,808,932*l.*

In the first table, the improvement in excise is from 16,799,725*l.* to 19,058,925*l.*, or upwards of 2,000,000*l.*; and in the second table, under the head of excise, the chief improvement is in articles relating to brewery—beer, malt, and hops. Under these heads the excess amounts to nearly 1,500,000*l.*, which again is nearly equal to the whole excess.

From the third table the decrease of revenue appears to be in stamps, miscellaneous, and the assessed taxes.

In the fourth table the charges of the quarter exceed the revenue by only 148,300*l.*; but it must be observed that among these charges is nearly 3,000,000*l.* for the national debt,—a sum which, when supplied by the revenue, does not go to the liquidation of our current expenses. And the whole account closes with a most tremendous postscript; for it informs us, that there is still a total excess of charge to be provided for, amounting to upwards of SIX MILLIONS.

It was strongly insisted on in the house of commons, that most of the new taxes were objectionable in so far as they would press most heavily on the lower orders of the people: and this was denied by ministers in a most extraordinary manner; for they contended that the addition of these taxes to those before imposed on malt, tea, spirits, tobacco, &c. would not enhance the price of those articles; because the manufacturers of, or dealers in them, would, even after the additional taxes were imposed, still have a fair profit, even if they sold them at the former prices. This may be the case occasionally, or for some

some time; but no fact can be less disputable than that the consumers ultimately pay the taxes; and for the most part, not merely the taxes, but something more, in order to reimburse the dealer for the additional capital he must employ, when he has in the first instance a greater amount of tax to advance.

But independent of these considerations, the new taxes were on articles already so heavily taxed, that they could hardly be expected to yield more. The tax on tea, previous to the new tax, amounted to 95 per cent. on its original prices, and produced about three millions per annum; the additional duty is about one 23d part of the former duty. The former duty on coffee produced 200,000*l.* The former duty on tobacco produced about two millions, exceeding the original cost of the article in the proportion of nearly five to one. The new duty, calculated at 500,000*l.*, amounts of course to one-fourth of the former duty.

In our former volume we alluded to the reports of the select committee on finance. Committees on various topics connected with our revenue and expenditure, as well as on the management of different departments of government, have sat during the last 30 years; and yet it would not be easy to point out any beneficial result which their inquiries and labours and reports have produced. They have either not come to any decisive recommendation of what ought to be done, or their recommendation, after appearing in the form of a voluminous report, has been forgotten and neglected. The finance reports to which we have alluded have not perhaps been less serviceable than those which preceded them; but they have not been more beneficial. One good result however may be derived from them; they contain information to which we otherwise could not have access, from which a tolerably clear view of our real financial state and prospects may be gathered:—we say a tolerably clear view, because, from the circumstances already mentioned, it is hardly possible even with the utmost skill, talent, and labour, and with the best intention so to do, to exhibit a luminous and really accurate statement of our finances: and consequently it is evident that if skill, talent, labour, or intention are wanting, these reports will lead us astray, if we trust to them to exhibit a clear and accurate picture of our finances.

The first report opens with an assurance that the expectations expressed by the old committee had been even more than verified; which expectations were "that the revenue would again reach the state at which it was, and from which it suddenly fell, at the close of the war." Tables are then presented of the actual revenue of the year just closed, and of the prospective estimate which the last committee made of it in their fourth report, ordered to be printed in the year 1817: from which tables it appears, that the revenue has proved larger in England than this two years' old estimate, by 2,000,000*l.* and in Ireland less than the estimate, by nearly 400,000*l.* Now, to compare one table with another, of actual receipts or disbursements in different years, imparts,

no doubt, useful knowledge: but to us it is not so clear what good can be derived from a comparison of the actual receipt of a year, with an erroneous conjectural estimate of its probable amount made long before the year commenced; except it be to show, that the committee, which laid the estimate for the two kingdoms below the subsequent receipt by above 1,500,000*l.*, was but under the greater necessity at that time of endeavouring to diminish the expenditure also.

The second tables are more useful than the first; they compare the net produce of Great Britain and Ireland for the year last ended in January 1819, with that of the year ended in January 1818; from which it appears, that the receipts of 1819 exceed those of 1818, for the united kingdom, by 1,898,479*l.* The receipts for the year just closed are made to amount, by the sale of old naval stores and some other trifling additions, to 54,053,937*l.*

The expenditure follows: and this also, for what reason we cannot see, the committee compares with a conjectural estimate made of it in the eleventh report of the last committee. It is useless for us to dwell long upon conjectures when we have facts. We shall, however, just notice that the committee, which estimated our receipts at less than their amount, laid our expenditure also at more; thus making the difference between our income and expenses wider than has proved to be the case: and yet with this conviction of our deteriorating circumstances, did it take no step to bring down our outgoings to the level of our means.

But to come at length to the fatal truth resulting from the tables. Our expenses in 1818 were 67,707,088*l.*, exceeding our revenue, above given, by thirteen millions six hundred and fifty-three thousand one hundred and fifty-one pounds. This, in few words, is the debtor and creditor state of our account for last year.

But in the course of the same year there was applied to the reduction of the national debt, the sum of 15,336,935*l.*, which makes a part of the above 67,000,000*l.*: deducting the 15,000,000*l.* from the 67,000,000*l.*, and that remainder from the 54,000,000*l.* of income, there will remain only 1,683,784*l.*

Expenditure . .	£67,707,088
Income	54,053,937
Deficiency . . .	13,653,151
Redemption of debt	15,336,935
Deficiency . . .	13,653,151
Remainder . . .	1,683,784

and this sum is, in fact, all that is applicable from last year to the extinction of the national debt.

The amount of the funded debt is generally known. The following is a comparative estimate of the unfunded debt in the two years specified:—

1819 . . .	£53,133,882
1816	49,155,446

The second finance report relates to the army; but it sets out with an observation which proves that its labours could not be of very great avail, for it thinks it proper to avoid giving any opinion on the numerical amount of the army; and yet this is the most essential part of the subject.

The state of the army follows, in

in several tables, which offer no propositions of public utility, but merely recite the course which has been pursued, or imposed by circumstances. The first and second are returns of the men and horses discharged since last October, amounting to 31,916 rank and file, and 4,493 horses. From hence results in table C. the regimental peace establishment, exclusive of the troops in India, amounting to—

Cavalry	8,954
Foot guards, . .	5,760
Infantry, . . .	55,080
	69,794

Then follows a comparison of the above establishment with that of antecedent years, from which it appears that the total numerical force reduced since 1817 will be 55,802 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.

A reduction of men might be expected to be attended with a reduction of expense; but the troops in 1818 being less than those in 1819 by 9142 men, the charge of the latter is greater by 88,834*l.*

Estimates for 1818 .	£6,493,967 13 10
Do. for 1819 .	6,582,802 12 3

The articles in which the estimates of 1819 exceed those of 1818 are staff, public departments, half-pay allowances, hospitals, &c.

The third report of the select committee relates to the navy. This report informs the public, that

The total vote in 1818 was .	£6,547,809 17 3
And that the estimate for 1819 is . .	6,527,781 12 7
Decrease in 1819	20,028, 4 8

The chief thing which at present strikes us as deserving attention, occurs at page 91 of the report: here, after it is stated respecting the victualling-office, that

The charges in 1818 amounted to	£47,995 10 0
In 1819 to	47,827 10 0

it is added—

"As this office continues to wear an appearance differing from that of all departments, arising from the number of extra clerks employed in it, your committee have thought it right to enter into a detailed examination of the reasons for this difference: with this view, they called for the following returns:—

"A return of the number of accounts in arrear at the victualling-office, in the year ending the 31st of December, 1818, distinguishing the different heads of service to which they belong, and the year in which the arrear has taken place:

"A statement of the number of clerks employed in conducting the current business of the department, as well as of the number employed in the examination of the arrear accounts."

The demand for these returns produced a letter, too long to insert, from the commissioners of the victualling-office, addressed to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, "detailing the state of business in the office, and entering into particulars, which satisfied the committee, that, however unlike the practice of other departments the manner of stating the detail of this office in these estimates may be, it appears that there are no grounds for supposing that the public have not had the full benefit of the services of

the establishment"—(a very singular mode of speaking, more especially when coupled with what follows, namely, a recommendation to recast the whole office).

"With a view of retaining that portion of this establishment which it is desirable for the public to maintain, and of discharging that which may be found unnecessary, your committee recommend a revision and reconstruction of this office by the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

"They recommend the total extinction of that class entitled extra clerks, in time of peace: an establishment necessary for the due discharge of the duties of this office should be maintained, and when a temporary pressure of business occurs, 'extra clerks,' to meet the emergency, should be engaged, and should be discharged when the cause ceases."

At page 96, a notable measure of retrenchment is proposed in the following terms:—

"Establishment of the royal naval asylum for 1,000 orphan children of sailors and marines.

"This is a charge which appears for the first time in the navy estimates, on account of the establishment means being insufficient to cover its expenditure.

"Upon an examination of the different items of charge by which it is proposed to be maintained, your committee do not observe any sum which appears to them to be unreasonable. To the charge for such an establishment as this, whether naval or military, they would not object, were the income of the country more adapted to meet its expenditure. Under existing circumstances, your committee cannot concur in recommending to the house, to engage in an annual expenditure to this amount."

This retrenchment, so paltry in itself, and striking as it does at a measure of indisputable humanity, justice, and, we will add, policy, was very properly rejected, when it came before parliament.

One of the most calamitous consequences of the distressed state of the country is, that the taxes necessarily falling off in consequence of this distress, a more strict and rigorous collection is employed, in order to make up as far as possible for the deficiency; and thus the pressure of taxation becomes greater and more galling at the very time when it should be rendered more easy and tolerable. Of all the taxes, the assessed taxes, as they are called, produce more dissatisfaction, litigation, and oppression than any others. From a statement presented to the house of commons it appears, that within the year 1818 there had been 139,000 surcharges, 39,000 of which were appealed against. These undoubtedly arise from two circumstances principally: in the first place, obscurity in the mode of pointing out the articles to be taxed; and secondly, the character of the surveyors, and the system adopted by them. The acts of parliament imposing or modifying the taxes are not always clear and definite; and the schedules drawn up from those acts, and sent by the assessors to every householder, are still more confused and intricate. It is no wonder, therefore, if the middling

middling classes of society, who compose the great bulk of the people taxed, cannot understand the schedules, and probably would not be able to understand the acts of parliament, even if they had time to consult them. Omissions consequently are frequent; and this gives a fair opportunity to a surveyor of increasing his own income, by inflicting an additional tax on that of his neighbour. The surveyors, too, are not always of the most respectable description; and as they receive a portion of the sum received on each surcharge, from these causes much oppression and injustice take place. All these grievances might be remedied, as well as the necessity of having recourse to odious and oppressive taxes, or to taxes which directly break in upon the morals and indirectly on the industry and wealth of the community, such as the lottery, if the finances of the country were in such a state, that ministers could for a very few years provide for the expenditure, notwithstanding the trifling defalcation that would be occasioned by the abolition or modification of these taxes, with the certainty that ultimately the revenue would be more productive. But the state of the revenue and expenditure are such, that the increase of the former cannot be purchased at the expense of even a trifling diminution of it for a few years.

What then are our prospects? In peace our revenue is barely equal to our expenditure, or if there be any actual surplus, it is so very trifling that its operation as a sinking fund on our enormous debt must be very slow and weak indeed. In the event of war, our expenditure must necessarily far exceed our revenue; but we shall not anticipate hostilities. During peace therefore is there any likelihood that there will be such a surplus of revenue as to afford a powerful sinking fund? We are afraid not: it must proceed either from an increased revenue or a diminished expenditure. To expect an increased revenue from new taxes is absurd: we are drained already as much as we can bear; and we are afraid there is little room to hope that the present taxes will be more productive to any material extent. If trade does not revive, they cannot possibly: and there seems no reason to expect that trade will materially improve. With respect to diminished expenditure, the diminution cannot be looked for in the interest of the debt, unless the sinking fund become larger; and that it cannot become unless our taxes are more productive; and even if the sinking fund were larger, the expenditure would not be reduced by means of it to us of the present generation, because taxes are levied on the redeemed as well as the unredeemed debt. Our navy is reduced as much as it can be, and more than it ought: our army ought to be reduced more; but this ministers will not do. The other principal branch of expenditure is the civil list: and though the deaths of some branches of the royal family may occasionally reduce it, yet it is equally obvious that it is liable to be brought up again to its former amount by an increase of the royal family. In 1819 the regula-

tion of the Windsor establishment came before parliament, in consequence of the death of the queen. A grant of 100,000*l.* per annum had formerly been made to the king for life, in order to support his establishment at Windsor; and a further grant was voted to the queen of 58,000*l.* per annum, besides 10,000*l.* per annum for travelling expenses, making altogether 168,000*l.* per annum. On the death of the queen parliament determined to reduce the annuity allotted for the support of the king to 50,000*l.*: this, with the 58,000*l.* granted to the queen, and which of course expired at her death, made the total reduction in the Windsor establishment amount to 108,000*l.* per annum. Out of this however there was granted by parliament 25,000*l.* per annum for allowances to her majesty's servants, making a saving to the public of 83,000*l.* per annum. The sum of 10,000*l.* a year was granted to the duke of York for his travelling expenses, he succeeding to the queen in the care of his majesty's person. This last arrangement created a great deal of discussion, as our readers will perceive, in parliament; and the question of its necessity and propriety was agitated with equal keenness among the public at large. In its favour the only argument of real weight was that the same sum had been granted to the queen: to this it was replied that an unnecessary grant having expired, care ought to have been taken not to renew it; and that it was impossible it could cost either the queen or the duke of York 10,000*l.* a year to travel between London and Windsor. The fact was, the duke of York was in want of money; and this was eagerly embraced as a fair reason for increasing his income.

CHAPTER XI.

Causes of the Distress in the Country—Depression of Prices—how operating—Causes of that Depression—Reduction of Bank Issues—Poor Laws—Remedies proposed—Mr. Owen's Plan—Emigration to the Cape—America—Waste Lands—Roads—Reform in Parliament.

THE distress in the country being so general and deep, and having continued so long, with so little prospect of being abated, it became necessary to seek some other cause for it than the mere transition from war to peace. That this transition would disturb the distribution of commerce, wealth, and industry, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as to produce a considerable degree of distress, there could be no doubt:—but it is equally certain, that if no other cause of a more permanent and powerful nature operated in conjunction with this transition, the effects of the latter would soon cease. The difficulty was in finding out this more permanent and powerful cause. If inquiry was made among the distressed agriculturists or manufacturers respecting the mode

mode in which they were affected, the universal reply was that prices were too low, and that there was little or no demand even at low prices. If lowness of price had been confined to one of these classes, it is easy to perceive in what manner they might have been reduced to distress; but it does not appear how distress should follow from lowness of price among both classes. If the articles produced by the agriculturists and manufacturers (and they in fact comprise all the productive classes in the community,) fall in price, it is very plain, that though on the one hand the agriculturist has reason to complain because he sells his produce low, on the other hand he has reason to rejoice, insomuch as he buys manufactured produce cheap: and the same remark applies to the manufacturer; if he sells cheap, he buys cheap. There must be a period, indeed, during which one of these classes will suffer more than the other, because whatever affects prices, so as to raise or depress them permanently, will affect the prices of some articles, long before it affects the prices of all, in the same manner as extreme rains, or extreme dry weather, will increase or diminish the water in a river in one part, before it does it in other parts, or throughout the whole course of the stream. But if the cause of depression continue, it is equally evident that it will act on all articles, and at last nearly in the same degree.

It remains, then, to be considered, whether there are any circumstances which prevent this general depression of prices; or rather, whether, while the agriculturist or the manufacturer is obliged to sell at a lower price than formerly, he is obliged to purchase in any instance at as high a rate as formerly. A little reflection will soon convince us that the manufacturer and the agriculturist are on a different footing in this respect. The latter (supposing him to hold his land on lease, which is generally the case,) is obliged to pay the same rent, notwithstanding the produce of his farm has fallen in value; he is obliged to pay the same in tythes: he is obliged most probably to pay more in poor rates—for depression of prices at first necessarily occasions less demand for labour, and this of course throws more people out of employment and on the poor rates. The manufacturer, on the other hand, is not bound by a lease; or rather the rent he may pay for his premises bears a very small proportion to his capital, compared to the rent paid for his land by the farmer: he pays no tythes, and comparatively little poor rate. If he sells his cotton goods at a lower rate, he buys his raw cotton at a lower rate: he pays less wages to his labourers. There is, however, one point in which they both agree; although the price of their respective produce has fallen considerably, they are both obliged to pay the same amount of taxes: and this, it appears to us, would account for a considerable degree of the distress existing among all classes, even if that distress arose principally from lowness of prices: for it is evident that if, while a person's income is diminished, his necessary

necessary expenditure in any one instance continues the same, distress must ensue.

But there is another circumstance to be adverted to: we have already stated, that the complaint among agriculturists and manufacturers was not only that prices were low, but that they could sell little even at low prices. If the demand continued the same at low prices; and if rents, tythes, poor rates, and taxes were lowered in proportion to the cheapness of commodities, the mere circumstance of low prices would ultimately not produce any distress. For it matters not whether the interchange of a bushel of wheat and a pair of shoes is carried on by means of 14 shillings or 5 shillings; in either case the farmer would get his shoes for a bushel of wheat, and the shoemaker would obtain his bushel of wheat for a pair of shoes; while all those who had nothing to take into the market but money would be benefited by the fall in the price of commodities. It is also evident that there would be the same demand for commodities if prices were reduced; the real and only effect indeed would be, that in the case mentioned (and it is illustrative of all possible cases) the interchange would be carried on by means of 5 shillings instead of 14 shillings. As soon as things adjusted themselves to this alteration in the money price of commodities, there would be the same briskness of trade, the same demand, and the same profits. But in a country like Great Britain, where some things will not yield to the change, the effects must be different, and, as has been already shown, if prices fall, while rents, tythes, poor rates, and taxes, continue the same, distress must be the consequence.

To illustrate this a little further, let us suppose the price of wheat to be 12*s.* a bushel; and for the sake of argument let us also suppose that 12*s.* is the rent per acre of the farmer's land, 12*s.* per acre the amount of his taxes (including in them poor rates and government taxes), and that he pays 12*s.* for his shoes, and the same sum per yard for his cloth; it is plain that if the price of his wheat falls to 6*s.* per bushel, it will be a matter of no consequence to him, in the purchase of his shoes or his cloth, if the same reduction of price should take place in them; for a bushel of wheat will still buy a pair of the one, and a yard of the other. But if the taxes are the same, it is equally evident that two bushels of wheat will be required to pay them, instead of one bushel as before; and if two bushels are sold for the payment of taxes, he must have one bushel less than he had before to lay out in shoes, cloth, or some other article. If besides this he is obliged to sell two bushels of wheat in order to make up his rent, while one bushel would pay it before, it is also clear that on this account he will also have a bushel less than he had before to purchase shoes, cloth, &c.; so that supposing the produce of each acre to be 24 bushels before the fall in the price of commodities, he could pay his rent and taxes by 2 bushels, and consequently lay out in shoes, &c. 22 bushels; whereas after the fall, his rent requiring 2 bushels, and his taxes 2 bushels, there would

would be left only 18 bushels for the purchase of shoes, &c. Here we have a striking illustration of the effect of permanent rents and taxes, combined with diminished prices, to produce a decreased demand.

If however we examine this a little more closely, we shall perhaps be convinced that we have not yet got at the real cause of our distress, or rather, to speak more accurately, that some other causes must be operating in conjunction with the cause just stated. In the case given above it would appear that the farmer, having 4 bushels of wheat instead of 2 to pay for rent and taxes, was not able to purchase from the manufacturer so much as formerly, and that hence the manufacturer suffered. But why is the farmer less able to purchase than formerly? Because he gives more of his produce in rent and taxes, and this because his produce has fallen in price. But is it not evident that the landlord, being able to purchase 2 bushels of wheat, and double the proportion of other commodities for the same sum of money, will, as he receives the same amount of rent, be able to lay out more money than formerly, and thus make up for the decreased expenditure of the farmer: the same may be said with regard to those who are supported by the taxes the farmer pays.

The diminution in the bank of England issues is very generally regarded as one main cause of the agricultural and manufacturing distress, and it was under this persuasion that the resumption of cash payments was opposed so very strenuously. But in the first place it does not appear very clear that the resumption of cash payments should occasion a diminished supply of bank notes: if indeed there was a probability of a demand for gold, when the bank resumed cash payments, then it would be necessary to reduce the issues; but it is very evident that for all the purposes of trade bank notes are preferred to gold; and that the former would not be brought to the bank for payment, unless in time of alarm, or in case of gold being above the mint price. With respect to alarm, that might be easily forseen, and the amount of notes diminished accordingly: with respect to the price of gold rising above the mint price, as no cause in time of peace would produce that, except a very large issue of bank notes, all that would be necessary would be, to keep the issue of them below what would produce such an effect, and even with this caution it appears to us that there would be no necessity to diminish the circulation to any great amount.

The circulation of bank of England notes has however been considerably decreased; and, as the circulation of provincial notes depends mainly on the circulation of of those of the bank England, the diminution of the circulating medium of the country must have been very great: that this diminution could not take place without producing at least for a time a very great derangement in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, is evident. But after all, we cannot help thinking that the present distress, great as it undoubtedly is, will be a cheap purchase for a return to the old-fashioned

and

and honourable method of transacting business and acquiring fortunes; that is, transacting it exactly according to the capital really possessed,—without speculation, ruinous or productive of enormous profits; and trusting to the securing of a fortune by attention and industry rather than by gambling.

To conclude: we are convinced that one powerful cause of our distress must be sought after in the artificial state in which our circulation, our commerce, and our national expenditure has been for nearly a quarter of a century; and it is impossible that a return to a more natural state, even if it is made with the utmost caution and preparation, should not be productive of great distress. The nation is like an individual who has long accustomed himself to violent stimulants; the effects were pleasant, but the ultimate effect would be fatal. The process of giving them up was attended with great trouble and pain, till the constitution was restored to a healthy and natural state; and the alternative was, abstaining from the stimulants or being destroyed by them.

As in the case of an individual whose constitution has been broken or much injured, so in the case of a nation whose affairs are involved, and in which great distress exists, there will always be a great number and variety of remedies proposed. We have already adverted to Mr. Owen's plan: he is still confident that it would cure all our evils; and he builds his confidence partly on his principles of human nature, and on his own success: he says men may be made whatever you choose; they are entirely the creatures of circumstances: surround them with certain circumstances, allow no other to act upon or come near them, and they will be wise and virtuous: surround them with circumstances of an opposite description, and they will be ignorant and vicious. In the first place, it may be replied, that men are not entirely, though they are in a great measure, the creatures of circumstances: and, secondly, allowing they are, it is utterly impracticable so to surround them with circumstances as to ensure their perfect knowledge and virtue. With respect to Mr. Owen's personal success, it should be recollected that in moral as well as physical experiments, what succeeds on a small scale will not always succeed on a large scale; and that though Mr. Owen may be able to persuade his work-people to follow implicitly his regulations, yet it would not be possible to persuade the great mass of the population; and it would be absurd as well as wrong to endeavour to force them by legislative enactments.

Because great numbers of the people are unable to find employment, it has been argued that this country cannot support all its inhabitants, and that it ought to be relieved from its extra population by emigration. This idea, as we have already shown in a former volume, proceeds on an erroneous view of what is really extra population: if Great Britain and Ireland were able to support all their population at the end of the last war, (that is, only six years ago,) and it is an incontrovertible fact

fact that it was so,—how can it be incapable of supporting them at present? There is the same quantity and fertility of soil; there is the same labour and industry, and the same capital. Deficiency of such support as the mass of the people of any country has been accustomed to, may proceed from two causes: either the numbers of the people are so great that no other distribution of property,—no additional skill and industry, can render the subsistence adequate to their support,—or the distribution of property, which, if wisely and fairly made, would be fully adequate to support all the population, may be rendered quite inadequate, by being unfair and disproportioned. The late king of Wurtemberg, imitating our William II., drove a great number of the peasantry of his country from their homes, in order to enlarge his hunting-ground, or rather, in order to give greater accommodation to the animals he meant to hunt. What was the consequence? His country was no longer capable of supporting the same population as it did before this measure was adopted. But was it really over-peopled? Certainly not: the rescinding of this measure, the expelling the boars, &c. and restoring the people, would have rendered the kingdom of Wurtemberg as populous as before. We quote this case merely as illustrating the doctrine we have laid down: population presses hard on the means of subsistence in almost every country of Europe, and from almost every country emigration to America is going on, and in some is encouraged. But what is the fact? In every country of Europe there are the means of supporting a much larger population; for are there not waste lands there as well as in America? Is not agriculture imperfect even in the best cultivated parts of it? Do not the institutions of society, or rather the modes of government, add to that unequal distribution of property, which, in a greater or less degree, will always be produced by different degrees of industry, skill, and good conduct? And in our own country particularly, have not the events of the last twenty-five years, by excessive loans and consequent taxation, created a new class in society—the wealthy fundholders—whose wealth has been drawn in a great measure from the fruits of the labour of the other parts of the people?

But though we do not trace the inability of a large part of our population to obtain the means of subsistence to a real extra population, that is, a population which the soil of the country is totally unable to support, yet we are far from thinking that it is practicable so to restore property to a more equal distribution, as to render this country adequate to the support of all its inhabitants in that manner to which they have been accustomed: and certainly, if the extra population cannot be maintained at home except by the labour of others, it is better that they should emigrate.

It was natural and commendable for government, when they were convinced that emigration would take place in spite of all they could do to prevent it, and when they were, moreover, convinced that it was desirable in the present

present state of the country—to endeavour to direct it rather towards our own colonies than to the United States of America. The Cape of Good Hope was selected, and parliament voted the sum of 50,000*l.* to assist such as chose to emigrate, in order to make the experiment on a small scale at first: the following are the terms on which lands were to be obtained, as well as a view of the comparative advantages of emigrating to the Cape and to America.

"1. The landdrost shall be authorized to assign a proportion of waste land to any person wishing to hold it, situate to the eastward of Bosjesman's river in the district of Witenhage, adapted to the wants and means of the applicant; thus a father of a family, having grown-up sons, or other relations residing with him, whose means would enable such relatives to occupy land apart on their own account, may have the quantity of land he is permitted to occupy increased in proportion to the number and means of such relatives: it will be evident that such associations will be the greater security; and it is evident, by many examples within the knowledge of each of you, that such associations, even under less favourable circumstances, have been unmolested.

"2. These lands will be granted to the occupiers at a rent now to be fixed, which rent, however, will be remitted for the first ten years; and, at the expiration of three years, (during which the party or his family must have resided on the estate,) the land shall be measured at the expense of government, and the holder shall obtain (without fee) his title thereto, on perpetual quit-rent; subject however to this clause, beyond the usual reservations, that the land shall become forfeited to the government, in case the party shall abandon the estate, and cease to reside or occupy the same.

"3. Parties wishing for grants in the district here mentioned, will not be necessitated to make a direct application to his excellency the governor, as in other cases; but it will be sufficient for them to address the landdrost, pointing out where they propose to settle, and the authority of the landdrost shall be sufficient warrant to the party of the intention of his majesty's government in this regard.

"4. The landdrost is, however, to be particularly cautious in the distribution of ground, so as to preserve waters, that the most extensive accommodation possible may be afforded in that regard to future settlers; the necessity of which must be obvious from the supposed scarcity of springs in the districts in question.

"5. In order likewise to obtain the most accurate information possible with respect to springs in the whole of this district, the landdrost is called upon to give publicity to the proclamation issued, offering rewards for the discovery of springs proportioned to their strength.

"6. The landdrost will communicate to the colonial secretary, quarterly, a list of persons taking lands under this invitation, and describing as accurately as possible the situation of the occupancies.

"Any individual who will procure and convey to the colony

subordinate

subordinate labourers, and either reside or appoint an agent to reside with them in the colony, will be entitled to receive under the usual condition, land in the proportion of 100 acres for every male of above 17 actually settled on the land granted."

The public cannot fail to see the very great advantages which may be derived by a person enjoying a certain portion of capital, and enabled thereby to hire and retain a proportionate number of able-bodied men, to be employed as agriculturists, masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, &c.

An individual with such means would receive a tract of country, extensive in proportion to the number of hands employed by him, by which in a short space of time he might double or treble his capital, and the very labourers and others employed by him, might (after 3 or 4 years spent in the service of the person employing them) become themselves entitled to receive a grant of land in a similar proportion.

The advantages both as to emigration and colonization, in favour of the territory belonging to the Cape, before the United States of America, are immense. Persons emigrating to the Cape are landed close to the spot where they are to receive their grant of lands, and the lands will be granted rent free for the space of 10 years, and at the end of that period, are to be retained for ever, upon the payment of a small quit-rent to government; while, on the contrary, if they emigrate to the United States of America, they would have to travel up the country a distance of 2,000 miles, to the spot which they are to inhabit, by the expenses of which journey a great part of their small capital would be consumed—and then, instead of receiving lands rent free for the space of 10 years, and at the end of that period having permission to hold them for ever upon the payment of a small quit-rent, they would be obliged to purchase every acre of land from the American government, at the rate of one, two, or three dollars an acre; and this land, before it can be rendered fit for cultivation, must be cleared of wood by immense labour, and at a vast expense. In the Cape territory, they will be under the protection of the British government, and in the way of communicating with and receiving supplies from their mother country.

To sum up the whole in a few words, let all persons desirous of emigration look to the Cape, as, even in its most confined view, it must strike the dullest observer that, 1st, an outlet, and that of a most superior description, is offered for our redundant population; 2dly, a vent to our manufactures of every description, and a consequent increase of employment at home, as every article (from a nail upwards) requisite for the colony, must be supplied from home; 3dly, the enrichment of ourselves instead of our neighbours, by the sale of wines made in our own colony; 4thly, to small capitalists, say of 100*l.*, an opportunity is presented of employing it most advantageously, and thereby acquiring a handsome independence for themselves and families, as indeed large families for the purpose of colonization are riches; and, lastly, that which can never be regarded as of doubtful importance, the

the diffusion of the knowledge of christianity throughout the vast regions of southern Africa.

In this comparative view, one circumstance which would be considered by almost all who meant to emigrate as a very great advantage in favour of America, is overlooked: we allude to the greater degree of political and civil liberty enjoyed there. At the Cape the governor's will is almost the supreme law: he can send out of the colony any person he chooses. It may be said indeed that redress may be obtained in England; but even supposing it were ultimately, the vexation, trouble, expense, and uncertainty present most formidable evils. In America nobody is taxed without his own consent; and nobody can be affected in person or property, without the verdict of a jury. Besides, all who go to America naturally look forward to the period when their descendants will rise to be members of the government: the highest offices are open to all, and have in fact been obtained by all descriptions of persons. As political considerations lead to emigration as much as want of employment, it is in vain to expect that America will not drain off by far the greatest number of emigrants from this, as well as all the other countries of Europe.

The cultivation of the waste lands, and the improvement of the roads, have often been pointed out and recommended as means of affording employment to the poor; and during the year 1819 both these have been resorted to; but it is impossible at present to tell the result: it is evident however that the cultivation of that part of Dartmoor Forest which is capable of cultivation (for this tract of country has been selected for the first experiment) can afford employment only to few: and that the improvement of the roads is liable to the same objection.

The advocates for a reform in parliament laugh at the idea of removing or palliating the evils of our present condition by emigration, the cultivation of waste lands, the improvement of the roads, saving banks, or indeed by any other means than a radical reform. In the subsequent chapter we shall advert more particularly to what are the peculiar doctrines of those who are advocates for what they call a radical reform in parliament. We mention them here merely for the purpose of exposing the absurdity of imagining that any constitution of parliament can remove the evils under which we labour, or that the happiness of the people would be secured, if in all cases the will of the people was followed: and yet this is the leading and characteristic principle of the radical reformers.

CHAPTER XII.

Disaffection in the Country—Radical Doctrines—Reform of Parliament—Labour the Source of Wealth—Physical Force—Manchester Meeting.

THE deep and general distress existing among all classes connected with the agriculture and the manufactures of the country, naturally produced discontent and disaffection: people were desirous of working, but could not find employment; and in the midst of their distress their spirits were depressed, and their temper was galled, by having to pay so large a portion of their trifling earnings in the shape of taxes, while they saw these taxes distributed among what they deemed a useless set of people. Even those who did not think that the measures of government had produced their misery, were convinced that government could relieve it; and as they did not, their loyalty was shaken. In this state of the public mind, a number of cheap publications were put forth, which increased its disaffection towards the government: at first the only doctrine held forth, either in those publications, or at the meetings which were called in various parts of the country, was a reform in parliament. It was no difficult matter to persuade people that they were ill governed, that all their misery proceeded from bad government, and that if they were governed according to their own will, they would be governed better, and be no longer subject to the privations under which they suffered. But they could not govern themselves till there was a radical reform in parliament: by a radical reform was meant such a reform as would give to all, or nearly all, a right to vote for members of parliament, and to exercise this right annually. All other reforms of parliament were regarded as inefficient, as a mere mockery.

But the doctrines promulgated both in pamphlets and at meetings were not long confined to radical reform; they soon embraced two other topics. The labouring people were taught to believe that labour was the only source of wealth, and of course that they alone were the producers of, and had a right to, the wealth of the community. The natural inference was, that those who moved in the higher ranks, and were possessed of property, were regarded as unjust detainers of what belonged to the labouring classes; and they were not unfrequently told by the latter, that the time would soon arrive when property would pass to those by whose labour it had been produced or improved.

It was a natural and easy inference, from the belief that the great mass of the people had been deprived of their political rights, and of their just property, and that the restoration of these would remove all their misery, to be convinced that, if this restoration was not granted, it ought to be taken by force; or at least that

government ought to be intimidated by the formidable appearance and preparation of the people.

Hence arose the numerous meetings that took place in most of the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland. One of the first of these meetings was held at Manchester about the middle of January: Mr. Hunt presided; and the character of the meeting as well as of the man may be judged of from the inscriptions on the flags which were borne before the multitude, as well as from expressions used by Mr. Hunt: among the former were, Rights of Man—Universal Suffrage—Hunt and Liberty: and Mr. Hunt plainly told the meeting, that they ought no longer to petition the house of commons, after they had kicked their prayers and petitions out of doors; and he asked them whether they would come forward as men and Englishmen, and claim their rights.

For some months afterwards no meetings of consequence were held: but in June there were numerous meetings, especially at Leeds, Glasgow, and in the neighbourhood of Manchester: violent speeches were made at all these: taxation, places, pensions, the usurpations and oppressions of the rich over the poor were the evils complained of: annual parliaments and universal suffrage were the remedies. In order that the advocates of these doctrines might act with more effort, a regular communication was established in different parts of the country. Female reform societies were constituted; and mothersinstilled into the minds of their children "a deep-rooted hatred of their tyrannical rulers." With such zeal and such means it is not surprising that these doctrines spread over the greater part of the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland: the agricultural population, though suffering under great distress, were too much scattered to be able to act in a body or systematically.

In the month of July a public meeting was held at Birmingham, at which sir Charles Wolseley, a baronet of an ancient family, and of some landed property in Staffordshire, was elected to sit in parliament "as the legislatorial attorney and representative of Birmingham." Government were roused at this daring proceeding: sir Charles Wolseley, who had agreed to claim his seat in the house of commons, was arrested for seditious words spoken at a public meeting at Stockport; and a dissenting minister of the name of Harrison, who had also spoken at Stockport, was arrested while attending a meeting called by Hunt at Smithfield. Circular letters were sent by the secretary of state for the home department to the lord lieutenants of the disturbed counties, directing them to take every necessary measure to preserve the public tranquillity. The radical reformers however were not intimidated; they seem to have been convinced that they were numerous and powerful enough to contend with government; and under this persuasion they resolved to pursue their violent and unlawful measures. A public notice was circulated that they intended to meet at Manchester for the purpose of choosing

choosing a parliamentary representative in the same manner as Birmingham had done: but the Manchester magistrates giving notice that they should regard such meetings as illegal, and therefore would not permit it, the design was given up. In the mean time Mr. Hunt came into this part of the country, and it was resolved to hold a meeting at Manchester to petition for a reform in parliament.

The 16th of August was the day fixed on for this meeting. In our public occurrences for that month will be found what we believe to be an accurate and impartial account of what occurred on that dreadful and melancholy occasion. In our next volume we shall have to report the trial of Mr. Hunt for presiding at this meeting; and the evidence given on that occasion will be found to prove two most important particulars.

In the first place; that such meetings, composed of 50,000 people, or even more, were not only dangerous to the peace of the town in which they were held, but also to the tranquillity of the country at large; and this not merely on account of what might directly and immediately arise out of such meetings, but by their indirect and ulterior consequences. Let us for a moment consider what must be the effect on the minds of ignorant, distressed, and disaffected people (and the great proportion of all such meetings must be made up of people of this description), if they frequently saw themselves assembled in masses of 50,000; and while thus assembled were addressed in such language as Hunt in general used to them;—if they were told, that their labour was the source of all wealth—that while they themselves, with their wives and children, were starving, there were thousands who were revelling in luxury and wantonness, drawn from the sweat of their brow; and that, the first law of nature being self-preservation, if they could not by fair and peaceable means obtain a share of what was their own, they would be justified in taking it by force. To talk of such large masses, goaded as they were by misery, and inflamed by seditious harangues, deliberating, or even being capable of judging coolly, is absurd in the extreme: action, and not deliberation, was what alone they were fit for: and action, violent, rash, and destructive, not only of the peace of the country, but of their own real interests. Under this view of such meetings (and it is by no means an unfair or exaggerated one,) there can be no doubt that they were highly dangerous—and that, if the laws could not prevent them, they ought to be made strong enough to prevent them.

But, in the second place, it is equally clear, that at the Manchester meeting the magistrates acted illegally: they had no legal right to disperse the meeting, even by means of the police; and they had still less right to employ the military, when no necessity for their interference existed. The meeting was peaceable at the time the military rushed in among them;—Mr. Hunt, against whom the magistrates had issued a warrant, made no resistance, or show of resistance, but surrendered himself at once in the most peaceable and proper man-

ner. The conduct of the magistrates, therefore, cannot be reprobated in too severe terms; and that such conduct should have received the approbation of government and of the sovereign is much to be deplored, and can be accounted for only on the supposition that the information they received was incorrect, or that they acted on the foolish and mischievous principle, too much attended to by all governments, of supporting their agents.

It was soon apparent that the truth would not be got at in Lancashire, nor any redress for the lives lost at Manchester: the verdicts of the coroners were either at variance with what had certainly happened, or, as at Oldham, the evidence was not permitted to be gone into. At last it was supposed that Hunt, and those who were taken with him, would be committed for high treason; but this was abandoned, and they were committed to Lancaster castle on a charge of having conspired to alter the law by force and threats.

The intelligence of the result of the Manchester meeting, instead of intimidating the reformers, roused them to greater activity and violence: meetings were held at Leeds, Birmingham, and in different parts of Scotland; at most of which black flags, with the word Vengeance, were carried. Most of those meetings terminated peaceably: but the magistrates of Paisley, by endeavouring to seize the flags, produced some disturbance. A subscription was formed in London, Liverpool, &c. to relieve those who had been wounded at Manchester, and also to obtain legal redress: but the grand jury at Lancaster threw out all the bills that were presented against the Manchester yeomanry for cutting and maiming. True bills however were found by the grand jury at Manchester against Hunt and nine others for a conspiracy.

Meetings were held by the common council of London, and in various parts of the country, at which strong resolutions were passed against the Manchester magistrates: at the London meeting an address was voted to the prince regent, in reply to which his royal highness reprimanded the addressers for judging erroneously on the subject; and told them, that if the laws had been violated, the tribunals of the country were open, and that therefore there was no necessity, as they prayed, for him to institute an inquiry.—A deputation waited on the lord mayor, with a requisition for him to call a common hall; this, however, he absolutely refused to do. Upon this refusal, a remonstrance was addressed to his lordship, setting forth the right of the livery to express their opinion on public affairs, whenever they thought proper. As this remonstrance had not the effect of changing his lordship's determination, the livery who had signed it, resolved, at the regular common-hall on Michaelmas day, for the election of a lord mayor, not to permit the regular business to proceed till the lord mayor agreed to their requisition. In consequence of this resolution, there was great confusion and tumult on the occasion: the livery, however, could not attain their object.

Of all the meetings which were held

held on the subject of the unfortunate affair at Manchester, none were more respectably attended than that of Yorkshire: the requisition to the high sheriff was signed by the duke of Norfolk, earl Fitzwilliam, and many other nobility, as well as gentlemen of great respectability and landed property. Earl Fitzwilliam attended the meeting himself, and in consequence of this he was dismissed by ministers from his situation of lord lieutenant of the west riding of Yorkshire. This proceeding gave great and general offence: perhaps there is no nobleman in the kingdom superior to lord Fitzwilliam for respectability of character, or who would be less disposed to lend the sanction of his name and presence to improper or dangerous assemblies. It was urged in defence of the measure of dismissing him, that the meeting was attended by many violent reformers—that disloyal and seditious speeches were made at it; and that such men as his lordship ought, by all means in their power, to have discountenanced, instead of promoting and attending such meetings. But are public meetings not to be held or attended by really loyal men, because bad men may attend them, or because they may be productive of mischief? Is it not apparent that one of the best means of preventing the spread of disaffection and disloyal doctrines is, by the well-disposed, especially those of higher ranks, mixing with the mass of the people? Can any one doubt that if lord Fitzwilliam had not countenanced the meeting by his presence, it would have been very tumultuous, instead of passing off peaceably as it did? Is it not well known, that one of the most powerful arguments used by the radical reformers in support of their doctrines is drawn from the indifference of the higher classes to the interests of the lower? and what palpable and practical proof of the weakness of this argument could be more effectual, than the attendance of such men as lord Fitzwilliam on meetings called to consider and endeavour to redress the grievances of the people?

Government however were resolved to act with vigour, not considering that vigour, if not directed and accompanied with wisdom and justice, only defeats the object in view; and that, under these circumstances, it does not benefit those who employ it, while it irritates and inflames, without effectually repressing, those against whom it is directed. The bills which they brought into parliament, and the arguments for and against them, are given in the parliamentary debates. That some measures were necessary to repress seditious publications, which being always addressed to the prejudices, feelings, passions, and sufferings of ignorant or ill-informed people, must be injurious, not only to the government, but also to those who read them, few will be disposed to deny: that secret training and exercising, and the meeting of immense masses of people, were likewise hostile to public tranquillity, as well as prejudicial to the cause of real liberty, and ought therefore to be repressed by the arm of the law—must also be admitted. But government were wrong in supposing that the disturbed and disaffected state of the

country proceeded entirely, or nearly so, from bad principles in the minds of the people, instilled into them by seditious writings and harangues. Where there is no real misery, arising either from bad government, want of employment, or other causes,—seditious writings and speeches will have little or no effect: no man will find it for his interest to have recourse to them. The mass of the people in all countries, know what is for their real good too well, to run the risk of losing it, when it is really in their possession: they are too domestic, too much attached to their wives and families, to expose themselves and them to ruin, if they are comfortably off. But reverse their condition: let them see their wives and children imploring them for bread, which they cannot procure—let them be willing and anxious to labour, and not able to get employment—or, if employed, let them be so, perhaps, for fifteen hours each day, and at the close of it receive such a miserable pittance as will scarcely pay for the wretched hovel in which they, their wives and children are obliged to shelter themselves—and then those domestic habits and attachments, that love for their families—which secured their peaceable dispositions and behaviour, and made them deaf to the voice of sedition—will operate directly the reverse: they will eagerly catch at any thing, however absurd, which seems to promise them relief; they will believe, and give themselves up to the guidance of designing and disaffected men—not because their principles are corrupted, not because they have ceased to love their country, not because they have thrown aside their loyalty,—but because from no others, but those who seek to take advantage of their distress, do they receive any sympathy, or promise or prospect of amelioration. Government acted most unwisely, as well as unjustly, in putting down by force the complaints and meetings of the people, and not at the same time making allowance for them on the score of distress;—perhaps they had it not in their power to do much to alleviate that distress; but at least they should have acknowledged their belief in its existence more openly and unequivocally than they did, and should have shown some sympathy, and made some allowance for it.

There is no error in government more common or more fatal than that which considers it as an affair of mere force: it might be carried on, we are convinced, with more effect, in a manner more conducive to the real interests of those who are governed, as well as more agreeable to the plans and wishes of the governors, as well as with much less expense, and with much less sacrifice of public morals, if it depended more on the confidence and good will of the people, and less on force, chicanery, deceit, and corruption. The history of the world in all ages, and in all countries, proves that a government founded on either or all these bases must ultimately give way:—if force is chiefly employed and depended upon, it ultimately acts against those who employ it:—if deceit and corruption are trusted to, they produce the same consequences among nations that they do among indi-

individuals. The deceit is found out, and distrust and hatred are the consequence. Corruption cannot be confined in its consequences exactly and entirely to the objects for which it is used: it will and must spread its taint, and react on those who employ it, while, at the same time, by sapping the foundation of public morals, it paves the way most effectually for the overthrow of the government that is foolish enough to employ and trust to it. An enlightened and moral people constitute the most powerful support of a government; and if government would use all their endeavours to make the people enlightened and moral, or, rather, if they would do nothing which would prevent their being so (for government ought to content themselves with this), and throw themselves entirely on the support and good-will of such a people, their power would be secure, and both the government and the people would soon clearly perceive, that their interests were reciprocal, and that the stability of the one, and the real happiness of the other, arose from the same causes and measures, advanced at the same rate, and, the further they advanced, became more intimately and essentially united.

Unfortunately, this truth is not seen or acknowledged even by the government of Great Britain; if it had been, they would have acted in a different manner in the year 1819. That very great and general distress then pressed most heavily on the manufacturing districts, was, unfortunately, too plainly proved;—that the discontent and disaffection manifested, and the meetings which took place, arose chiefly from this distress, must be the opinion of all who have studied human nature; and who, moreover, are well acquainted with the character and habits and feelings of the British people. If, in the midst of their distress, they threw themselves into the arms of the radical reformers, it was because they alone paid attention to them, while government was either indifferent to their sufferings, or endeavoured to repress famine by the sword.—Besides the measures which were adopted in parliament to repress seditious publications and meetings, the ministers added upwards of 10,000 men to the force of the country, by calling out such of the Chelsea pensioners as were fit for service; thus adding to the burdens of the people, and consequently to the causes of their distress, by the very measure by which they endeavoured to put down the disaffected.

CHAPTER XIII.

Affairs of France during the Year 1819.

THE tranquillity of the continent of Europe depends mainly on the peaceable disposition of France; and the peaceable disposition of France depends on the ministry there steering a middle and judicious course between those who blame all the revolution

effected, and those who approve of all it brought about or attempted. Louis, under all the circumstances in which he was placed, has acted with more prudence, moderation, and firmness, than was anticipated; he has displayed and exercised not only more good sense and strength of mind, but also more liberal principles. It was naturally supposed, that he would lean to the support of those who were for restoring all things and persons to the footing in which they were before the revolution; but against this mode of proceeding he strenuously and successfully set himself. The spread of liberal opinions seems either to have reached him, or to have convinced him that he ought to yield to it: the merit due to him on this account will be appreciated as it ought to be, when we reflect on the habits and opinions in which he was educated, and that he is surrounded by those who suffered along with him by the revolution, and who are constantly exerting all their influence to induce him to destroy all the consequences of that revolution; his nearest relatives are all enemies to it; and separating himself from them, he is compelled in a great degree to throw himself on those who were engaged in the revolution. For it is evident, that there can be but two sets of men, either those who emigrated from their hatred to this event, or those who remained in France, and took a more or less active part in it. At first, Louis, through necessity probably, employed too exclusively men who were stained with the crimes of the revolution, and who were, besides, notorious for their tergiversation and want of principle; he freed himself, however, from those as quickly as he could. He then took for his ministers men who had indeed emigrated, but who had not fought against their country, or imbibed a hatred against all which the revolution had effected. The opinion of the nation, however, was against such a ministry: the people were very suspicious, that under them the property and privileges which they had acquired could not be safe. Towards the close of the year 1818, therefore, Louis appointed the following ministry:—

M. le marquis Dessolles, peer of France, minister of foreign affairs; and, in place of the duc de Richelieu, president of the council of ministers:

M. de Serre, keeper of the seals, minister of justice:

M. de Cazes, minister of the interior; the ministry of police being suppressed:

Baron Portal, minister of marine:

Baron Louis, minister of the finances:

Marshal St. Cyr retained the ministry of war.

The state of the finances of France claims our first attention; and as they are connected (though in a much more trifling degree than in this country) with the state of the circulation, we shall premise our account of them with the official report of the bank of France by M. Lafitte.

The most interesting topic introduced by M. Lafitte, from its relation to the general principles of currency and commerce, is that of the limitation or extension of discounts, as connected with the state of the exchanges, and with the ebb and flow of the precious metals.

metals. About the month of July, 1818, the reserve of specie in possession of the bank amounted to 117,000,000 francs, or upwards of 4,800,000*l.* sterling; the *rentes* were very near 80; trade experienced no embarrassments; the surplus capital of the merchants, with that of the treasury for which there was no immediate occasion, went to seek employment in the funds! The preceding loan, however, of 14,600,000 francs, had not yet been entirely paid up; while a new loan of 24,000,000 of *rentes* was on the point of being opened, and an emission of 16,000,000 more was to take place, both on account of contributions payable to foreign powers. These two sums, in *rentes*, amounting to 40,000,000, represented a capital of 500,000,000 francs (upwards of 20,000,000*l.* sterling), all payable to foreigners within one year, by the exportation either of French produce, or of gold and silver. At this crisis other loans were set on foot in Austria, Russia, Naples, and Prussia. This extensive and simultaneous operation of borrowing, produced a universal want of money. From 1st July to 8th October, the specie in the bank was reduced from 117 to 59,000,000 francs (2,450,000*l.*) little more than half its former quantity.

Stockjobbing of the wildest nature, and carried, principally by foreigners, to an immense amount, joined its mischievous influence to that of the above-mentioned causes.

By the 15th of October, the diminution of cash in hand, and the hourly application for discounts, were such as to decide the bank directors against taking any bills which had more than 60 days to run.

The bank preferred a limitation in the course of the bills to be discounted, to a diminution of their actual amount; and M. Lafitte asserts, that the directors never had recourse to the latter expedient. It is clear, however, that if only bills of a certain date were admitted, the total value of those presented for discount would be in fact reduced.

On the 29th of October, the reserve of specie had fallen to 37,000,000, and the sums payable on demand had risen to 165,000,000. The solicitations for discount remained the same, and the demand for specie did not diminish. The bank began to apprehend a run upon it for the payment of bank-notes in cash. At the lowest point, the specie in hand fell to 34,000,000. The bank-notes amounted to 108,000,000, and the accounts current might absorb 55,000,000, which establishes the proportion of a fourth to a fifth between the *specie* in possession and the notes payable on demand.

The bank directors then resolved unanimously to limit their discounts to bills not exceeding 45 days to run. The bank has been reproached for this determination; but it was placed in the alarming alternative, of a suspension of cash-payments, or a refusal of discounts altogether, or an ill-timed and difficult sale of *rentes* and shares of bank stock. "The non-payment of their notes could never be thought of. There was no sacrifice which it was not their duty to make, to ensure, in every possible circumstance, the payment of their notes in cash." Of the two other expedients;

dients; a sale of *rentes* or bank stock, if to a small amount, would have been useless; if attempted on a large scale, would have been either mischievous or impracticable; by shortening the period of its discounts, the bank avoided all danger, and secured every possible advantage. The immediate consequence of this contraction of its issues was, *a fall in the exchange with foreign countries*, and a reflux of specie into France. Thence followed a resumption of the discounts at 60, and afterwards at 90 days; and an augmentation of the cash in the coffers of the bank, from 34,000,000 to a sum which removes every shadow of apprehension or uneasiness for the future.

This latter circumstance is described with great simplicity and clearness in the official document. While the issues of the bank were unrestrained by fears for its own safety, the exchanges were adverse to France. The bank with a breath reduced its issues, by limiting the description of bills which it would receive; and at once the exchanges became so favourable, that the flying coin retraced its footsteps, and replenished the country from which too large a quantity of paper had driven it. The bank of France, therefore, has satisfactorily proved, that the presence or absence of the precious metals is a contingency over which it can exercise a powerful influence and control.

In the month of February, the baron Louis, minister of finance, presented to the chamber of deputies the accounts preparatory to the budget: viz.

1815.—Expenditure	798,590,859	francs.
Revenue	791,317,660	
Deficiency	7,273,199	
1816.—Expenditure	896,707,205	
Revenue	899,465,300	
Surplus	2,758,095	
1817.—Expenditure	1,039,810,583	
Revenue	982,209,399	
Deficiency	57,600,184	
1818.—Expenditure	1,154,649,360	
Revenue	1,106,682,693	
Deficiency	47,966,667	

In March, he came forward with the estimates for the expenditure of 1819.

He observed, that the annual exposition of the budget was during several years past one of the most painful functions of the ministry. If the present detail did not offer results as satisfactory as might be desired, at least it presented

sented an encouraging prospective. The territory was free, and after having acquitted the conditions its evacuation imposed, the credits and expenditure would have no other appropriation than towards the necessities of the country. The expenditure would be exclusively national. Contributions would not thenceforward be amassed in the public treasury, for disbursements only profitable to foreigners.

The estimates that the government was compelled to submit to the chambers were calculated according to the extraordinary necessities of the state, without losing sight of the interests of the contributors, which had long been intruded upon.

The ministry regretted their inability to present with the expenditure, a statement of ways and means for 1819. But time was urgent. The receipts would be the object of a special report. The present *projet* only included the disbursements.

The first article of the expenditure concerned the consolidated and funded debt. The credits granted last year for its provisions were an aggregate of 180,000,000: for 1819 a sum of 232,000,000 would be required.

He was anxious to allay all alarm. "This increase is great," cried his excellency, "but it is the last sacrifice required for our independence, and it is compensated by the advantages which result from it. It would have been far greater, had it not been for the reductions obtained by the negotiator of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle."

Next to the perpetual and funded debt came the civil list. The credit it required related to the king and royal family; this credit was justified by its detail alone, and only amounted, agreeably to the law by which it was limited, to 34,000,000.

The expenses of the ministry formed one of the most important items of the budget.

The following estimates are taken from notes during the rapid reading of them in the chamber:—

	Francs.
Department of foreign affairs	8,000,000
Do. of justice	17,460,000
Do. of the interior	102,700,000
Do. of war	192,750,000
Do. of the marine..	45,200,000
Do. of finance ...	257,000,000

The total of the expenditure budget, including the public and funded debt and the civil list, amounted to 889,210,000.

By comparing the budget of 1819 with that of 1818, augmentations would be observed, for which ministers had assigned the principal motives, and he would furnish every further explanation to the commission of the budget, of which his exposition might be considered susceptible.

The ministry of foreign affairs presented an increase of 350,000 francs; without that augmentation that department could not conveniently support its credit and the dignity of their exterior relations.

The ministry of war presented an increase of 31,600,000 francs. The causes of that augmentation were the expenses of keeping up and repairing the fortresses, which the evacuation of the territory had returned to the charge of the nation; the necessity of completing the

the effective strength of the army, and of re-establishing war equipments which the country had lost. The ministry of marine has long been neglected. An increase was required to the amount of 1,600,000 francs.

His excellency, after further developing the urgency of the motives which authorized the augmentations to which he had called the attention of the chamber, stated, that the credits required by government for the service of 1819 amounted to a total of 889,210,000 francs.

He observed, that it was indeed a heavy burden, and could only be supported under the hope of alleviation, and that hope was not illusory. The augmentation of the public debt had been imperiously demanded by circumstances; but it was only a temporary grievance; and from the present year, the funded debt would have an efficacious action. That action would be no longer neutralized by fresh appropriations of *rentes*. The sale of woods would have a beneficial influence upon the funded debt. They might include in their hopes, the adoption of the project, that tended to encourage the introduction of *rentes* in the departments, and economy in the collective expenses of the administration. "Thanks to the long calm (said his excellency) guarantied to Europe, our industry will provide new elements of prosperity, the benefit of which will extend to our finances."

The minister, after remarking that time, and the progressive operation of the sinking fund, would gradually reduce the charge of pensions and the load of public debt, and that many of the present expenses were in their nature but temporary, observed, that the presence of the foreign armies had annually cost France 290,000,000 of francs, and that this charge was not as yet completely suppressed by their retreat; for the occupation and the price of its cessation had increased the debt on the great book by 96,000,000 of *rentes*. To this increase of the debt was to be added 33,000,000 for the payment of arrears, which since the 1st of April 1814 had amounted from 63,000,000 to 192,000,000.

The sum voted for the service of the year 1818 amounted to	1,106,682,000
From which deduct the charge of the foreign troops	306,728,000
Leaves the sum destined for the ordinary expenses	799,954,000
The budget for 1819	889,210,000
Increase for 1819.....	89,256,000

From this it appears, that the expenses of the ministry were estimated at 26,200,000*l*. Including the interest on the funded debt and the civil list, the whole estimate was 889,210,000 francs or 37,050,000*l*. In the year 1818, the taxes amounted only to 33,000,000*l*. presenting an increase in 1819 of 4,000,000*l*. The increase, however, arose principally from the sums to be paid to foreign powers.

The estimated produce of the several taxes to meet this expenditure, was as follows:—

Direct

	Francs.
Direct contributions .	363,558,000
Administration of the domains, &c.	163,566,000
Forests . .	17,600,000
Customs . .	113,013,000
Indirect contributions .	174,834,000
Port duties . .	22,460,000
Lottery . .	12,500,000
Salt	5,298,500
Remaining in the treasury	5,180,000
Reduction from pensions and salaries .	11,200,000
Total,	829,210,500

When the expenditure and the ways and means came to be discussed in the chamber of deputies, some alterations were made: on a motion for reducing the military expenditure 8,000,000 of francs, that is, from 192,000,000 to 184,000,000, the amendment was carried by 125 votes to 98. The ministers proposed to reduce the custom duties from one hundred and thirteen millions to ninety millions of francs: the indirect contributions were taken only at 138,000,000 francs. On the whole the finances of France were shown to be in a satisfactory state, so that an immediate reduction of taxes to the amount of 16,000,000 francs, or about 666,666*l.*, was proposed: this excess of the income above the outgoings is exclusive of a sinking fund of forty millions of francs. The sum total of the floating debt is 855 million francs.

A further exposition of the finances of France was made soon after the chamber of deputies resumed their sittings in December by M. Roy: he began by apprising the chamber, that as the budget could not be regularly presented for several months to come, and in order to provide for the current demands of the public service, it would be necessary to authorize the collection of the first half of the direct taxes granted for the year 1819; also to grant the provisional collection of the indirect taxes calculated on the scale of the preceding budget, and a vote of credit for 200 millions. A *projet de loi* to the above purposes was then presented by the minister, who afterwards went into a detailed explanation of certain heads of the finances, beginning with the subject of arrears still remaining unliquidated, to which little importance seems to belong. After dwelling on many tried advantages and proposed improvements in the forms of public account, and in the securities resulting from them, M. Roy came to announce, that the total expense under the budget of 1818, ending 1st September 1819, was 1,415,688,762; and the deficit of ways and means, 85,854,351, to be borrowed from the resources of the present year. Next, that during the four years, 1815, 16, 17, 18, the expenditure which France had to bear, was 4,144,000 millions francs, (upwards of 43,000,000*l.* sterling per annum,) of which only about 120,000*l.* is wanting to complete the means of discharging every part of her engagements; and this sum is already provided for from collateral sources. This declaration produced (as well it might) a lively movement of satisfaction among the deputies. Of the above sum more than 3-fourths were furnished by taxation; the remainder only by credit. The sole trace of the past misfortunes of France will be the debt which she has contracted

contracted, and of that, above fourteen millions have been already paid off; while the unimpaired and accumulating sinking fund will add to the liquidation of it in a *ratio* not difficult to be comprehended. Upon the whole, it is impossible not to perceive that France was able to raise within the last year a sum of no less than 59,000,000*l.* sterling, qualified by a deficit of only 1,500,000*l.*, provision for which is already in the hands of the finance minister, from *rentes* not yet negotiated, and remaining disposable in the treasury.

Besides this exposition of the finances, France does not present much that is interesting during the year 1819: the ultra royalists struggled for power, but with little effect; and as the nation were convinced that the king was not disposed to yield to them, their apprehensions were in a great measure quieted. Early in the year, however, the ultra royalists seemed near the attainment of their object; for in the chamber of peers, they carried a proposal to take into consideration, whether some change might not be made in the law of election. In order to counteract the influence they had gained in this chamber, 54 new peers were created, and 22 were recalled: this strong measure, and the numerous petitions against any change in the law of elections, defeated the projects of the ultra royalists. They were, however, uncommonly active and zealous, sending missionaries throughout France, who, under pretence of reviving religion, spread bigoted notions both respecting it, and political topics. The protestants were insulted in the south of France, and a melancholy presage was afforded of what would have been the state of France, if the ultra royalists had succeeded in their plans. The proceedings in the chambers on the subject of the liberty of the press were interesting: some restrictions were imposed, but on the whole it was left in a better state than when it was subject to a previous censorship. The abolition of the *droits d'aubaine*, and the recall of 5 out of the 38 political offenders banished by the ordinance of July 1815, were the only other public measures of importance.

After the summer recess the chambers were opened again on November 15th, by the following speech of the king, which we believe exhibits a very fair and accurate picture of the state of France.

The King of France's Speech, pronounced at the opening of the Session, 1819.

Gentlemen,

The first wish of my heart, in appearing again amongst you, is to acknowledge the blessings which providence has been pleased to bestow upon us, and those which it permits us to expect in future.

My family is increased; and I may hope that my remaining wishes may be accomplished. Fresh supports of my house will form new ties betweenit and my people.

Our friendly relations with the different states of the two worlds, founded on the intimate union of the sovereigns, and on the principle of a mutual independence, continue to form the pledge of a long peace.

By

By the happy result of my negotiations with the Holy See, our principal churches are no longer deprived of ministers. The presence of the bishops in their dioceses will establish order in all parts of the ecclesiastical administration: they will there propagate the respect due to our holy religion, and to the laws of the state. We shall preserve untouched the liberties of our church. I shall hear the prayers of the faithful, I shall consult their wants and their resources, before I propose to you the measures which the restoration of the worship of our ancestors may still require.

Two years of abundance have repaired, in part, the evils of scarcity. Agriculture has made a sensible progress; all branches of industry have taken a new spring; the fine arts continue to adorn and illustrate France. I have collected round me their numerous productions; the same advantage has been given to the useful arts. Public admiration has equally encouraged them.

The liberation of our soil, and more favourable times, have permitted us to employ ourselves in the amelioration of our finances. I have ordered that there shall be laid before you the state of the public charges, as well as that of the means of meeting them; and I have the satisfaction to announce to you, that the foresight of the legislature has not been deceived by pressing and accidental wants. No new debt will be created for the next year. Already, considerable relief has been afforded to those who contribute to the public burdens. The reduction of the most heavy taxes will not be retarded longer than the discharge of the extraordinary debts contracted by the state may require. The laws have been every where executed with facility, and in no part has the public tranquillity been materially disturbed. Under these circumstances, and with a view to remove more effectually the recollection of past evils, I have thought that I might multiply the acts of clemency and reconciliation. I have placed no other barriers against them than those which are interposed by the national feeling and the dignity of the crown.

Still, in the midst of these elements of public prosperity, I must not conceal from you, that just causes of alarm mingle with our hopes, and demand at this time our most serious attention.

A restlessness, vague, but real, possesses all minds: every one now demands pledges of a permanent state of things. The nation has but an imperfect taste of the first fruits of legal rule and of peace; it fears to see them snatched from it by the violence of factions: it is alarmed at their ardour for domination: it is terrified at the open expression of their designs. The fears of all, the wishes of all, point out the necessity of some new guarantee of tranquillity and stability. Public credit waits for it as the signal to rise; commerce, to extend its speculations. In short, France, in order to be sure of herself, in order to resume among nations the rank which she ought to occupy for her own and their advantage, has need of having her constitution placed out of the reach of those shocks, which are the more dangerous the oftener they are repeated.

Under

Under this conviction, I have again turned my attention to those ideas which already I had wished to realize; but which ought to be matured by experience, and to be called for by necessity. The founder of the charter, with which are inseparably connected the destinies of my people and of my family, I felt that if there were any improvement which was required by these great interests, as well as for the maintenance of our liberties, and which would merely modify some of the regulating forms of the charter, in order the better to ensure its power and its operation, it belonged to me to propose such improvement.

The moment is come for strengthening the chamber of deputies, and for withdrawing from it the annual action of parties, by ensuring to it a duration more conformable to the interests of public order, and to the external dignity of the state: this will be the completion of my work. More fortunate than other states, it is not from provisional measures, but from the natural development of our institutions that we shall derive our strength.

It is from the devoted zeal—it is from the energy of the two chambers—it is from their close union with my government, that I would ask the means of saving the public liberty from licentiousness, of establishing the monarchy, and of giving to all the interest guarantied by the charter, that profound security which we owe them.

We shall at the same time undertake the task of making all our laws harmonize with the constitutional monarchy. You have already adopted several which have this tendency; and I have given directions for the preparation of others, which will ensure individual liberty, impartiality of trials, and a regular and faithful administration throughout all departments and districts.

Providence has imposed on me the duty of closing the abyss of revolutions; of bequeathing to my successors, to my country, institutions that are liberal, firmly established, and durable. You are assembled for this sacred purpose. In order to accomplish it, rely, gentlemen, on my unalterable firmness, as I rely on the cooperation of my faithful and loyal peers of France—of my faithful and loyal deputies of the departments.

CHAPTER XIV.

Netherlands—Germany—Sweden—Spain—Parga.

PERHAPS there are few parts of the continent of Europe in which things have proceeded, during the year 1819, in a more smooth and tranquil manner than in the kingdom of the Netherlands. That the low country district of this kingdom should not feel much the depression which had spread over most of Europe, in a greater or less degree, will not appear surprising to those who are acquainted with the extreme fertility of its soil, the industry and

and skill of its inhabitants, in cultivating such a highly-favoured soil, and the consequent abundance of all the necessaries of life at least, which they enjoy among themselves. But that the other district of the kingdom of the Netherlands, particularly the province of Holland, should not have been sunk in extreme misery is indeed surprising, when we reflect that commerce, especially that branch of commerce which consists in the carrying trade, was always deemed essential to their very existence. It does not appear, however, that Holland is suffering much. Yet, by what means she has freed herself even partially from the state of depression in which we know she was during the war, and immediately after it, we do not know: it is certain that she has lost her commerce, and that she is moreover entangled with a heavy debt. A striking and we believe a just picture of her situation is given in a work published by Louis, Bonaparte's brother. All his efforts were directed towards her amelioration. Perhaps he would have succeeded, had not Bonaparte constantly thwarted his schemes, and in every instance sacrificed the interests of Holland to his mad ambition. The present government of the Netherlands, therefore, has so much the more merit in having restored Holland to such a state, that we at least no longer hear complaints of her misery and ruin.

The transactions of the government of the Netherlands this year are very few and unimportant: a commercial treaty was formed with Sweden on wise and liberal principles. At the opening of the winter sessions of the states, the king's speech dwelt upon the other measures which either had been adopted, or were in contemplation. The project of the code of laws was to be laid before the states: in the finances the most rigid economy will be attended to: the duties and privileges of all parts of the kingdom will be assimilated as much and as soon as possible. Manufactures are beginning to revive, and the harvest has proved most abundant.

On the 21st of December the budget was published, from which it appeared, that the disbursements amounted to 72,703,144 florins, and the net revenue to 72,786,691—leaving a surplus of above 80,000 florins: the annual expenditure had regularly diminished, being in

1816—82,000,000
1817—76,783,000
1818—74,000,000
1819—72,703,000.

It was supposed that the sum wanted for 1819 would not, in fact, be expended; as among the receipts of the year 1818 there was a sum of 3,616,000 florins under the head of savings.

Over nearly the whole of Germany an unsettled and discontented disposition prevails; the causes of this do not lie deep. It has been pointed out repeatedly in this work, that the liberation of Germany was achieved by the powerful impulse of the people at large: as long as they were indifferent to the contest between their respective sovereigns and France, that contest was in favour of France; but as soon as they were roused, the French were driven from Germany. It is not possible that the mass of the people can

come forward in such a manner without being sensible of their own strength, resources, and importance, &c., without having their thoughts and feelings more expanded than they had previously been: and, for the time, it was for the interest of the sovereigns to allow this expansion and enthusiasm to have its full range. The consequences were what might have been foreseen: the mass of the people having conquered the freedom of their country from France, were no longer disposed, nor indeed in a condition, to return to slavery under their own sovereigns. The sovereigns themselves, so long as they stood in need of the assistance of their subjects, were most liberal in their promises:—they promised them a free constitution as soon as the country was delivered from the French. The country was delivered, as we have observed, by their exertions, and at a great sacrifice. The sovereigns were backward or decidedly averse to perform their promises: in consequence of this, the people became discontented.

Such is the state of Germany: the discontent, however, has greatly increased, and assumed a most serious character. This also was a natural consequence. Governments have hitherto been so blind to their own interests and security, as not to perceive, that when they do not grant to the people their reasonable requests, the people in most cases will extend their wishes and endeavours to what is unreasonable. The people of Germany have become fanatics in their ideas of liberty, and of the justifiable means of obtaining it: but they would not have become so, had rational liberty, which was solemnly promised them, been granted to them freely: they entertain wild notions on liberty, because their rational notions and expectations cannot be realized: they deem it right to attempt to carry into effect those wild notions by force, because entreaties cannot obtain for them what their sovereigns promised to give them. We do not mean in the slightest degree to justify the Germans in their wild and mischievous ideas of liberty; far less in their doctrine, that force ought to be employed where peaceable means have failed:—we are merely stating the national progress of their sentiments, and endeavouring to impress on all governments, the policy as well as the justice of granting rational liberty cheerfully, lest the people should aim at absurd liberty by force.

The wild and daring fanaticism of the Germans has been much increased and extended by the plan on which their universities are conducted. In the literary portion of our last volume, we extracted a lively and just picture of these universities. From this it appears that the power of curbing the wild notions of the students, and restraining their conduct, rests with the professors; and yet these professors are dependent on those who are to be punished by them, as they receive from them the means of their subsistence. Such, too, is the absurd state of society in Germany, that the professors are not received at court, or in the circles of the nobility: is it then to be wondered at, that they and the students make a common cause against those who keep alive this system

system of exclusion, or that they are anxious for a state of society which will not only permit but authorize them to take their rank according to their education, talents, and manners, and not according to their birth and coat of arms?

The state of the German universities has attracted the notice of the German sovereigns and princes, particularly of those in whose territories they are situated, and it is supposed that the subject will be considered by the German diet. In the mean time the murder of Kotzebue by Sandt a student of Jena, and an attempt made on the life of the president of the regency of Nassau by a young medical student, have excited great alarm as well as indignation among the German potentates. The most severe and tyrannical measures were adopted, especially by the Prussian government, measures which were by no means calculated to root out the evil. On the other hand, a spirit of fanaticism spread, till at length a central commission was established at Mentz, composed of seven members from Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, Baden, Hesse, and Nassau, for the purpose of inquiring into and suppressing demagogical intrigues. The king of Prussia was particularly active on this occasion; he dismissed several professors from the universities in his dominions; and a commission was appointed at Berlin to examine into charges of high treason, and to transmit prisoners to Mentz where it should appear necessary.

It is a singular and unaccountable circumstance, that at the very period when the Germans were standing forth in this open and even violent and daring manner in support of what they deemed their rights and liberties, the Jews should have been insulted and persecuted in the most disgraceful manner, in various parts of Germany.

Having given this general sketch of the state of Germany in the year 1819, we shall now proceed to notice the transactions and events that occurred in the particular districts of it during the same period.

In Hanover, torture was abolished at the request of the states. They also expressed their wish that the army might be reduced from 30,000 to 17,000 men; and a reduction to 20,000 actually took place. It was also carried that the nobles should contribute their just share of the taxes. The constitution also was altered, so as that the diet in future is to consist of two chambers, instead of one as hitherto. The first chamber is to consist of the nobles: the second, of those members of the board of taxes who are not noble: of three deputies from the administration of ecclesiastical property: the deputies of the smaller abbeys: one deputy from the university of Gottingen: 29 from the cities: and 22 from the possessors of the free estates who do not belong to the equestrian order. The diet meets every year: the members are chosen for six years. No person is to be admitted to hear the debates.

The king of Wurtemberg is better disposed to the liberty of his subjects than any other of the German sovereigns; and this disposition he had manifested in

a most decided and unequivocal manner, by uniting with the citizens in a dispute they had with the nobles. The king of Bavaria also is a friend to the liberty of his people, though in one instance they differed. The king wished to increase the army estimates; but this proposition was rejected by the deputies in the assembly of the states, by a very great majority. The king had the good sense to yield. Prussia is still without the free constitution which has so long been promised her: the king, his ministry, and probably the greater part of the nobles and soldiery, are averse to liberty, while the great mass of the people are enthusiastic for it; and the opposition they have met with, has driven them into absurd notions on the subject, as well as to most unjustifiable means to attain it. It is too evident that this part of Germany will at no very distant period be the scene of tumult and probably of bloodshed. The king and the nobility are as much behind just notions of real liberty, and of what would in fact benefit themselves, as the mass of the people have advanced beyond them, illustrating what we have already stated, that extremes on one side necessarily produce extremes on the other.

The Austrian government in Germany does not seem to be threatened with any convulsion: the people are ill off in many respects, but they are blind to their own evils. It is otherwise however in the Italian dominions of Austria: there that most ignorant and absurd government have restored every thing that was bad, which had been destroyed by Bonaparte, and destroyed every thing good that he established. By this conduct, and by their system of harassing regulations, they have rendered themselves excessively unpopular in Italy.

The king of Sweden for some time was actuated by a foolish desire to legislate on commercial subjects, erroneously thinking that he could enrich his country by the mere issuing of a decree. This spirit however has now evaporated, and the affairs of Sweden for the year 1819 present scarcely any thing of importance. There were indeed some disputes between this country and Denmark respecting payments to the latter, as a compensation to Norway: but these were satisfactorily adjusted through the mediation of Great Britain.

Perhaps no sovereign in Europe is so far advanced in liberal ideas before his subjects as the emperor of Russia. This most extensive kingdom may (with a few exceptions) be said to be inhabited by two classes of inhabitants only, soldiers and slaves; for almost every person above the situation of a slave possesses military rank. It is evident that the progress of freedom in such a country must be very slow; and that the utmost prudence and good sense are requisite to suggest and direct such measures as will fit the people for the gradual enjoyment of liberty. The emperor Alexander appears to be well qualified for the task. He is beginning where he ought, by extending the blessings and advantages of a good education; for, till people are well informed, they cannot know what liberty is, or enjoy it, or retain it if granted them: its value will be as little known and prized,

prized, as the value of a book by those who cannot read. But if the emperor proceeds as he has begun, the more civilised parts of his dominions will soon be qualified to enjoy a portion of liberty; and the enjoyment of this will give them a relish, as well as fit them for more.

Spain, during the year 1819, presented the same appearance that it had done during several preceding years: the utmost weakness, united to petty and disgusting as well as irritating and oppressive tyranny, distinguished the king: among the mass of the people, the most unequivocal symptoms of discontent; and among the soldiers, an extreme repugnance to embark for the South American revolted colonies. Such in few words is the picture of Spain during the year 1819. It will be proper, however, to go a little into detail.

The death of the old king, Charles IV., took place in the month of January: this event was of no importance, except, perhaps, as it freed his son Ferdinand from any apprehension he might entertain, that the discontented part of his subjects would endeavour to recall him. The interior of the country was in a dreadful state: all who were inclined to a life of robbery, took advantage of the weakness of the government, and infested the high roads, plundering whomever they met. Against these robbers the government hardly deemed it safe to send any troops, lest they should join with, instead of acting against them. In the mean time dark and mysterious conspiracies were rumoured abroad; the particulars were never suffered to transpire; but it is known that in the city of Valencia the conspiracy was very formidable, and that it was not suppressed till after considerable bloodshed. The chief of those who were engaged in it were executed or banished.

In no instance have the feebleness and indecision of Ferdinand's government been more conspicuous than in his frequent dismissal of ministers. In May a sudden change took place; but no change of measures ensued. Indeed it can scarcely be thought that any men who regarded their own character or safety would engage in the administration of a kingdom in such a state as Spain was: her finances in the utmost state of confusion and dilapidation: no commerce, or manufactures: her inhabitants poor, and discontented; and her sovereign feeble and obstinate.

Still, in the midst of these difficulties, Ferdinand adhered to the mad project of recovering the Spanish American colonies by force of arms: and this was the only point in which he displayed consistency, perseverance, or vigour: but the troops were averse to going to South America; and while they were assembled at Cadiz, from whence they could not embark till the vessels supplied by Russia had undergone a thorough repair, (for, being built of fir, they were totally unfit for a voyage across the Atlantic,)—a most formidable conspiracy was formed among them, which would most probably have produced consequences more extensive and fatal to Ferdinand than the mere loss of his American colonies, had it not been put down by the prompt and vigorous measures of

the commander in chief. Having collected the forces in garrison near Cadiz, he surrounded the mutinous soldiers; but it was not thought safe, after this, to send them to America; and it appears that even those men by whom the conspiracy was quashed, had been induced to act against their comrades by the promise that they should not be sent to America.—Such was the state of Spain in 1819: and if to the picture we have drawn be added the prevalence of the yellow fever in Cadiz and some other parts of the south, the sum of its misery will appear to be completed. In the midst of such dreadful events, the marriage of the king with a niece of the king of Saxony, is an event hardly deserving of notice.

Perhaps there is scarcely a circumstance more clearly and strikingly illustrative of the effect of misrepresentation, than the case of Parga, which was introduced into the house of commons, and became there, as well as before the public at large, by means of pamphlets and letters in the newspapers, a ground of most severe censure against the British government. The statement to which we allude represented the inhabitants of Parga (a small town and district in Albania, surrounded by the dominions of Ali Pasha,) as having driven out the French garrison, and delivered themselves up to Britain on the condition that we should incorporate them with the Ionian islands;—that we, violating our promise, ceded their town and territory to Ali Pasha, and obtained from him an indemnity for the inhabitants (all of whom quitted their native country through dread of that tyrant) quite inadequate to the value of the property they had left. Such is the misrepresentation. We have good grounds for knowing that the following statement contains the real and full truth.

By the treaty between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, in the year 1800, Parga was ceded to the Porte, along with Prevesa, Bucintro, and Vonitza on the coast of Albania; and by the treaty of Amiens Britain became a party to the treaty of 1800, and of course to the measure of vesting in the Porte the sovereignty of the several possessions situated in the heart of the Ottoman empire.

It has been said, that when the British army first occupied Parga, if no treaty was made with the people of that place, yet there were promises of protection, which ought to have been binding.

But nothing of this sort existed; indeed it is impossible there should; for the Parganots, long after this period, were soliciting assurances of a permanent connexion with this country, which clearly denoted that there had antecedently been no such arrangement.

It was guarantied in sovereignty to the Porte. The Ottoman empire was in friendship and alliance with all the great powers who met at Vienna and Paris: the principle then adopted was, after retaining conquests on the ground of indemnity, to restore the territory of which the fate of war had deprived each of the allies. Under these circumstances, the Ottoman empire had only

Parga

Parga to ask; and with what degree of justice could Great Britain have said, "I know that Parga was ceded to you by the treaty of 1800; I know that that treaty was confirmed by the treaty of Amiens; I am aware that there is no treaty or convention which since interferes with your right to the sovereignty of that state; I know it is situated in the heart of your Albanian possessions; and yet I insist, that though you have supported the allied powers, nevertheless you shall be deprived of that only indemnity you can receive, because we wish to possess it, or to unite it to the Ionian states, of which we are to have the protection."

It has been said that Parga is of great importance to the Ionian islands; that it was of the highest importance to have such a port on the coast of Albania, from whence these islands could derive provisions and other articles necessary for the subsistence of the people of that country. But as a port it was of no importance at all; and the few commodities which Parga furnished the Ionian islands, were generally exported from the neighbouring ports of Gomenizza and San Giovanni. On the other hand, that possession could not be retained in the heart of Ali Pasha's territory without great expense; the fortifications, such as they are, were in such a state that they could not have been repaired without the expenditure of a very large sum of money; and to say that it could have been maintained without a military garrison, which would have cost 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* a year, is ridiculous.

On the ground of expediency, too, Britain could not have done any thing more injurious to the interests of the Ionian islands, than to have retained possession of Parga; for the necessary intercourse between our troops there, and the troops in the Ionian islands, must have subjected the merchants throughout that country to the quarantine of forty days, universally inflicted on vessels coming from the coast of Albania; whereas, now we are rid of that possession, the enterprise of the Ionian merchants will no longer be depressed by so long a detention at every port where they may touch.

The opportunity which the lord high commissioner in the Ionian islands had of knowing the character of the people in the adjacent country, his knowledge of what had happened at Prevesa, Bucintro, and Vonitza, induced him to think it his duty to write to his majesty's government on the necessity of taking measures for the security of the Parganots. Actuated by the same motives, the despatches of his majesty's government, charging him with the conduct and direction of the cession, and giving him instructions on the subject, arrived within a few days of his communication to government quitting Corfù.

There were but two modes of managing the cession, in such a manner as to secure for the Parganots what, without any obligation, it became the character and humanity of this country to procure for them.

We might either have urged the necessity of the Porte's guarantying to them certain privileges, as was the case in the treaty

concluded in 1800 with the Russians, or we might have insisted that those who quitted their property should be indemnified. But the fate of the people of Prevesa, Bucintro, and Vonitza, under the treaty of 1800, showed the inefficacy of such a guarantee, and could not fail to deter any man acquainted with the melancholy consequences to the people of those districts, from again making such an experiment.

To sir Thomas Maitland it therefore appeared, that the only mode of carrying into effect the instructions he had received in respect to the cession of Parga, was to insist that those of the inhabitants who chose to retire should receive indemnity for the property they might leave behind; which with no small difficulty was effected, by a convention negotiated at Janina; and by it the Parganots acquired the best, nay, the only security, which, under the circumstances of the case, they could have obtained; and they well know that sir Thomas Maitland firmly resisted giving up that place till such time as he had received in money that indemnity he conceived to be an adequate remuneration for the property they were about to abandon.

For this purpose he appointed three nobles of Corfù, selected for their skill in valuing lands, together with the public land surveyor and civil architect, who were sent as a commission to make a valuation of the property of the Parganots; which was done most minutely, in regard to what belonged to every individual in that country. The Turkish commissioner, on the other hand, appointed valuators on the part of the Ottoman government; and the result was, that the report of the valuators of Corfù stated the value of the property, calculating it on the exact footing of property situated at Corfù, to be 280,000*l.* sterling; whilst the Turkish valuators estimated the same property at 56,000*l.* sterling.

By the Corfù commission the property was estimated at 280 thousand pounds, valued as though it had been in Corfù; but even under the Venetian rule, when the Ionian islands and Parga were both equally subjected to the sway of Venice, the very circumstance of Parga being surrounded by the Turkish possessions, made a difference of one-third betwixt the value of property at Parga, and property in any of the three great Ionian islands. This is a principle which cannot be denied; it has been recognised in many judicial decisions, and it is known universally to have always been acted on. On this ground, therefore, we must take from the 280,000*l.*, 93,333*l.* and there will remain 186,667*l.*

Again, the Parganots were to receive immediate payment for the property which was ceded; and it is well known, that betwixt a ready money payment and one by instalments, even in purchases made in the West India islands, there is a difference of at least 25 per cent. In the Ionian islands, from the want of capital, the difference ought to be much greater; but calculated at 25 per cent. for immediate payment in cash, a deduction must be made of 25 per cent., that is, 46,666*l.* from 186,667*l.*, which leaves 140,000*l.* as the sum that, under the valua-

tion

tion of the Corfù valuators, the Parganots were entitled to receive. Sir Thomas Maitland, however, obtained for them 150 thousand pounds, and of this he secured payment in Spanish dollars with the sacrifice of only 33,000 dollars.

That this indemnity was greater than the people of Parga had a right to expect, that it was greater than they actually did expect, are well-authenticated facts; for the extent of the indemnity was matter of triumph to the Parganots themselves: a card was delivered to each individual, accurately explaining the amount of the indemnity he was to receive; and (expressive of their joy and satisfaction) they stuck these cards in the ends of sticks, and made a triumphant procession, waving them in the air.

CHAPTER XV.

Affairs of India—The United States—South America.

THE extensive plans of the marquis of Hastings for bringing to a speedy and favourable termination the war into which he had been forced by the Pindarees, the Mahrattas, the Rajah of Nagpore, and other Indian princes, having been carried into effect with the utmost promptitude and vigour, the British empire in India is supposed to be fixed on a more secure foundation than it ever possessed before. As the Pindarees had been accustomed to a mode of life incompatible either with their own improvement or the tranquillity of their neighbours, it was determined to endeavour to substitute in them habits of industry for their habits of vagrancy and rapacity; they were accordingly collected and placed in a number of villages constructed for the purpose, and land was granted them to cultivate. Ceylon continued quiet; and its tranquillity is rendered more probable by the capture and punishment of the leaders of the insurrection. We are sorry, however, to mention that disputes have arisen between us and the Dutch, in the Indian Archipelago. While we were in possession of Java, we had acted in a most liberal and wise manner towards the chiefs of that and the adjacent islands—with many of whom we had formed alliances. When we surrendered Java to the Dutch, an express stipulation was made that these alliances should be deemed sacred. The Dutch, however, did not adhere to this agreement, but proceeded to act towards the chiefs in a most unwarrantable and tyrannical manner. This naturally produced remonstrances from sir Thomas Raffles, the chief British governor in those parts, by whom, while he was governor of Java, the treaties in question had been formed; but so far from having any effect, the Dutch actually arrested a British commissioner, and deposed one of the native princes. How this dispute will terminate, it is not easy to foresee; it is evident, however, that

that the respective governments must interfere.

In our last volume we noticed the Seminole war, in which the United States of America had been engaged; and the execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, two British subjects who were found among the Indians by the American army. Their execution created strong indignation in Great Britain, and much surprsie. Ministers declared that they did not think they should be justified in resenting it. The affair also created much discussion in America, not only among the people at large, but also in the senate and house of representatives. The committees to whom this business was referred, decided against the legality of the execution of these two men; but ultimately the congress did not coincide with the opinion of their committees: consequently the conduct of general Jackson was approved of in the business.

The United States present little else worthy of particular notice during the year 1819. The dispute and negotiations with Spain on the subject of the cession of Florida still continued. The question of negro slavery at length began to excite that attention, which for the credit of American humanity, and love of freedom, it ought to have done long before: but nothing decisive has yet been done; and the refusal to admit the state of Missouri as a member of the union, because its inhabitants would not admit a clause against slavery, has stirred up a question respecting the power of the congress to refuse admission on these grounds, which must necessarily bring the whole question of negro-slavery into full discussion. It is certainly a topic of great interest, when it is considered that in the year 1810 nearly one-sixth part of the whole population were slaves.

The United States suffered as well as Europe from the depression of commerce; and in the large towns, the distress was certainly as severe as in any part of Great Britain: but it is evident, that in a country where there is such an immense quantity of unoccupied land, which may be purchased on such very easy terms, and where consequently the demand for labour must be great —where, besides, the fruits of a man's labour are nearly all his own, distress cannot long exist. And if this be true with respect to individual industry and income, it must be true with respect to national income or revenue: it may fall off for a short time; but with so many sources of wealth, and so few drawbacks from the produce derived from those sources, the revenue of the United States must, on an average of years, and permanently, be fully equal to their limited expenditure.

The contest still continues in South America between the Spaniards and the colonists. That Spain will not be able to reduce them to subjection is evident; but it cannot be foreseen at what period the contest will terminate, or what will be the consequences,—further than the general one, that the colonies will liberate themselves from the mother country. All accounts agree, that the revolutionists are possessed of few of the preliminary requisites for obtaining, enjoying, or retaining political liberty: they have displayed little or no talent, and as little knowledge

knowledge either of the real foundations on which freedom ought to be built, or of the consequences to which it leads. The works which we have quoted in the literary portion of our volume, by colonel Hippesley and captain Brown, as well as the testimony of all who have joined them from this country, amply prove that the contest bears little resemblance in its character, or in the character of those by whom it is carried on, to the contest between Great Britain and her revolted colonies. In the latter contest, the Americans were enlightened,—well informed not only in the theory but also in the practice of liberty;—for their provincial governments, during the period we possessed America, had created a spirit, habits and information, as well as predilections, that were highly favourable to them not only while the contest lasted, but also after its conclusion; for, in fact, the only essential difference of their government before and after the revolution was, that after it, the incorporated states were ruled by a head appointed by themselves, and by a senate also appointed by themselves; but with respect to the local governments and assemblies, they were nearly the same before and after the revolution. But the Spanish Americans could derive no knowledge of or love for liberty from the mother country, as the British Americans had, nor yet from the institutions and mode of government to which they were accustomed in the new world.

We are therefore apprehensive that the result of the contest, though it must produce their liberation from the mother country, will not establish that political freedom by which the United States are distinguished.

In the mean time the contest goes on: but, as we have often remarked before, the details are either obscure and contradictory, or they are of little interest. There are proofs or exhibitions of great and splendid talents, such as revolutions generally produce; but it is simply men of moderate talents, animated rather by a hatred of Spain, and by ambitious and interested motives, than by a real love and feeling for liberty, that are carrying on the contest.

The district of South America, in which the Spaniards have long lost all their power, is that which lies on the river Plate; but this, though freed from the power of Spain, is by no means secure and tranquil. The provinces on the east side of the river are under the dominion of a chief named Artegas, who is at war with those on the western side under the government of the congress of Buenos Ayres; while another part of the dominions of the latter are threatened by the Portuguese of Brazil. The congress of Buenos Ayres has formed an alliance with the state of Chili, and has also agreed to the following constitution:

Like the French charter (and very unlike the constitution formed by the Spanish cortes), this document is short and precise. It consists of 138 articles, which describe and limit the legislative, the executive, and judicial powers. The Roman catholic religion is declared the religion of the state. The legislative power is to be exercised, as in the North American States, by a national congress composed of two houses, that of representatives and that of senators.

tors. The former is composed of delegates elected in the proportion of one for every district containing 25,000 inhabitants (the population of the United Provinces is about 1,300,00). The deputy must be upwards of twenty-six years of age, must have been seven years a citizen previous to his nomination, and must possess 4,000 dollars of property, or some equivalent which is not well defined in the article. The representatives sit for four years, but a half of the chamber is renewed every two years. The house of deputies, like the British house of commons, originates all money bills, and has the special right of impeaching ministers and the high officers of state. The senate is to consist of the same number of provincial senators as there are provinces; of three military senators, of one bishop, and three ecclesiastics; of a representative of each university, and of the director whose period of government is ended. This seems rather a singular arrangement. Why have military senators? The appointment of the senators is for twelve years, and they must at their nomination have attained the age of thirty, having been nine years a citizen. This arrangement seems well calculated to give stability to the system, and appears intended to supply the want of an hereditary nobility. The mode of electing the senators is too complicated to admit of description in this short sketch. The legislature is to sit for about six months in the year: they have freedom of speech, and the other privileges of our houses of parliament. They have the power of citing the ministers before them, to obtain any requisite information. Any of them may originate laws. When the projects of law have been agreed to by both houses, they are to be transmitted to the director for his sanction, who must return them in fifteen days, either with his approbation or objections. If he approves, the bill becomes a law; if he states objections, these objections are considered: but if two-thirds of the members of both houses support the original project, their votes constitute a final sanction without a second application to the director. The supreme director is elected by the two houses assembled. He is to be supreme chief of all the land and sea forces. He is to open the sittings of the legislature; he appoints all the officers of the public force, envoys, consuls, and others; he chooses and dismisses his ministers, who are responsible for their conduct while employed under him: all objects of finance, police, public, national, and scientific establishments, as well as all those formed and supported by the funds of the state, are confided to his supreme charge and inspection. He has the power of pardon, except in cases of state conviction. The supreme judicial power of the state is to reside in a supreme court, consisting of seven judges and two recorders, nominated by the director; every one of whom must have been a regular barrister eight years, and have attained the fortieth year of his age. This court shall, exclusively, take cognisance of all causes relating to envoys and consuls from foreign nations, all causes in which a province may be a party, all those concerning public functionaries, all those relating

relating to crimes committed against the law of nations, &c. The members exercise their functions during good behaviour. The supreme court, as well as the other tribunals, is open to the public. The constitution is ordered to be sworn to in the whole territory of the state, and no functionary shall continue in office without taking the oaths to observe and sustain it. The names of the deputies who passed this charter are appended to it. It is preceded by a manifesto, "addressed by the United Provinces of South America to all nations, respecting the treatment which they experienced from the Spaniards, and which gave rise to the declaration of their independence" in 1817; and followed by another manifesto, addressed to the United Provinces on the proclamation of the present constitution.

Chili, which has only of late formed itself into a republic, has been eminently successful against the Spaniards, having driven their troops entirely from their territory. It was in the service of this republic that lord Cochrane engaged; and though he has not hitherto succeeded to the extent which his force and known character led every person to anticipate, yet he has harassed the coast of Peru, and prevented the Spaniards there from acting against Chili.

The operations between the contending parties have latterly been most active in the republic of Venezuela, and in the kingdom of New Granada. The revolutionists in the former, having been eminently successful, marched into New Granada, where success also attended them; the inhabitants were well disposed to them; and as their forces exceeded in number those of the royalists, they were not long in gaining possession of the capital of New Granada. As soon as this and the subjugation of the kingdom itself were effected, Venezuela and New Granada were united under the name of The united republics of Venezuela and New Granada. In this career of conquest, the British and Irish troops who had entered the service of the republic were of most essential service.

On the other hand, the expedition against Porto Bello was most disgraceful to the British leader by whom it was executed: this man, who called himself general Macgregor, raised a number of troops in Britain, with whom he sailed against this place, without any authority from, or co-operation with, any of the South American governments: he succeeded in capturing Porto Bello; but he was soon afterwards surprised by the Spanish commander at Panama, the place was retaken, he himself escaped in a most ignominious manner, and his followers were taken, killed, or dispersed.

PRICE of STOCKS for 1819.—N.B. The highest and lowest Price of e
STOCK in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1819.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct.	5 p. ct.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	Ex. Bills, 2d. per diem.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Omni
Jan.	272	79 1/16	79	98 1/8	107 1/4	20 1/2	232 1/2	20 p.	108	2 1/2 p
	267 1/2	77 1/8	77 1/4	95 1/8	105 1/8	20	231 1/8	16 p.	106 1/4	1
Feb.	272 3/8	78 1/8	78 1/4	97 1/8	106 1/2	20 1/2	233 3/8	18-9 p.		1 1/4 p
	266	75 3/8	74 1/8	94 1/8	105	20	228	4-11p.		1/4 d
March	261	75	74 1/8	95 1/8	105	19 3/4	221	19 dis.		
	—	73	72 1/8	91 1/8	103	19	220	par		
April	254	74 1/8	75 1/4	93	105	20 1/8	221	10 pr.		
	251	70 1/4	71 1/8	89 1/2	103 7/8	18 3/4	220	3 dis.		
May	251	71 7/8	73 1/8	90 1/4	105	18 7/8	219	29 p.		
	210	64 1/2	65	78	99	17	205 7/8	14 dis.		
June	228	70	66 1/4	88 1/2	100 1/2	18 1/4	210	1 p.		2 1/2 p.
	215	65 3/8	65 1/8	82 1/8	99 1/8	17		7 dis.		1/4 d
July	234	73	72 1/2	90 3/4	105 1/2	19 1/8	217	4 p.	106 1/4	5 1/4 p.
	216	67 1/4	67 1/2	78 1/8	100 1/4	17 1/4	203 1/4	4 dis.	102 1/8	1 dis
Aug.	233	72 1/8	72 1/8	91 1/8	105	19 1/4	222	3 p.		5 p.
	228	70 3/8	70	90 1/8	104	19	218	7 dis.		3 p.
Sept.	230 1/2	72	71 1/8	91	104 1/8	19 1/4		par	105 1/4	4 p.
	229 1/2	71 1/4	68 1/8	90 7/8	102 1/8	19 1/8		12 dis.		1/4 d
Oct.	220	70 1/8	70 1/8	87 1/8	104 1/8	18 3/8	212	par		15 p.
	216	66 1/8	67 1/2	83 1/8	102 1/4	17 1/2	209	7 dis.		7 dis.
Nov.	216 1/2	67 1/8	68	84 1/8	104 1/4	17 3/4	209	par		1 1/4 di
	213	66 1/8	67 1/8	83 1/8	102 1/8	17 1/4	207	5 dis.		2 1/4 di
Dec.	215	67 1/8	68	84 1/2	104 1/4	17 3/8	209	2 dis.		4 1/4 di
	211	65 1/8	66 7/8	83 1/8	103 1/8	17 1/4	208	14 dis.		2 dis

PRINCIPA

PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1819.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, &c.

In the Year 1819.

JANUARY.

FRANCE.

THE Moniteur of the 30th ult. contains a royal ordonnance respecting the new ministerial arrangements. Among other changes, the marquis Dessolles, peer of France, minister of state, is nominated minister secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, and the president of the council of ministers; the sieur de Serre, member of the chamber of deputies, keeper of the seals, and minister secretary of state for the department of justice; and the count de Cazes, peer of France, minister secretary of state for the department of the interior.

The new ministry are in full activity, and seem to be very popular. All the members are considered as real constitutionalists, alike averse to the ultras of both parties, and attached only to the charter and to the king.

PARISIAN THEATRES.

The following account is given in the Moniteur of the receipts of the theatres, and other places of public amusement, at Paris, for 1818:—

	fr.	c.
Académie Royale de Musique	598,622	40
Théatre Français	654,729	5
Opéra Comique	604,975	70
Odéon-Favart	273,116	90
Bousses . . .	63,394	
Vaudeville . .	540,478	25
Variétés . . .	495,581	35
Gaieté	400,112	90
Ambigu . . .	413,814	96
Porte-St.-Martin	451,839	40
Cirque Olympique	222,099	10
Bals de l'Opéra	27,948	
Bals de l'Odéon .	4,107	
Tivoli	94,386	5
Jardin Beaujon .	68,075	25
Ruggierri . . .	4,251	25
Total . .	5,017,526	56

This amount does not include the Montagnes, Belleville, Lilliputiennes, &c. One tenth of the receipts is appropriated to the support of the indigent, and this tenth is estimated at nearly 588,000f. or about 24,500*l*.

SPAIN.

An article from Madrid, of the 26th of December, communicates the intelligence of the sudden death of the young queen of Spain, on that day, under circumstances truly mournful. She was in an advanced state of pregnancy; but her general health was very favourable, until nine o'clock of the evening of the 26th; when, conversing with the persons of her household, who usually formed her society in passing her evenings, she was suddenly seized

with a dizziness, which lasted for three or four minutes. This was followed, after a short interval, by a second attack which proved fatal. From the moment of her being first seized with a dizziness to her breathing her last, there was a lapse of only twelve minutes. The cæsarian operation was performed; and a female child, after having been baptized, and having every means used for its preservation, died in a few minutes. It is mentioned in the article from Madrid in a tone of eloquent and mournful tenderness. The princess, thus suddenly and prematurely taken away, was but 21 years of age. She was the daughter of John, sixth king of Portugal, and Charlotte Joachim de Bourbon, infanta of Spain. She was born the 19th of May 1797, and named Maria Isabella Frances. But a short period has gone by since she arrived in Europe from the Brazils, to become a bride and a queen: the circumstances of her death call to our minds an afflicting event which covered our country with mourning. Her sister is married to Ferdinand's brother.

The Paris papers, which have arrived to the 21st inst., bring intelligence of the death of another queen, in the person of the consort of Charles IV. of Spain, and mother of Ferdinand VII. (daughter of Philip, duke of Parma). Her majesty, who was in the 68th year of her age, expired at Rome on the 4th instant, after five days' illness only, a very short period after the demise of her daughter-in-law, the young queen of Spain, consort of Ferdinand VII. Her majesty was born the 9th December 1751. She was married to Charles IV. on the 4th of September 1765.

We have serious accounts from Spain of the state of the communications between Madrid and Cadiz; the couriers being convoyed by strong detachments of cavalry; and the merchants being compelled to form caravans, protected also by powerful escorts, as if they were to contend with hordes of predatory Tartars.

A letter of the 27th of December, from Irun, gives an alarming view of the internal state of that part of Spain. Armed bands have descended from the mountains of Sierra Morena upon New Castile, and ravaged the territory of La Mancha in various places. Their purposes, it is said, cannot be accurately stated; and a great proportion of them consists of men who have served in the army or in the Guerillas. They have advanced to the very centre of the province. Several bodies of troops have been marched by the government to meet them. The theatre of this approaching conflict is within about eighty or ninety miles of Madrid. New differences are said to be growing up between the governments of Spain and Portugal.

ITALY.

A letter from Naples, dated December 8, says, "Mount Vesuvius exhibits one of those terrible spectacles which too often alarm that unfortunate city. The crater opened with a dreadful noise; and after having darted forth whirlwinds of fire and inflammable matter, it vomited lava over the adjoining country as far as the foot of the village of Torre del Greco."

The administration of justice throughout

throughout the dominions of Naples has been lately formed, and on principles quite new within that kingdom. The seignorial and local jurisdictions have all been suppressed, and royal courts established in place of them; a whole swarm of vexatious and tyrannical abuses having thus been swept away at one blow.

GERMANY.

Intelligence has been received from Brussels of the death of the queen of Wurtemberg, after an illness of only five days. The fatal disease was a violent *erysipelas*; which, affecting the head, produced apoplexy. The death of this accomplished princess, in the prime of life, will be deeply lamented by all who can appreciate a well-informed and elegant mind united to an active and benevolent disposition. She was the favourite sister of the emperor of Russia, and the same lady who, as duchess of Oldenberg, resided at the Pulteney hotel during the visit of the royal sovereigns to this country. She was born May 22, 1788. Her first husband, the duke of Oldenberg, served in the Russian campaign, and died of a fever caught by his attendance in the hospitals to visit his sick officers and soldiers. She next married the hereditary prince, now king, of Wurtemberg, who survives her, by whom she has left issue.

Torture has just been abolished by the states of Hanover. The introduction of trial by jury has been "talked of" in the same assembly.

A dreadful species of ophthalmia prevails at present among the Prussian troops in garrison at Mentz, and those stationed round that city. It is said to proceed rapidly to blindness; and when the last accounts came away, 80 of the men of the garrison, and 2000 of those in the neighbourhood, were afflicted with it.

The population of Prussia in 1817, was above 10,500,000, making 2,106 to each square league of territory. The males between 15 and 60 years of age were upwards of 3,000,000.

It is very well known that Mr. Clarkson, the strenuous advocate for the speedy and entire abolition of the slave-trade, went to Aix-la-Chapelle, to endeavour to interest the congress of sovereigns, &c. in behalf of the unfortunate African race. At his interview with lord Castlereagh, his lordship expressed his hope that Portugal might be brought to renounce the trade at the period which was to put an end to it on the part of Spain, namely, the 30th May, 1820; but he doubted whether it would be possible to have it declared piracy from that time. The duke of Wellington was most laudably energetic on the subject. He said, they must give it up. He saw no reason why it should not be declared piracy—it was its proper designation: he engaged to do his utmost to forward the object. The emperor Alexander was equally warm in behalf of the poor Africans; he said, it was not to be endured that Portugal should continue to resist the united wishes of Europe, by continuing the trade for a single day after all other nations had abandoned it. The miscreants who should continue afterwards to carry it on ought to be treated as pirates.

Extract of a letter from Bava-

varia:—"We have witnessed here a superb funeral of the baron Hornstein, a courtier; but the result is what induces me to mention it in my letter. Two days after, the workmen entered the mausoleum, when they witnessed an object which petrified them! At the door of the sepulchre lay a body covered with blood—it was the mortal remains of this favourite of courts and princes. The baron was buried alive! On recovering from his trance he had forced the lid of the coffin, and endeavoured to escape from the charnel-house—it was impossible; and therefore, in a fit of desperation, as it is supposed, he dashed his brains out against the wall. The royal family, and indeed the whole city, are plunged in grief at the horrid catastrophe."

SWEDEN.

In five years Sweden has diminished in population 58,504 souls: 38,527 males; 19,977 females.

RUSSIA.

The Paris journals contain the following statement respecting the present strength of the Russian army. It is said to consist of 880,000 men, divided into different corps, 360,000 of which are infantry, 68,000 regular cavalry, 86,000 cossacks, 49,600 artillery, 75,000 marines, 100,000 belonging to the first line of the reserve, and 50,000 to the second, and 75,000 veterans.

TURKEY.

By the successful attack upon Derajeh, which put the Turks in possession of Ardallah Ben Sund, the head of the sect of Wechabites and several minor chiefs, it is stated that no less than 20,000 of his followers were slain. The captured chief had all his teeth drawn by the Turks previous to his being sent to Constantinople!

The formidable Wechabite chief is, according the Paris papers, anxiously expected at Constantinople, where he is to be exposed, with his family, on a car, drawn through the streets, and afterwards, no doubt, to lose his head.

ASIA.

The last letters from Bombay bring afflicting accounts of the mortality arising from the *cholera morbus*, which raged in the Decan during the months of July and August, and had not been entirely overcome, though greatly decreased, in September. It has been chiefly mortal among the natives; few Europeans have suffered. About 2,000 of the natives died at a religious place called Punderpore.

Letters have been received from Java, dated 27th September. They mention that a serious insurrection had broken out at Samarang. About 100 Dutch troops had been killed, and between 300 and 400 inhabitants had been massacred by the soldiery.

By the arrival of the Kingston, from Java, intelligence of much importance, as affecting British interests in the Indian seas, has been received. Sir Thomas Raffles, the governor of Fort Marlborough, has displayed his characteristic energy and activity since his arrival in Sumatra, and has anxiously endeavoured to extend the British influence over the whole of that valuable and extensive island. Sumatra has hitherto been very little known. The population of the interior were considered as savages, and the mountains as impassable; and yet the

the natives would still bring down their gold, cassia, camphor, &c. for which Sumatra had from the earliest ages been famous. The governor has penetrated into the interior in three different directions. The result has been the discovery of a country highly cultivated, and abounding in precious metals; and it is the governor's opinion, that far greater resources are to be found in Sumatra than the British could have derived from Java.—In this expedition the governor was accompanied by lady Raffles, whose appearance was the most peaceable standard the party could hoist. They found the country beautiful and magnificent. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles has thrown the trade open, and reformed all the establishments.

Serious differences have arisen between sir Thomas Raffles and the Dutch governors and agents in the eastern seas. The Dutch commissioners-general at Batavia have sent an armed force to Palembang, and, without the slightest pretence of right or injury, dethroned the sultan who had been placed on the throne by Great Britain, whose rights were consecrated by treaty; they also disarmed and sent away a British officer present on a mission to the sultan, and struck the British colours hoisted by him. The British character, it is said, was insulted and degraded in the grossest terms, and governor Raffles has personally protested against the pretensions and principles on which the Dutch act in the eastern seas.

Extract of a letter from Ceylon, dated Candy, June 16, 1818:—

"Since I last had the pleasure of addressing you, I have wandered about this island, from district to district. I first ascended Adam's Peak, a mountain almost 7000 feet above the sea, covered with wood from its base to its summit, and commanding the most magnificent view of the interior, where the God of nature might be addressed with genuine feelings of adoration, instead of a foolish mark, an impression as it is called of Boodha's foot, which attracts, from all parts of the east, crowds of Indians, by whom it is worshipped. I next went into the district of the Higher Patton, where the lakes are salt, and the forests, with which the country is covered, are composed chiefly of euphorbia and mimosæ; the inhabitants very few, with the exception of wild animals, as elephants, buffaloes, boars, deer (which abound), with a great variety of beautiful birds. I then proceeded into the Candian country, which may be briefly described as mountainous in the extreme; lofty hills, deep valleys and glens, alternately succeeding each other, emboldened by rocks and precipices, animated by floating clouds and rushing torrents; yet in parts decorated with extensive, I might almost say, unbounded woods; and occasionally enlivened by plantations and cottages, rice fields and cocoa nut groves, or other magnificent and beautiful fruit and forest trees. The character of the Candian people, no less remarkable than that of their country, I must reserve for another occasion, with an account of their religion, their government analogous to the feudal system,

and their manners, habits, and customs, derived from those primitive institutions. In the interior I explored some parts that had never before been visited by an European, and where a white man was never before seen. I had a distant view of the country inhabited by the Vaidahs, a savage race of hunters, ignorant of every art, without any knowledge of numbers or letters. From Candy I proceeded to Trincomalee, across the island, travelling through a now desolated forest more than sixty miles in extent, and witnessing innumerable proofs of this desert having once been a populous and wealthy kingdom. At Trincomalee we found one of the finest harbours in the world; from thence we returned to the capital of the interior, which we had left in peace, and which we found in a state of rebellion.

"The rebellion had a small beginning; it has spread and involved almost the whole country; it commenced in November last, and ever since it has been gaining ground. What will be the event, heaven knows. I am not very sanguine of our success. The details of this rebellion, and the species of warfare that has been carried on, I shall not enter into; they would afford you little pleasure, and much pain, being a tragedy without any great and noble events to dignify it."

Extract of another letter from Ceylon, of the 18th August last:—"The unfortunate war in the Candian country is further than ever from a termination.—Amongst the number of officers who have already died of the fever are captain Jones, captain Langton, doctor Hoper, captain Gray, lieutenant Crutwell, lieutenant Taylor, and many others; I dare not venture to say how many more. Poor Mrs. Gray, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Crutwell, and Mrs. Green are widows; some of them with large families. People say that military men of considerable experience have declared that it will require 60,000 men to hold the Candian country under the present system: there are even at present 20,000 men, including the sepoys of the company and their coolies, &c. in the country.

"The sickness has been, and is, melancholy; upwards of 1000 men are in hospitals; and the expense, including the reinforcements that are expected from Bengal, is almost as great as that of the English force in France."

AFRICA.

A new mission for exploring the interior of Africa has been proceeded on, under the direction of Mr. Ritchie, late private secretary to our ambassador at Paris. His companion and second in the mission is lieutenant Lyon, late of his majesty's ship Albion, now at Malta, who volunteered, and was appointed at the recommendation of admiral sir Charles Penrose, as being peculiarly qualified for this service. They are accompanied by monsieur Duponte, a French naturalist; also by a surgeon and a carpenter. The bashaw and a military escort attend them from Tripoli (where they now are) to Mourzuk, and they are to have a like escort throughout their progress. Mr. Ritchie is a young man of great research, abilities, and prudence.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

American papers to the 7th ult. furnish us with the proceedings of congress to the 3rd inst. These, we regret to say, afford another lamentable proof of the total absence of the feelings of humanity where those of interest become concerned. On a question relative to the right of removing slaves or servants of colour from one state to another, that right was admitted in congress, upon the abhorrent principle that, being merely *property*, any man had a right to remove them, as well as any *other property*!

The proceedings in the trials of our unfortunate countrymen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, laid before congress by Mr. Monro, have been published in the American papers. If the accounts of the trials had not been published by the Americans themselves, the world would have had some difficulty in believing that they contained the real grounds on which the two unfortunate men were put to death. These gentlemen were resident among the Indians who inhabited the wild country upon the ill defined borders of Georgia and the Floridas. They were taken by the Americans within a Spanish post. A court-martial was assembled, by general Jackson's orders, on the 26th of last April 1818, to try these British subjects for crimes against the United States; of which court-martial general Gaines was president. The charges against Mr. Arbuthnot were, exciting and stirring up the Creek Indians to war against the United States and her citizens; he (Arbuthnot) being a subject of Great Britain, with whom the United States were at peace; and aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, and supplying them with the means of war. He was found guilty, and executed.—The charges against Ambrister were —1st, aiding the enemy—2nd, leading and commanding them. He had been an officer in the British service, and the court in the first instance condemned him to death; but this sentence they reconsidered; when their final and official judgement was, that he should be whipped, and confined with a chain for twelve months. General Jackson *disapproves* this latter sentence; and of his own sovereign will, and barefaced power, reviving the decision which the court had cancelled, and which therefore was already null and void, he actually ordered the miserable man to be shot.

From the treasury report it appears that the public revenue of the United States, in the present year, amounts to 28,000,000 of dollars, leaving a surplus of 2,000,000 over the expenditure. The unredeemed debt is nearly 100,000,000. The report corresponds with the president's message in the fair and prosperous appearance which it gives to the financial affairs of the United States; but the proceedings in congress tend to undeceive the public mind, and to show the frail foundation upon which this boasted affluence depends. It also appears, that all the state banks, from Cincinnati to Kentucky, have been obliged to suspend cash payments. A general gloom overhangs the monied institutions of the country; a common medium of circulation, which was expected

pected from the national establishment, has not been realized in practice; specie is above par; the national bank shares are below those of the state or provincial banks; great disappointments have been felt by all classes of speculators; large sums of money have been lost, and much distress is experienced throughout all the commercial towns.

Accounts of all sorts continue to arrive from British emigrants in the western states of America; the sum total of which seems to imply, that, although a very encouraging country for agricultural and some descriptions of mechanical labourers, so many sacrifices are necessary on the part of those possessed of capital, and of more refined habits, as to overbalance all the opposing inducements; always excepted, that of a large rising family, the future comfortable settlement of which may be almost certainly realised by great temporary endurance on the part of the parent.

A bill has been brought into the American house of representatives, the observations on which afford a melancholy picture of the sufferings of the emigrants from Europe to the United States. They were not exceeded by the former privations of the blacks in the middle passage, nor attended with less shocking mortality. Of 5000 who sailed from Antwerp, &c. in the year 1817, 1000 died on the passage. In one instance, a captain sailed from a Dutch port with 1287 passengers in a single ship. He shortly after put into the Texel. In the interval 400 had died, and 800 more died before the vessel reached Philadelphia. A bill has accordingly been brought into the house of representatives to restrict the number of passengers to two for every five tons burthen.

The American papers relate an important fact with respect to the northern boundary-line between Canada and the United States. The fort built on Rouse's Point by the Americans, since the peace, has been determined by the commissioners to be on the British side of the line. This places the possession of fort Rouse in our hands, which is the key of communication between Canada and the United States on the waters of Lake Champlain; and in case of war, secures to us an uninterrupted entrance into that lake.

MR. MONROE.

James Monroe, the president of the United States, is a native of Virginia; he was born in 1759; and in 1776, though so young, he took part with his countrymen in their resistance to the parent state. At the battle of Trenton, December 26, 1776, his shoulder-bone was broken by a musket-ball, and he was so dangerously wounded that his life was despaired of. His bravery and good conduct caused general Washington to promote him to a captaincy; he was afterwards appointed aide-de-camp to major-general Stirling, and subsequently a colonel of a regiment. In 1782 he was elected to the legislature of Virginia; in 1783 we find him a member of the old congress. In 1787 he was again elected to the legislature of Virginia. In 1788 he was a member of the Virginia convention, which ratified the present constitution of the United States. In 1790 he was elected a senator of the United States. He continued in the United States

States senate until 1794, when he was selected by president Washington to represent the United States as minister to the French republic. On his return from France he was elected governor of his native state, and in 1799 concluded the constitutional term for holding that office. In 1802 Mr. Monroe was sent, by president Jefferson, to France to negotiate the purchase of Louisiana, which was accomplised entirely to the satisfaction of the nation. Having succeeded in his negotiations at Paris, in 1808 he was appointed minister to London, and in 1805 was sent on a special mission to Madrid. On his return from Europe he was again elected to the legislature of Virginia; and the same year (1810) elected the governor of that state. In 1811 he was appointed secretary of state; and on the capture of Washington, in 1814, he was bold and patriotic enough to accept the appointment (temporarily) of secretary of war.

By the Jamaica papers we learn, that, in consequence of the late hurricane, the island had exhibited a scene of distress and desolation scarcely ever equalled. On the 27th of November a report was presented by Mr. Stewart, of Trelawny, from the committee which had been appointed to inquire into the effects of the storm. In this, the committee recommended an address to be sent up to his grace the duke of Manchester, stating, that, with the exception of a small part of the county of Middlesex, the utmost misery prevailed in every quarter; and that throughout the western parishes the provisions of the slave population had been entirely destroyed. It is therefore prayed that his grace may open the ports to all nations.

Two earthquakes were experienced at St. Domingo on November 20: five persons and some houses were swallowed up.

We learn from papers brought by a mail from Jamaica, that the colonial assembly of Dominica had passed an act for providing a curate to promote religious instruction among the slaves in the several parishes of that island. He is to receive a salary of 200*l.* per annum, current money, and 4*s.* 6*d.* for every slave that he baptizes, to be paid by the owner of such slave. It is further enacted, that in case a clergyman of the church of England cannot be procured to accept the office, the governor may appoint to it a Moravian missionary of good character. A correspondence had taken place between the assembly and the governor, relative to the information which he had transmitted to lord Bathurst, of various cases in which refractory negroes were alleged to have been punished by wearing heavy chains. The governor, at the request of the house, sent a list of the negroes alluded to, and at the same time recommended to it the abolition of the use of dungeons on several estates, which, he says, are so confined in their dimensions, that no human being can stand upright in them, nor even erect the body when kneeling. It does not appear, from the papers which have reached us, whether the house deemed this part of the message deserving of any consideration; but an investigation was

was immediately instituted as to the other part; and the result is said to have been, that in all the cases specified, the chains were found to be considerably lighter than had been stated.

The following is an extract of a letter from St. Thomas's, dated the 21st ult. :—"Arrived here a few days ago, captain Brown, of the schooner Eliza, of new York. This schooner was bound from Lima to Rio de la Hache, or St. Mather. Near the coast she was overhauled by a royal Spanish privateer, commissioned by the government of Rio de la Hache, who wantonly fired into her after having taken in all sail. While the captain was in his boat, going from his schooner to the privateer, they were pouring vollies of musketry at him; and on boarding the Eliza, one of the Spaniards deliberately took aim at and shot a Mr. Williams, part owner of the Eliza, through the heart. They then plundered the vessel, and carried her into Rio de la Hache, where captain Brown made a protest, and got a part of the things stolen from him returned. His schooner was so torn to pieces, that he had to sell her. Communications have been sent to the president of the United States, giving details of this foul murder, which will, it is hoped here, not go unnoticed. A fleet of small vessels sailed from hence about a fortnight ago, under the convoy of a Dutch brig of war, amongst them the Dutch schooner Harmony. The day after they fell in with two independent privateers, which cut off and captured two Spanish vessels, blew up a Spanish armed brig, took possession of the Harmony, and sent her up to Margarita. We are still ignorant of the fate of the remainder of the convoy."

INTELLIGENCE FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

December 30.—Johnston, convicted, with two accomplices, of the robbery of Mr. Charles at Edinburgh, suffered near to the site of the old gaol. The execution was very remarkable.—Johnston was brought to the scaffold at 15 minutes from three o'clock. He appeared confident; and, after some minutes spent in devotion, dropped the signal. The executioner was awkward. The rope was too long, and the toes of the criminal reached the platform. Cries of "murder" rose from the crowd; and a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. A well-dressed young man jumped on the scaffold, and cut down Johnston. Showers of stones compelled the magistrates, guard, &c. to quit the spot; and Johnston, still living, was borne in triumph down the Luckenbooths. Fortunately the mob passed the police office, and afforded opportunity for a sortie by a large police force, which put the authorities again in possession of Johnston. He was kept in the police office till a military force from the castle enabled the magistrates to carry the sentence into execution; but again the executioner performed his office in such a bungling manner, that the body had to be raised up while the rope was shortened by turning it several times round the hook. Another shout of "murder" and "shame, shame," broke from the crowd; but the place was now well guarded with soldiers,

diers, and no further outrage was attempted.

January 5.—The last month has proved particularly disastrous to the shipping of Plymouth. Four have been lost; the Emily, Thomas, from Bristol, and the Flora, Palmer, from Liverpool, both bound to Plymouth with general cargoes; the Providence, Power, from Plymouth to St. Michael's, in ballast; and the Effort, Baker, from the Ionian Islands to Grimsby, with fruit. To this list may be added the loss of the ship Eliza, of Plymouth, Luch master, in the gulf of St Lawrence; and the Neptune, also of Plymouth, Wilson, on the Island of Newfoundland, in November.

7.—The extensive corn-mill of Messrs. Homer and Drake, near Wakefield in Yorkshire, was last week consumed by fire: the loss is estimated at from 9,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* The accident is supposed to have been caused by the friction of the machinery.

9.—While the duke of Montrose was in Scotland, he is said to have presided several times at a meeting in Dumbarton, having for its object the deepening the bed of the Clyde five or six feet in the neighbourhood of that place, with a view to reduce the level of Loch Lomond in the same proportion, and thereby increase the extent of land on its islands and shores.

16.—A Newcastle paper says—"As three boys were amusing themselves with making bonfires between Wortley and the Wellington road, some ignited wood fell into a draw-well in which hydrogen gas had been generated, which exploded with great violence, blowing the stones which partly covered the well a considerable height. The boys were all hurt, but none of them dangerously."

18.—Two fishermen of Portsmouth, engaged at St. Helen's in herring-catching with a drift net, caught a very large female porpoise (of the species *Delphinus Phocæna*) and its young one. It got entangled in the net by its tail; which impeding its rising to the surface to respire (as all mammillary animals do), it drowned itself in about 20 minutes. It measured 10 feet 11 inches, 6 feet round, and weighed between 10 and 11 cwt.; it has 84 teeth. (The young one is two feet long, and weighs three quarters of a cwt.) This is a very large fish, as their extreme length seldom exceeds eight feet. It was in the midst of a shoal of herrings, and a large quantity of these fish were caught by the men at the same time.

The estates of the dean and chapter of Bristol cathedral are stated to have increased so much within the last three years, that the incomes and salaries of the minor canons and the other officers have been nearly doubled.

EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

The following is a statement of the number of passengers who embarked at the port of Belfast, from the commencement to the ending of the year 1818.—The actual number is rather more, as three children are reckoned but as one passenger:—

FOR BRITISH AMERICA.

Quebec	2268
St. Andrew's, N. B. .	1989
St. John's, N. B. . . .	43
Prince Edward's Island	22
Pictou	246
Total	3618

FOR THE UNITED STATES.

New York	622
Philadelphia	448
Baltimore	364
Charleston	223
Boston	29
New Orleans	61
Total	1647
Grand total	5265

PORT OF LIVERPOOL.

The following is the account of the number of vessels reported at the custom-house for the year 1818, with those of the previous year:—This account does not include the vessels employed in the coasting trade:—

From January 5, 1818 to January 5, 1819.

From Europe	807
British from foreign ports	827
Foreign from foreign ports	359
Ireland and Isle of Man	1824
Total	3817

From January 5, 1817 to January 5, 1818.

From Europe	509
British from foreign ports	571
Foreign from foreign ports	574
Ireland and Isle of Man	1646
Total	3100

Increase in arrivals in 1818, 717.

And 238 more than in 1815, in which the arrivals were greater than at any former period since the establishment of the port. The number of vessels arrived from the East Indies last year (and included in the above statement) was 34, comprising 26,852 tons. The number which have cleared out from this port since the opening of this trade exceeds one hundred. The number of vessels employed in the coasting trade (including those from Ireland with grain only) may be computed at from 2300 to 2500; exclusive of 10 to 50 vessels daily navigating the Mersey between this port and the Weaver and the Sankey navigations.

PORT OF HULL.

The following is a statement of the amount of customs duty, trade, &c. to the port of Hull, for the years ending 5th of January 1817 and 1818, viz.: The gross receipt in 1817 was 301,000*l.* In the last year it was upwards of 520,000*l.*, being 129,000*l.* more than the preceding year, and 82,000*l.* more than in 1809; which last year was previously the most productive since the port was established. The number of vessels arrived and cleared was as under:—

	No.	Tonnage.
Ships inward with cargoes, 1817	844	143,940
Ships inward with cargoes, 1818	1425	224,900

being an increase of 601 vessels, tonnage 80,960, over the preceding year. The trade outwards in the same period was as under:—

Ships outwards with cargoes, 1817	409	50,500
Ships outwards with cargoes, 1818	413	53,500

The following returns of the duties of customs and excise at Belfast, for the two preceding years, ending the 5th inst. will show the increasing prosperity of the trade of the town, and of the public revenue:—

CUSTOMS.

Receipt of customs for year ended 5th January 1819	£77,135 17 11½
Ditto 5th January 1818	34,211 10 8
Balance in favour of last year	£42,924 7 3½

EXCISE

EXCISE.

Receipt of excise for the year ended 5th January 1819	221,620 11 0
Ditto 5th January 1818	201,926 8 0
Increase last year	£ 19,694 3 0

From the above it appears that the total increase of customs and excise last year above that of the preceding year was £62,618 10*s.* 3½*d.*

OCCURRENCES IN LONDON AND ITS VICINITY.

Windsor castle, January 2.—His majesty's disorder remains unaltered. His majesty continues cheerful, and in good general health.

Monday, January 4.

The queen's horses and carriages were this day appointed to be sold at Tattersall's. Six of the most valuable carriage horses were purchased for the earl of Harcourt, master of the horse to the late queen; and one for the duke of Wellington. Mr. Rambottom of Windsor was also a considerable purchaser. The horses sold considerably above their value. Horses upwards of 17 years of age sold for 70 and 80 guineas each; and several, that in other hands would not have fetched 10*l.*, sold for 50, 60, and 70 guineas each. The following are a few of the most valuable:

	Guineas.
Chance, aged 7	180
Lofty - 6	150
Mason - 7	160
Spanker (aged)	130
Spenser (ditto)	130
Spider (ditto)	135
Wimbush 7	140
Tintail - 5	150
Lion - - 7	140
Stringhalt 6	115

The total produce of the whole 55 horses was 4,544*l.* The carriages sold but indifferently, and mostly among the coachmakers. A sociable barouch landau with three detached heads brought only 105 guineas. This carriage, within the last 18 months, cost 300 guineas repairing. The state chariot of the master of the horse brought only 37 guineas; and the whole 18 carriages produced only 1,077*l.* The most valuable of the late queen's carriages, a landau recently built, was left by her majesty's will to madam Beckendorff.

Wednesday Jan. 6.

The king's jewels, which had been missing for some months past, were discovered. Messrs. Rundle and Bridge had been engaged in estimating her late majesty's jewels, previously to their "being sold, and their produce divided among her four daughters," agreeably to the tenor of her will. Having finished their valuation, the circumstance was notified to the prince regent, who attended at Buckingham-house to see them divided among his royal sisters. The princess Augusta was present. On the jewels being apportioned into four heaps of equal value, a question arose about the manner in which they were to be deposited. One of the female attendants having suggested that in an adjoining lumber room a number of empty boxes were stowed, which had been used as cases in which the royal jewels had been carried to and from the bank (where they are usually deposited), the boxes were ordered to be produced; and on examining one of them, which on first sight appeared to be filled with the lawn, or silve-

paper, in which jewellery is in general enveloped, the king's sword-hilt, star, loop, garter, and other jewels were unexpectedly discovered.

A lamentable instance of infatuation was exhibited at Guildhall. S. Sibley and his wife, S. Jones and his son (ten years old), T. Jones, J. Angel, J. Dodd, T. Smith, and E. Slater (a boy 12 years of age) were brought up from the compter by two officers, who had rescued the prisoners from the fury of a mob in Budge-row, Cannon-street. It appeared they were disciples of the late Joanna Southcott, and conceived themselves commanded by God to proclaim the coming of Shiloh. For this purpose they assembled at the west end of the town, in order to enter the city by the only remaining gate, Temple bar, through which they marched in procession about nine o'clock on Wednesday. Each was decorated with a white cockade, and wore a small star of yellow riband on the left breast. Sibley led the procession, bearing a brazen trumpet adorned with light blue ribands, and the two boys carried each a small flag of light blue silk. In this manner they proceeded through Fleet-street, up Ludgate-hill, and along St. Paul's church-yard, to Budge-row, a great crowd following them, which was continually increasing as they proceeded. Having arrived in the middle of the great city, they halted, and began their ceremonies. Sibley sounded the trumpet, and proclaimed the second coming of the Shiloh, the prince of peace, on earth; and his wife cried out aloud, "Woe! woe to the inhabitants of the earth, because of the coming of the Shiloh!" This was repeated several times, and joined in by others of the company. By this time the crowd was terrific, and every avenue was stopped up. The mob began shouting and laughing at these poor deluded people, and pelting them with mud and every missile they could procure: they, on their part, stoutly resisted; the fight became general and tremendous; the flags were torn down, the mob was triumphant, and Sibley and his associates were with difficulty conveyed to the compter. By the examination of these ignorant creatures, it appeared that their proceedings were influenced by the dreams of the boy Slater, who, as one of the prisoners affirmed, had had, in four or five months, between five and six hundred visions from above. As the presiding alderman could not make them engage to depart peaceably to their homes, he was under the necessity of committing them to bridewell; from which however they were discharged the following day, on promise of remaining quiet in future.

On the first day of meeting of the new parliament, the members for the city of London, according to ancient custom, took their seats at the top of the treasury bench in the house of commons, in scarlet robes, in rotation as the numbers stood at the close of the poll, and continued in those seats during the election of the speaker. Mr. Wilson, not being an alderman, provided himself (as sir Brook Watson did upwards of 30 years ago) with a scarlet robe without fur.

The

The convocation of the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury assembled at the chapter-house of the cathedral of St. Paul, where they were met by the dean of the arches, the vicar general of the archbishop and chancellor of London, the advocates and proctors, in their proper habits. The procession moved from Doctors' commons about eleven. His grace and the bishops took their seats in the choir, clothed in their canonicals, and after the usual ceremonies were gone through, an adjournment took place.

Official abstract of the net produce of the revenue of Great Britain, for the quarters ending the 5th January 1818 and 1819 respectively, exclusive of arrears of war duties :—

	1818.	1819.
Customs....	£3,017,621	2,165,664
Excise.....	5,499,672	6,238,040
Stamps.....	1,566,532	1,530,532
Post office....	319,000	319,000
Assessed taxes.	2,260,017	2,303,778
Land taxes...	353,604	408,366
Miscellaneous	255,318	133,381
	13,271,764	13,398,761

It appears, upon the comparative view of the customs' revenue for the two corresponding quarters, that there has been a less receipt in the quarter just expired than in the corresponding quarter last year; but that quarter was swelled by an anticipated payment upon sugar duties to the amount of about 700,000*l.*, which would otherwise not have been paid till the next or the following quarter. Under the head of miscellaneous there is a difference of above 120,000*l.* in favour of the corresponding quarter last year; but this is to be attributed to a large repayment of imprest money. The absolute excess, on a comparison of the two quarters, is 126,997*l.*: the receipts, however, of the quarter just expired, compared with the charges on the consolidated fund, exhibit a deficiency of 1,279,000*l.*, being much less than was anticipated, this being the large half-year's payment of dividends.

The lord chief baron of the court of exchequer has applied himself to the duties of his office with so much assiduity, that on Thursday, January 21, not a single cause remained on the paper for hearing, though for many years past there has been a very great arrear.

ECCENTRIC CHARACTER.

Mr. Courtois, whose death at an advanced age has recently been recorded, was for many years a hair-dresser in the metropolis. By dint of extraordinary exertions in various ways, and through a most rigid system of economy in his expenditure, this man (who seemed to have no small portion of the Charteris and the Elwes blended in his composition) died immensely rich, having amassed, according to confident reports, nearly two hundred thousand pounds! Old Courtois was long well-known in the purlieus of St. Martin's and the Haymarket. His appearance was meagre and squalid, and his clothes, such as they were, were pertinaciously got up in exactly the same cut and fashion, and the colour always either fawn or morone. For the last 30 years the venerable *chapeau* was uniformly of the same cock. The principal feat, however, in which this fervent votary of Plutus appeared before the public, was his curious and nearly

fatal affair with the unfortunate Mrs. Maria Theresa Phepoe. About twenty years ago this ill-fated woman projected a rather bungling scheme, in order to frighten her old acquaintance and visitor, Courtois, out of a considerable sum of money. One evening, when she was certain of his calling, she had her apartment prepared for his reception in a species of *funereal* style—a bier, a black velvet pall, black wax candles lighted, &c. No sooner had the old friend entered the room, than the lady, assisted by her *maid*, pounced on him, forced him into an arm chair, in which he was forcibly held down by the woman, while the lady, brandishing a case knife or razor, swore, with some violent imprecations, *that instant death should be his lot*, if he did not give her an order on his banker for a large sum of money. The venerable visitor, alarmed at the gloomy preparations and dire threats of the desperate female, asked for pen, ink, and paper, which being immediately produced, he wrote a check on his banker for (we believe) two thousand pounds. He immediately retired with precipitation, happy to escape without personal injury. The next morning, before its opening, he attended at the bank with some police myrmidons, and, on Mrs. Phepoe's making her appearance with the check, she was arrested, and subsequently tried at the Old Bailey, on a capital charge grounded on the above proceedings. However, through the able defence made by her counsel (now Mr. justice Fielding), who took a legal objection to the case as proved, and contended that she never had or obtained *any property* of Mr. Courtois, on the principle that possession constituted the first badge of ownership, she was eventually acquitted. Truth, however, obliges us to add, that Mrs. Phepoe, who was once connected with a respectable family in the sister island, was in about four years after capitally convicted on a charge of cutting and maiming a poor woman, for which she suffered the last penalty of the law. Some years since, the late lord Gage met Courtois, at the court-room of the East-India house, on an election business. "Ah, Courtois," said his lordship, "what brings you here?" "To give my *votes*, my lord," was the answer. "What! are *you* a proprietor?"—"Most certainly."—"And more votes than one?" "Yes, my lord, I have FOUR." "Aye, indeed! Why, then, before you take the book, pray be kind enough *to pin up my curls!*" with which modest request the proprietor of *four* votes, equal to *ten thousand pounds*, immediately complied!

THE LATE QUEEN'S WILL.

The will of her late majesty was on Friday proved in Doctors' Commons by lord Arden and general Taylor, the executors. The personal property is sworn to as being under 140,000*l.*

The will is in substance as follows:—

Her majesty directs her debts, and the legacies and annuities given by her will, to be paid out of the personalty, or out of the sale of personals, if there is not sufficient in her majesty's treasury to provide for those payments.

Her majesty states her property to consist of a real estate in

New

New Windsor, called the Lower Lodge, and of personals of various descriptions; those of the greatest value being her jewels, which are classed as follows:—

1. Those which the king purchased for 50,000*l.* and presented to her (supposed on her marriage).

2. Those presented to her by the nabob of Arcot.

3. Those purchased by herself, or being presents made on birthdays or other occasions.

In the event of the king surviving, and being restored from his malady, her majesty bequeaths to him the jewels which he purchased and gave her; but if he should not survive, or should not be restored to a sound state of mind, she then gives those jewels to the house of Hanover as an heirloom.

Her majesty then alludes to the queen of Wirtemberg being so handsomely provided for, and gives the jewels presented by the nabob of Arcot to her four remaining daughters, directing those jewels to be sold, and the produce divided amongst the four daughters, subject to the charge of debts, &c.

The remaining jewels she gives equally amongst the four daughters just mentioned, to be divided according to a valuation to be made of them.

The house and ground at Frogmore, and the Shawe establishment, her majesty gives to the princess Augusta Sophia; but if she should find living in it and keeping it up too expensive, it is directed to revert to the crown, upon a valuation being made and given for it to the princess Augusta Sophia, with due consideration to the improvements; whether it shall please the prince regent to reserve possession of it as an appendage to Windsor Castle, or to authorize any other disposal of it.

Her majesty gives the fixtures, articles of common household furniture, and live and dead stock in the house at Frogmore, or on the estates, to her daughter Augusta Sophia.

She gives the real estate in New Windsor, purchased of the late duke of St. Albans, and commonly called the Lower Lodge, with its appendages, to her youngest daughter Sophia.

Her books, plate, house-linen, china, pictures, drawings, prints, all articles of ornamental furniture, and all other valuables and personals, she directs to be divided in equal shares, according to a valuation to be made, amongst her four younger daughters.

Her majesty states, that she brought various property from Mecklenburgh, as specified in a list, No. 1. to be annexed to her will; and she desired that that property shall revert to the house of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, and be sent back to the senior branch of that house.

Her majesty then expresses her intention of giving several legacies, as specified in a list No. 2. to be annexed to her will, to be paid out of her personal property, within six months after her death; but no such lists as these were annexed to her will or made out by her majesty.

Her majesty appoints lord Arden and general Taylor trustees for the property bequeathed to her daughters Elizabeth and Mary; stating that property to be left to them for their sole benefit,

and independent of any husbands they have or may have, and she also appoints lord Arden and general Taylor her executors.

The will is dated November 16, 1818 (the day before her majesty's death). It is in the handwriting of general Taylor; and two of the attesting witnesses are sir Francis Milman and sir Henry Halford.

THE QUEEN'S PROPERTY.

Part of the queen's property, consisting of pieces of silk and satin, gold and silver, figured and plain, not made up, were measured on Friday, at the queen's house, St. James's park, amounting to 2140 yards.—They were presents to her majesty, or purchases made by her for the encouragement of the manufactures. They are of various prices, from one guinea to five guineas per yard, and many of them of the most beautiful workmanship—one of them, a piece of green silk shot with gold, is of the most exquisite beauty. This valuable collection the princesses have presented to madame Beckendorff, as a mark of their esteem for the favourite of their deceased royal parent. In another apartment was a large store of the most superb shawls, oriental presents to her majesty, but many of them nearly consumed by the moths.

We remark with pleasure, that certain improvements have been made in the gallery of the house of commons since the last recess, by which it must be more rapidly cleared when strangers are ordered to withdraw, and by which those scenes of confusion and contest will be prevented which formerly occurred at every division on an interesting question. An additional door, with an additional staircase, leading into a common lobby, are now made, one of which is to be appropriated to those who enter, and the other reserved for those who retire; the one being alternately shut when the other is employed. The consequence is, that those who first retire on the order of the speaker to withdraw, will first reach the admission door, and be first admitted; so that the former contest about who should remain longest will now be converted into a struggle about who shall get out soonest. Coupled with this change, which has merely a reference to the order and convenience of the house itself, and which at the utmost can only save a little time and a little personal exertion of the messengers, there is another, which, as it affords an additional accommodation to the gentlemen who report the proceedings of parliament, may be regarded as a benefit to the public at large. Until very lately, no facilities were granted them in the execution of their arduous and important duties: they had to struggle among the crowd for admission, and when admitted had no convenience allowed them beyond the idlest by-stander. The late speaker, without noise and without pretension, made several important arrangements for their convenience; and without granting *rights* which would have been inconsistent with the orders of the house, procured for them several practical privileges. To him they owe the advantage of a retiring-room in cases of a division, instead of being turned out to fight their way among the general crowd; and the convenience of being

being admitted at certain intervals in the course of the debate, although the doors be shut to other strangers. The right honourable gentleman who now fills the chair seems to be actuated by the indulgent temper of his predecessor, and we have no doubt will do all that still remains to be done to complete the arrangements which the latter went so far to establish. A small door, opening inwards, is now made for the back seat which the reporters generally occupy, and nothing more is required to be done but to rail off this back seat for their exclusive use, or to give the messengers orders to reserve it for their accommodation. By conceding *practically* this additional privilege, not a step is made towards infringing the orders of the house by conferring a claim of *right*. If their admission is *tolerated*, a more convenient seat for them may be *tolerated* too: if they are already distinguished from other strangers by certain privileges *de facto*, an additional privilege of the same kind may be conceded without changing further their relations in point of *right*: if the proceedings of the house are *permitted* to be published, facilities may be allowed for publishing them correctly while this permission continues, without making permission a law; and though the gallery of the house be small, the appropriation of one bench of it to the gentlemen who report its debates to the whole nation (or, in other words, to the representatives of the national audience) does not seem a disproportionate space taken from the accommodation of that part of the public who are anxious personally to attend. We refrain from making any observations on the qualifications of the gentlemen alluded to, or the advantage which the nation and Europe derive from the publicity given by their means to parliamentary proceedings. Dr. Paley considers the free publication of the speeches of members (which places the conduct of the legislature and of the government under the immediate eye of every man who can read a newspaper) a sufficient substitute for parliamentary reform; and if the vigilance thus kept alive, and the information thus diffused, be so important, surely no other argument need be used to justify a slight extension of accommodation to those by whose means these speeches are committed to the press.

The commissioners of excise having commenced their sittings at the chief office in Broad-street, some account of his majesty's excise-court may not be useless or unacceptable.

This court and the court of appeal from its decisions were constituted by the act of 12 Car. II., c. 23. s. 31.; and 12 Car. II., c. 24. s. 35.; which direct that "*forfeitures* and *offences* made and committed within the immediate limits of the chief office of excise in London, shall be heard, adjudged, and determined by the chief commissioners and governors appointed by his majesty, or the major part of them, or by the commissioners for appeals and regulating of this duty, in the case of appeal, but not otherwise."

The act of 12 Car. II., c. 23. s. 34. and c. 24. s. 48. states the *limits* of the chief office to include the cities of London and West-

minster, borough of Southwark and suburbs, and parishes within the bills of mortality, to which, by the act of 24 Geo. II. c. 40. the parish of St. Marylebone was added.

The officers of his majesty's court of excise are the *solicitor*, or his *deputy*, who has now a separate patent.

2. The registrar, and

3. The messengers who summon the parties, and execute the warrants granted by the court.

The duty of the commissioners of appeal is to hear and determine all appeals from the judgement of the commissioners of excise, in excise causes.

The number of causes heard and decided by the commissioners of excise, during the last five years, was 5904, or about 1180 annually. There were, during the same period, only *seven* appeals; of which *one* was not proceeded in by the appellant, *three* have not been heard, and in the remainjng *three* the decisions of the commissioners of excise have been *affirmed*.

The usual days of sitting of the commissioners of excise are Wednesdays and Fridays, and the sittings continue regularly for *six months* in every year, or longer, as the number of causes may render necessary. Counsel attend when the parties desire it, and on these occasions a barrister of experience is retained to defend the interests and rights of the crown. The last two counsel were Mr. justice Dampier, and, after him, Mr. Gaselee. The present counsel is Mr. Sheppard, son of the attorney-general. There are no fees in this court. The commissioners of excise attend during the whole of the sittings in rotation (except the chairman), in *addition* to their ordinary duties in the collection and management of the revenue.

The following is an accurate account of the late changes in the police of the metropolis:—Mr. Conant, from Worship-street, succeeds the late Mr. Burrows at Marlborough-street; Mr. Rogers, from Lambeth-street, succeeds Mr. Leach at Hatton-garden; and Mr. serjeant Sellon, from Union-hall, succeeds Mr. Turton at Hatton-garden. The new magistrates are,—Mr. Swabey, at Worship-street; Mr. Rawlinson, at Lambeth-street: and Mr. Baugh Allen, at Union-hall.

PURNEAH CATTLE.

A bull, cow, and calf, of the breed of Purneah, a district of Bengal, were brought to Dumfries from Calcutta. They are not larger than a Leicestershire sheep, extremely handsome and gentle. The calf is about ten weeks old, and was produced at sea: they were much admired for the symmetry of their shape. The grass upon which they were fed during their voyage, resembled *fiorin*, but appeared to be of finer texture, and was perfectly fresh and sweet-flavoured. They were also supplied with *gram*, a sort of grain not unlike our pease. The animals, notwithstanding the length of the voyage, were in high condition, and it is hoped will thrive in their new country.

NEWS FOR THE BLIND.

Comparative happiness is restored to the blind by the work of the abbe Guille, director of the royal institution for the blind at Paris. This valuable book has just been translated and printed in

in London; and it contains practical means and plain instructions, by which the blind may be taught to read, write, and cypher, and work at various useful trades and manufactures; illustrated with many engravings. In Paris the original work was printed by the blind.

AFFIDAVIT.

William Watkins, deputy and acting publisher of "*The Times*" newspaper, hereby makes oath and certifies, that the subjoined is a true and faithful account of the sale of "*The Times*" for the years 1816, 1817, and 1818, and likewise of the corresponding months of each year:—

	1816.	1817.	1818.
January	162,018	173,340	173,730
February	155,781	167,409	161,055
March	168,309	177,687	175,637
April	165,717	171,720	177,354
May	172,629	177,903	176,454
June	156,150	184,806	176,148
July	163,413	172,098	180,531
August	160,893	162,279	171,549
September	149,517	154,197	170,667
October	162,505	167,382	178,740
November	159,237	167,778	172,386
December	166,167	172,467	187,515
	1,941,345	2,049,066	2,101,766

FEBRUARY.

FRANCE.

It is spoken of at Paris as curious, that Louis XVIII. has chosen the same day of the year for his coronation, as that when Napoleon was crowned emperor.

The chamber of peers has agreed, by a majority of 79 voices to 35, to abolish throughout the French territory the *droit d'Aubaine*; by which the property of aliens deceased in France escheated to the French crown.

The French government have purchased 1300 Cashmire goats, which have already arrived in Russia, on their way to France.

SINGULAR FATE OF SOME OF THE CELEBRATED FRENCH GENERALS, WHO SERVED DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

General Dumourier, exiled from France, has now a pension of 1,200*l.* per annum from the British government.

Luckner, Custine, Houchard, Biron, duc de Lauzun, Westerman, Ronsin, Rossignol, } Guillotined, under the government of Robespierre.

Miranda, a native of Caraccas, died lately in Cadiz, a state prisoner.

Hoche, poisoned.
Championnet, ditto.
Kleber, assassinated in Egypt.
Pichegru, exiled from his country, afterwards strangled.
Brune, assassinated at Avignon in 1815.
Malet and Lahorie, (the latter implicated in George's conspiracy, but fled from France) shot for attempting to subvert the government of Bonaparte in 1812.
Ney, shot in 1815, during the government of Louis XVIII.
Mouton Duvernet, ditto, 1815.
Murat, shot by order of the king of Naples, after having himself been sovereign of that country.
Moreau, exiled from his country, and killed in battle in the war carried on against France in 1813.
Berthier, thrown out of a window and killed, his murderers not known.
The following are at present exiled from France:—Grouchy, Vandamme, Thureau, Savary (duc de Rovigo), Soult, Humbert, Bertrand, Lefevre Desnouettes, and the brothers Lallemand.

The *Journal de la Librarie* contains the names of the principal libraries in France. The most considerable are, the king's, in Paris, containing 800,000 volumes, of which 50,000 are manuscript. The library of St. Genevieve, in Paris, in which there are 110,000 printed volumes, and 2,000 manuscripts; the library of Lyons, containing 106,000 volumes; that of Bordeaux, which possesses 105,000; the Mazarine library, in Paris, in which are 90,000 printed volumes, and 3,437 manuscripts; that of Versailles, in which are 40,000; that of Dijon, which contains 35,000. The number of libraries in the departments is 274. These are, for the most part, if not altogether, open to the public.

The following is a curious order of the day issued by Bonaparte, when first consul, on the occasion of an act of suicide committed by a horse grenadier:—

Extract from the orderly book of the horse grenadiers of the consular guard.
Order of the 22d Floreal (year 10).

The grenadier Grobbin has destroyed himself in consequence of a love affair. He was otherwise a respectable man. This is the second event of the kind which has happened in the corps within a month.

The first consul has directed that it shall be inserted in the order of the day of the guard, that a soldier ought to know how to subdue sorrow and the agitation of the passions; that there is as much courage in enduring with firmness the pains of the heart, as in remaining steady under the grape shot of a battery. To abandon oneself to grief without resistance, to kill oneself in order to escape from it, is to fly from the field of battle before one is conquered.

(Signed) BONAPARTE, first consul.
A true copy. BESSIERES.

SPAIN.

It appears, that thirteen individuals, alleged to have been implicated in the affair at Valencia, were

were shot in that city on the 21st ult. The wretched delinquents were shot in the back, and their mangled remains afterwards exposed on gibbets. They refused to disclose any thing of their confederates, although the conspiracy is believed to have very extensive ramifications. After the execution, Elio published a sanguinary proclamation; in which, after exhorting the citizens to be faithful to their commander, he adds, "Point out to me the traitors, and I will exterminate them!"—The writer of these particulars closes with the following observation:—"The eyes of the Spaniards have been opened by the French war to the state of political and religious tyranny under which they have sufficiently groaned; and certain it is, that neither can be of long duration."

Letters from Spain mention, that an entire regiment which had left Zaragosa, under orders to proceed to Valencia, where it was supposed popular commotion existed, broke out into a state of open mutiny, at a place called Caspe; where the soldiers declared, they would not take up arms to enslave thir fellow countrymen. The colonel endeavoured to appease them; but, it is added, they rose upon and killed him, together with some of his officers, and then disbanded themselves.

GERMANY.

According to private letters from Berlin, colonel Massenbach has been sentenced to imprisonment for life in a fortress.

A letter from Frankfort, dated February 5, says, "The inhabitants of the grand duchy of Hesse having named a deputation to make the grand duke acquainted with their different grievances, the ministry prohibited them from taking such a step. Notwithstanding this, the deputies proceeded directly to the capital; and having explained, with as much truth as modesty, the grievances of their constituents, the grand duke replied to them—"I see clearly, that false reports have been made to me: for the future, the inhabitants have no more to do than to address themselves to me; I will endeavour to remedy the grievances of which they complain. They shall have the states as they wish them."

The late queen of Wirtemberg has bequeathed to the king, her husband, a million of roubles, and two table services; one of which, in gold, was a present from St. Petersburg. She has also left him the interest of two millions of roubles, bequeathed to her daughters, until the period of their majority.

There is a curious article in the French papers, under the head of Hanover, which furnishes a perfectly novel feature in the practice of legislation. In the last sitting of the general assembly of the states of Hanover, the question was, whether the nobility ought to contribute towards the public burthens, in conjunction with the third estate. The members of the first estate (the nobility) dreading a result inimical to their interests, retired from the hall, under various pretexts, with the view of preventing any decision being come to on this proposition. The number of deputies required to adopt any legal resolutions being 52, those of the third estate did not oppose this species

species of desertion, as long as the number remaining was sufficient; but when the 52d member, M. de Ramdohr, was in the act of following the example of his colleagues, the counsellor of the consistory, M. Spieker, a representative of the third estate, placed himself quickly before the door of the hall, and said, in a firm tone, to M. Ramdohr, that he invited him, in the name of all his colleagues, not to withdraw himself until the scrutiny on the project under discussion should be terminated. M. Ramdohr was obliged to comply; and after some conversation, the result of the scrutiny was an equal repartition of the public burdens amongst all the inhabitants, without distinction of classes.

A letter from Hamburgh contained some severe strictures on the senate of Lubeck, respecting an ordinance, or edict, published by the government of that republic: we find that these strictures have given great uneasiness, as if they were overcharged and calumnious. The most effectual way of putting the matter right, is by publishing the edict itself, of which we have obtained a copy: people, therefore, may draw their own conclusions, whether it is composed in a liberal spirit, or whether it does not, in a certain degree, merit the severity of our remarks:—

"ORDINANCE OF THE SENATE OF LUBECK, DATED DECEMBER 2, 1818.

"To prevent the citizens of Lubeck, who contribute towards the support of the state, from being injured, the senate has decreed—That all strangers, and Jews, are prohibited from carrying on trade within the jurisdiction of the city.

"For the first offence they are to pay a heavy penalty, with the loss of their goods. For the second offence, they are not to be permitted to dwell in the city, and themselves and families are to be sent to Moisling, or elsewhere.

"Every citizen and inhabitant is hereby required to refuse their assistance to strangers, and Jews, in carrying on an unlawful trade; and all offenders in this respect shall be subject to a heavy penalty, or imprisonment; and for a second offence, a still heavier punishment shall be inflicted: and if the offender is a citizen, he shall lose his citizenship.

"It shall be lawful for the guild of grocers, after information has been given to the magistrates, and with one of their officers, to enter the houses where such unlawful traffic is carried on, or suspected to be carried on; and if such traffic should be found to exist, the above regulations are to be carried into effect.

"All superintending officers of trade and navigation are to be particularly vigilant in discovering such unlawful traffic, and are referred to the decrees of 1768 and 1778, and other ordinances.

"This decree is to be printed, and made public in all the inns and beer houses; and to be made known to all Jews resident at present in this city; and the proper officers are required to act according to the spirit of this publication.

"Given in the senate, on the 2d day of December, 1818."

RUSSIA.

According to the last accounts from

from St. Petersburg, the Gulph of Finland was as open to navigation as in the middle of summer: a circumstance never before known at this period.

A system has been adopted in Russia, of quartering soldiers on the peasantry; by which the former are to be instructed in the arts of peace, and the latter in those of war!

TURKEY.

An article from Constantinople, of the 26th of December, contains the following further details relative to the execution of the chief of the Wechabites and two of his suite:—"It was on the 13th inst. that the impatience of the sultan and the whole nation was satisfied. The brig of the Pacha of Egypt, which had on board the leader of the formidable sect of the Wechabites, Abdallah, his mufti, and his treasurer, together with the treasures plundered by the Wechabites from the temple at Mecca, and now recovered, arrived in the port of this city. The sultan was immediately informed of it; and the following day the prisoners, loaded with chains, were led through several streets of Constantinople, and brought before the divan. After some questions had been put to them, and their answers noted down, they were sent to the house of Mehmed Ali Pacha, where they remained for the night. But the sultan was so incensed at this, that he caused them to be thrown the next day into the lowest dungeon of the Bostangi Pacha; there they remained till the 17th in rigorous confinement. On this the sultan, followed by a great multitude of people, repaired in solemn procession to the Eski Serai (Old Seraglio), to receive in this palace the congratulations of the great men on the victory over the Wechabites. After the grand vizier, the high admiral, and the chief of the scribes or legists, had bowed respectfully at the foot of the throne, the criminal Abdallah, with his mufti and treasurer, were brought in, chained, by the chief of the janissaries. The incensed monarch looked angrily at them, caused the Tartars who had brought them hither to be invested with sable pelisses, in their presence; and hereupon the schaich of the Islam announced to them their sentence of death, for the execution of which the sultan gave a sign. Immediately hereupon, the chief, Abdallah, was beheaded at the gate of the imperial palace; his mufti, opposite the gate of the vizier; and his treasurer, in the palace of the burnt pillar. Their bodies and heads remained exposed to view three days; but no tafta or table, announcing their crime, was fastened to them, as is usually done. It is said that a seal was found upon Abdallah Bensund, which, besides the history of his name, bore on it the title of Caliph."

On the same day arrived two Tartars of the pacha of Damascus, with the happy intelligence that the pilgrims of Mecca had safely passed the desert, and accomplished their journey. The Tartars brought several vessels filled with the water from the sacred spring Zemzem, and other presents from the holy city.

The Porte is constantly employed in the most active measures to ensure tranquillity and security in this city. The formidable

midable corps of the janissaries now receives punishments for its numerous mutinies. One of its first officers has lately been banished to Cyprus, and two others strangled in the castles on the Bosphorus. Four other officers, convicted of robbery and murder, have had the same fate.

Private accounts from Tripoli say that the governor of Fezzan had arrived there by sea with a rich cargo of negro slaves, elephants' teeth, ostrich feathers, &c. worth 300,000 heavy piastres. It is said to belong principally to the dey. However the continued traffic in slaves is to be lamented, which even some christian powers have not yet abandoned, it is consolatory to learn that the dey of Tripoli has sent out no cruizers since last summer, and seems inclined to turn his attention to agriculture.

The Gazette de France states, that the present grand seignior was born in 1782, and mounted the throne in 1806. This prince displays superior genius, a strong mind, and great firmness. During two years he has succeeded in reducing the janissaries to a strict obedience.—All the pachas and rebel agents have been compelled to submit, and the most obstinate have lost their lives. He has abolished hereditary places, and limited the power of the grand vizier; he superintends his divan, and directs every thing himself. He maintains a great number of secret emissaries throughout the extent of his empire, and adopts his measures before his vizier and ministers can make their reports to him.

ASIA.

Advices have been received from Ceylon, by the way of Madras, communicating intelligence of the capture of the Malabar chief, pretender to the crown of Candy, who is supposed to have been the chief cause of the insurrection which has so long prevailed in that island. Together with him was made prisoner, his prime minister, Kappitipela.

AMERICA.

By a report of the committee of the house of representatives on the case of our unfortunate countrymen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, we are happy to perceive, that the conduct of Jackson is decidedly condemned by the committee; who state, that they "can find no law of the United States authorizing a trial before a military court for such offences as are alleged against Arbuthnot and Ambrister, (except so much of the second charge as charges Arbuthnot 'with acting as a spy,' of which part of the charge the court found him 'not guilty'). Nor, in the opinion of the committee, does any usage authorize, or exigency appear from the documents accompanying the report of the trial which can justify, the assumption and exercise of power by the court martial and the commanding general on this occasion." —The report, together with a protest of one of the members of the committee who differed with his colleagues, was ordered to be referred to the whole house.

A report from the war department of the government of the United States, relative to Indian affairs, proposes that measures should be immediately adopted by the executive power, to exclude altogether foreigners from trading with these tribes; and to obtain for

for citizens of the United States the entire monopoly. In order to secure this object, Mr. Calhoun recommends compulsory steps; and the establishment of a company, with a sufficient capital to be divided into shares, limited to the term of twenty years. It would appear that the American government is attempting to strike a blow at the British fur trade in Canada, which is of so much importance to this country; and the secretary of the war department entertains the opinion, that the influence of the North-west and Hudson's Bay companies among the Indians may be successfully opposed. There are many parts of this report, as we conceive, inconsistent with the feelings of liberty and independence so much boasted of in the United States.

"Department of war, December 5, 1818—The time seems to have arrived, when our policy towards the Indians should undergo an important change. They neither are in fact, nor ought to be considered as, independent nations. Our views of *their* interest, and not our *own*, ought to govern them."

AMERICAN STEAM VESSEL.

The following extract of a letter from a gentleman in New York to a friend in this country, gives an interesting account of an improvement in steam navigation, which has lately taken place in that country:—

"A patent has lately been granted to a Mr. Gray, for a very considerable improvement in steam navigation, which it is calculated will be of great service in propelling vessels at sea. To obviate the difficulty arising from applying wheels, paddles are substituted, which, working under water by means of a lever, (or, to use the term of Mr. Gray, the inventor, 'lever paddles,') are not affected by the roughness of the sea. The great merit of this invention is, the paddles, not being attached to any wheels, receive direct the full power of the steam engine. By this means the loss of power, from complicated machinery, and accumulation of friction, (hitherto unavoidable,) is completely done away. I have been on board one of these vessels, completely rigged like any other ship, and no way differing in the hull, except not being quite so deep. You see nothing that indicates any thing like a steamboat. I observed two immense thick beams, which came in an inclined direction from the bottom of the hold, close up to the main hatchway, to which the machinery is to be attached; of course the greater part of it will be secured on deck. Eighteen days is supposed to be the passage from New York to Liverpool. As they depend altogether on passengers for remuneration, of course the hold is left entirely free for fuel. Coal is preferred, as being cheaper, and taking up less room. Accommodations are fitted up in the most elegant manner for 35 passengers which, at 50 guineas each, only 5 more than common, will leave 1750 guineas to the proprietors in the course of two or three weeks. In the event of the machinery getting irremediably out of order on the passage, or running out of fuel, they have the usual resource of making sail, and bearing away in the ordinary manner. If the plan does not succeed, merely

merely by taking out the machinery, there remains no difference between her and any other vessel.—Her model is very superior, and her commander an experienced seaman. Such was the high opinion entertained of the scheme, that the stock was subscribed for in ten days."

The report of the committee appointed to investigate the affairs of the bank of the United States has been published. It occupies ten columns of an American paper. It states as an inference resulting from facts, that the embarrassments of the bank, in receiving the notes of all its offices, did not arise so much from the fair and ordinary balance of trade, which might have been calculated and provided for, as from the excessive discounts granted at some of the offices, particularly Baltimore and Philadelphia, and the drafts consequent upon these discounts which were made upon the other offices; and that the conduct of the bank in adopting the new system of refusing the notes of the branches, was perfectly fair and equitable. The total amount of specie imported from Europe by the bank since its institution, was 7,381,750 53 dollars, the expense of which, including interest premium, and 20,000 dollars paid to the agent for going to London, amounted to 525,297 28 dollars. The amount of specie in the bank in January 1817, was 1,724,109 dollars. The report concludes with stating—it is the opinion of the committee that the provisions of the charter of the bank have been violated in four several instances:—

1. In purchasing two millions of public debt, in order to substitute them for two other millions of similar debt which it had contracted to sell, or had sold in Europe, and which the secretary of the treasury claimed the right of redeeming.

2. In not requiring the fulfilment of the engagement made by the stockholders or subscribers to pay the second and third instalments on the stock in coin and funded debt.

3. In paying dividends to stockholders who had not completed their instalments.

4. By the judges of the first and second election allowing many persons to give more than 30 votes each, under a false pretence.

York (Upper Canada), Feb. 26.

REX V. THE EARL OF SELKIRK AND OTHERS.—A bill of indictment for a conspiracy to ruin the trade of the North West Company, and impoverish the partners thereof, was found by the grand jury against Thomas Douglas, earl of Selkirk; J. B. chevalier de Lorimier, captain in his majesty's Indian department; captain Protais D'Orsonnens, late of the De Meuron regiment; captain Frederick Matthey, ditto; lieutenant G. A. Fauche, ditto; lieutenant Frederick Graffenrad, ditto; sergeant Jacob Vitchie, ditto; captain Miles Macdonnell, late of the Canadian fencibles; lieutenant Alexander Bridport Becher, late of the royal navy; Dr. John Allen, John Spencer, Donald Macpherson, James Chatelain, John M'Nab, Archibald Macdonald, and John P. Bourke.

The indictment contained three counts; and amongst the numerous overt acts therein set forth, supported by documentary and oral

oral evidence, the following were particularly prominent:—The engaging and arming a number of disbanded soldiers (foreigners); the entry of them, by force and arms, into Fort William, in August 1816; retaining possession of the fort till May 1817; sending off, as prisoners, the partners of the North West Company found there; getting rid of the clerks, by subpœnas to appear at York at a period when no courts are held there, without inquiring of them whether they knew any thing of the matters to which the subpœnas related, and without ever bringing them forward afterwards; stopping of the outfits from going into the interior, and the returns from coming to Montreal; possessing themselves of all the books and papers of the concern; sending away the principal clerk under a charge of felony, without examination, and without having ever followed up that charge; the pretended sale by Daniel Mackenzie of the North West property, obtained by his lordship by means of continued duress; tampering with and debauching the North West Company's servants, and commanding them in the king's name; writing circular letters to the partners and clerks in the interior country, advising them to abandon their trust, alleging that the North West Company were ruined, and to carry the furs to Hudson's bay; taking possession of Fort Lake La Pluie, and the property there, and stopping the navigation, &c.

Upon this being returned a true bill, the attorney general moved the process of the court against the parties; and Dr. Allen being present was to be arraigned the following day.

WILLIAM SMITH V. THE EARL OF SELKIRK.—This was a civil action brought by Mr. William Smith against lord Selkirk for false imprisonment.

It appeared in evidence that the plaintiff was under-sheriff of the western district, and as such the bearer of a writ of restitution founded on a verdict of a special jury at Sandwich, in October 1816, and granted by the sitting magistrate, ordering the restoration of Fort William to the North West Company; he was also the bearer of a warrant for felony issued against his lordship, Dr. Allen, captain Matthey, and others, upon an information upon oath before a justice of the peace. Mr. Smith got to Fort William on the 19th of March 1817, and produced his writ of restitution, with which his lordship refused to comply; and when the earl and the others were arrested by Mr. Smith upon the warrant for felony, his lordship laid hold of him and pushed him out of doors; and he was afterwards kept in close custody in the fort under a military guard. A circumstance which added much to the grievous nature of the offence, and which was particularly dwelt upon by the judge in his charge to the jury, was, that whilst Mr. Smith was kept in rigorous confinement, Charles de Reinhard, though under an accusation for murder, was at large and keeping a school, though nominally under the surveillance of one or two of his former comrades. The chief justice also remarked upon another part of the evidence for the defence, by which it appeared that the only option left to Mr. Smith to obtain his liberty was that of abandoning his

his duty, and breaking his oath of office, by a promise not to molest lord Selkirk. Mr. Smith, however, notwithstanding this proposal, persisted in doing his duty, and was not liberated until the evacuation of Fort William by his lordship and his forces in May 1818.

The jury after some deliberation, returned a verdict in favour of the plaintiff.—Damages *500l.* Halifax currency.

INTELLIGENCE FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

3.—A case was this day decided at the court of requests, Bath:—A servant man suing his master for a *month's wages* in consequence of his being dismissed from his situation *without a regular notice.* The defendant having proved *negligence of duty* and *disobedience of orders* by the complainant, the commissioners decided that a master or mistress is not bound to retain a negligent or disobedient servant in their employ, after repeated but fruitless admonition; and that a servant thus offending is not entitled to recover an extra month's wages in case of sudden dismissal from his situation.

In the court of king's bench, in the case—The king *v.* Bogle French, Burke, and Wells,—the defendants were brought up to receive the sentence of the court, having been convicted of a conspiracy to obtain letters of marque from Portugal, under which they captured a ship named the Carlotta, sailing under a British license. On a former day the defendants moved an arrest of judgement; but the court held that they had been properly found guilty of conspiracy. On this occasion the defendants put in affidavits, throwing themselves on the mercy of the court. The sentence was, 18 months' imprisonment in the house of correction for Bogle French and Wells. Burke, who was considered the chief offender, to be imprisoned three years in Newgate.

This day also a court of proprietors was held at the India house, for the purpose of laying before them official documents respecting the late military operations in India, and resolutions of thanks adopted in consequence by the court of directors. The chairman having taken a very minute view of the military campaign which had been so honourably and happily terminated, in the warmest manner eulogized the governor-general for the very excellent conduct he had shown during the whole of it, moved, That the thanks of the court should be given to the most noble the marquis of Hastings, K. G. for the wisdom, skill, and energy he had displayed, in planning and conducting the war against the Pindarees; and while the court regretted the occurrence of any circumstances leading to an extension of the territory, it duly appreciated the promptitude and exertions of the noble marquis, whereby he had dispersed the gathering elements of a confederacy among the Mahratta states against the British empire.—Mr. R. Jackson objected to the latter part of the motion, which expressed any regret at the extension of the territories; as he conceived the expression of that regret was derogatory to the vote of thanks. He also objected to the words "dispersing the gathering elements," as absurd; and moved an amendment

ment, substituting others in their stead.—Mr. Hume supported this amendment; which, on the other hand, was opposed by Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Grant. It was stated by the latter gentleman, that the court of directors had never assented to any extension of the territories, except in the case of Tippoo Sultaun, who was the decided enemy of Britain, and of course was obliged to be put down. Every extension which had subsequently taken place had not been sanctioned at all by the court. He certainly thought the treaty entered into in 1802 between marquis Wellesley and the peishwa was impolitic, though he gave every credit to that noble personage for the best intentions in what he did. Of the late marquis Cornwallis he was bound at all times to speak with respect, considering the integrity of his conduct, his inflexible rectitude, profound judgement, and consummate skill. He would not say that it was not necessary for the present governor-general to do as he had; but, when Europe was accusing the company of unbounded ambition, and of wishing to seize the whole territory of India, it became them to persevere in the sentiment they had so long expressed, respecting their regret that any extension should take place, especially considering it had been declared impolitic by the legislature; and surely, as a body, they were not to be called upon to entertain a different opinion. On taking a general review of the war, he must own he could see nothing in it but the seeds of fresh commotion; for, though it was true that the Pindarees were suppressed, there was no doubt they would increase, especially as their numbers were composed of persons who were inured to habits of military warfare; and, when discharged, they could not abandon such habits.—Mr. Howorth said, Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Dundas, all different in political views from each other, had agreed in pronouncing the extension of the territory to be an evil of no small magnitude.—After a reply from Mr. Jackson, the amendment was agreed to, without a dissenting voice.—The following day the thanks of the proprietors were voted to sir Thomas Hislop and the other commanders, &c. with a reservation in regard to the conduct of sir Thomas in putting to death the governor of one of the forts captured by him.

5.—In the court of king's bench, in the case Doe, on the demise of James, *v.* Stuck, the learned counsel cited from a volume of reports, a case that had been tried at *Nisi Prius*. Mr. justice Bayley said, that decisions at *Nisi Prius* were always the first impressions of the judge. He was sorry that those decisions were reported; at least, he might say so as far as related to himself; they were of no authority whatever.

"*Windsor Castle, Feb.* 6.

"His majesty has enjoyed an uninterrupted state of good bodily health, and has been very tranquil during the last month, but his majesty's disorder remains unchanged."

6.—While sir Henry Harper Crewe, bart. was driving a pair of young full-blood horses, in a carriage constructed like a break, near the gates of his residence, Boreham Wood, near Elstree, the horses became slightly restive;

and the wheel coming in contact with the posts at the gateway of a cottage near his house, the carriage received a concussion which threw sir Henry with great force from his seat. He fell on his head, which occasioned his instantaneous death. Lady Crewe and some of his children were at that moment arrived from town to dinner. His son was with him on the box when the misfortune occurred.

This evening, the village of Trawsfynydd, Merioneth, was visited by a tremendously heavy thunder-storm. The peals were terribly loud and frequent, and the lightning extremely vivid. Shortly after the commencement of the storm, the electric fluid entering the chimney of a cottage in the village, where the whole of the family, consisting of five, sat by the fire-side, struck the father and one of his sons, both of whom instantly expired; another child received so severe a shock that he lost an eye; and the rest of the family suffered very materially, though not dangerously. The father's name was Hugh Thomas, for many years surveyor of the county bridges.

18.—The election of a representative for the borough of Bletchingley, in the room of M. Russell, esq. who is returned for Saltash, took place; when alderman sir Wm. Curtis was returned without opposition. The worthy alderman arrived in the town at 11 o'clock, preceded by the usual election insignia, and attended by several of his friends. Sir William was proposed by the rev. Mr. Henrick, and seconded by C. Tennyson, esq. member for Grimsby, who, in a neat speech, drew a simile between sir W. Curtis and sir Robert Clayton, (alderman of London in the reign of James II.) who, he said, was one of the representatives for the city of London in several parliaments for 30 years, twice served the office of lord mayor, and was then rejected by the great city, and returned for Bletchingley: in like manner sir William Curtis, after having represented the city twenty-eight years, and served the office of lord mayor, was rejected by the city, and returned for Bletchingley.

16.—Susan Hunt, dairy-maid to Mr. Nash, at Hainford, Norfolk, was convicted on the oath of Mr. Thos. Nash, of wilfully neglecting to milk the cows in a proper manner. After the cows were turned out on Sunday morning, it was discovered that they had not been properly milked; they were again taken up and milked; when *six pints* of milk were taken from *one cow*. For the above offence she was committed to the house of correction for one month.

A premium of *50l.* has been offered by the prince regent, as duke of Cornwall, and lord of the forest of Dartmoor, to the person who, this year, shall cultivate the greatest number of acres in flax.

A few years back the farmers of Dauncy, in Wilts, let to the poor labourers of their parish, who had large families, three acres of land each, at *2l.* per acre; and soon afterward the late lord Peterborough gratuitously built a barn for them, where they could thrash their corn: the consequence was, that those men had their names immediately struck off the parish book, have brought up their families to industry and honesty, and all of them now cheerfully

pay

pay to the aged and infirm of the said parish their regular rates. The farmers declare that the parish has saved hundreds by this plan.—The gentlemen and farmers of Great Comerford, in the same county, are now pursuing a similar plan, by letting the same number of acres to the poor with large families, and paying their taxes. Each farmer allows according to the extent of his farm.

Earl Fitzwilliam has made the munificent donation of 1000*l.* towards the *repair*, or it may almost be said the *rebuilding*, of Peterborough parish church. The total expenditure is estimated at about 9000*l.*

COMMERCE.

The following is an account of the declared value of British manufactures, exported from the port of Liverpool during the month of January last:

Printed cottons, &c.	£397,900
Woollens	180,700
Hardware	82,000
Other manufactures .	196,500
Total value .	£858,100

15.—A dreadful fire broke out at the extensive manufactory of Mr. Dalby, fellmonger, Old Ford, near Bow, which totally destroyed the whole of the premises, together with the valuable stock and machinery, to the amount of 7000*l.*—2500*l.* of which was insured.

16.—In the court of common pleas an action was tried—Christie *v.* Jones—in which the plaintiff, the well-known auctioneer, sought to recover from the defendant, who is keeper of a billiard-table, 509*l.* 5*s.* which, he alleged, was money belonging to him, and won by the defendant, at games of cards, of his clerk at different times and places.—Rickards, the clerk alluded to, gave evidence to prove that he had lost his master's money at cribbage, at different times, to the amount in question; and his evidence being corroborated, the jury, under the learned judge's directions, found their verdict for Mr. Christie.—Damages 509*l.*

19.—George Page was tried at the Old Bailey upon an indictment, charging him with having carried on the business of a silk mercer in Cranbourne-street, in the parish of St. Anne, Westminster; and that on the 1st of December 1817 he became indebted to Messrs. Goodenough and Co. for goods sold. The indictment went on to state, that on the 4th of June the prisoner became a bankrupt, by remaining in prison upwards of two months for debt, having been arrested on the 9th of February preceding. The commission was issued on the 18th of August, and the prisoner was summoned to attend the commissioners; and the indictment charged, that the prisoner did not, within the 42 days prescribed by the act, make any disclosure of his estate; and that he did feloniously make a default, &c.—The jury afterwards retired for about a quarter of an hour, and returned a verdict Guilty—Death.

20.—Three Frenchmen, brought from the Mauritius, were found guilty, at the Old Bailey, of bringing persons from Mosambique to be sold as slaves.—Sentence, three years' imprisonment, and hard labour.

MELANCHOLY SHIPWRECK.

Douglas (Isle of Man), Feb. 25.

Early on Sunday morning, the 21st instant, Castletown exhibited nothing but a scene of confusion;

all the shore was covered with oranges and fragments of wreck: a doubt was entertained of the vessel, until a boat drifted on shore south of the chapel, with the name "William Leece," removed every suspicion. Mr. Duff and sons made every exertion to save as much as possible of the property. The mast and boom were washed on shore north of the pier, near which captain Jones was found, lying on his side, dressed in boots and seaman's coat; in his pockets were discovered some pieces of Spanish and Portuguese silver coin, English, Irish, and Manx halfpence, his watch, keys, &c. the watch marked half-past ten o'clock; some papers (one of them in Portuguese), a clerk's account of wool and fruit shipped in Lisbon to another, in English, signed "Mr. Laaud," stating the quantity of wool and fruit shipped on board the William Leece. Soon after John Quayle, seaman, was found, and about twelve o'clock P. M. a seaman named Roberts (a native of Wales) in his shirt, without stockings or shoes. The bodies were conveyed to Mr. Duff's stores, where every attention was paid that the calamitous moment would admit of. Next day every exertion was made at low water to find the rest of the bodies: about two o'clock the rudder and lead-pumps were found in about two fathoms water, which urged the searchers to think it was near the place where she first struck: two men were afterwards taken up on the shore side of the wreck; they bled from the temples when put into the boat; about 60 bales of wool were also taken up where the rudder lay. William Leece Drinkwater, esq. assisted by Mr. W. Duff, made every effort on this occasion to save as much as possible of the shattered fragments of the wreck. The bodies of captain Jones and John Quayle were conveyed to this town on Sunday evening, and on Tuesday their remains were interred, the former in St. George's church-yard, and the latter at Kirk Bradden. Captain Jones was well known in this island and Liverpool; his character was honest, faithful, and peculiarly obliging. Seamen are of opinion that the cause of this melancholy event may be attributed to the quick passage from the river Tagus, in ten days; he mistook the Calf Light, until he came too near, and then got what they term embayed.

From the last published report of the Society for promoting christian knowledge it appears, that it now consists of 12,600 members, and that the sphere of its operations is progressively enlarging. The district committees have greatly strengthened and invigorated the measures adopted for securing the success of the society's designs; and been instrumental in disseminating many copies of the scriptures, as well as numerous tracts. From April 24, 1817, to April 16, 1818, the distribution was as follows:—bibles 29,852, new testaments and psalters 53,723, common prayers 86,558, other bound books 60,330, small tracts half bound 835,140. The receipts of the society during the same period amount to 59,447*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* and the payment 59,195*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* From Mrs. Paumier, of Bath, they have received a donation of 600*l.* of which sum 400*l.* by her direction, has been appropriated to the general designs of the society; the remaining 200*l.* to be expended in fur-

furnishing bibles to Jews in India.

Lord Bathurst, as colonial minister, now encourages the voluntary emigration of persons of enterprise and integrity to the colony of New South Wales; and several persons possessing considerable science, activity, integrity, and property, are now availing themselves of this permission. It is the emigration of such persons alone which can redeem the character of the colony, and make it a fit residence for civilized man; and which will enable it to become an assistance, instead of a burden, to the mother country.

The parish officers of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, and other parishes in the metropolis, have recently employed the poor in the workhouses in pulverizing oyster-shells, which they dispose of to agriculturists, at a reasonable rate, as a manure. A few well-authenticated facts will prove its general utility, and its particular effect upon soils of very different character. A great agriculturist in Norfolk, it is supposed, was the first person who applied this species of manure upon his farm; the experiment was tried upon a hungry, light, and sandy soil, which had been inclosed for turnips: the oyster-shell powder was drilled in the usual way upon 27 inch ridges, at the rate of 40 bushels per acre (without any manure), and was slightly covered with earth, and the turnip seed sown upon it. Another part of the same field, the land being of equal quality, was well manured with farm-yard dung (eight tons per acre), put into the same sized ridges, and sown with turnip-seed as before—both crops were equally good, and the succeeding crop (barley) was also equally good, and apparently equal in quantity. This experiment serves to show, that 40 bushels of oyster-shell powder is equal in virtue to eight tons of farm-yard dung. The powdered oyster-shells have also been successfully used as a manure for wheat, in competition with other manures in common use; and the experiments have fully answered the expectations of the farmer, particularly when used in soil consisting of a light gravelly loam.

A machine, denominated the *Pedestrian Hobby-horse*, invented by a baron Von Drais, a gentleman at the court of the grand duke of Baden, has been introduced into this country by a tradesman in Long Acre. The principle of this invention is taken from the art of skaiting, and consists in the simple idea of a seat upon two wheels, propelled by the feet acting upon the ground. The riding seat, or saddle, is fixed on a perch upon two double-shod wheels, running after each other, so that they can go upon the footways. To preserve the balance, a small board, covered and stuffed, is placed before, on which the arms are laid, and in front of which is a little guiding pole, which is held in the hand to direct the route. The swiftness with which a person, well practised, can travel, is almost beyond belief; eight, nine, and even ten miles, may, it is asserted, be passed over within the hour, on good level ground. The machine, it is conjectured, will answer well for messengers, and even for long journeys; they do not weigh more than fifty pounds.

Agreeably to lord Ellenbo-

rough's will, the very fine mansion in St. James's-square has been sold. The duke of Portland, on Tuesday last, became the purchaser for 22,000*l.* Lord Ellenborough gave only 18,000*l.* for the same.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.

The following dreadful instance of the operation of the law, which inflicts the punishment of death on the offence of stealing privately from a shop to the amount of five shillings, was related in the house of commons by sir William Meredith :—

"The shop-lifting act was to prevent bankers' and goldsmiths' and other shops, where there are commonly goods of great value, from being robbed; but it goes so far as to make it death to lift any thing off a counter with intent to steal.—Under this act one Mary Jones was executed, whose case I shall just mention; it was at the time when press warrants were issued, on the alarm about Falkland Islands. The woman's husband was pressed, their goods seized for some debt of his, and she, with two small children, turned into the streets to beg. 'Tis a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young (under nineteen), and most remarkably handsome. She went to a linen draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter, and slipped it under her cloak; the shopwoman saw her, and she laid it down: for this she was hanged. Her defence was (I have the trial in my pocket) that she had lived in credit, and wanted for nothing, till a press gang came and stole her husband from her; but since then she had no bed to lie on; nothing to give her children to eat, and they were almost naked; and perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she hardly knew what she did: the parish officers testified the truth of this story; but it seems there had been a good deal of shoplifting about Ludgate; an example was thought necessary, and this woman was hanged for the comfort and satisfaction of some shopkeepers in Ludgate-street. When brought to receive sentence, she behaved in such a frantic manner as proved her to be in a distracted and desponding state; and *the child was sucking at her breast* when she set out for Tyburn."

The average number of persons in England and Wales who annually receive parochial relief, may be fairly estimated at 900,000.

The average annual sum raised for granting this parochial relief, may be as accurately calculated at 8,000,000*l.* of money.

The following is a summary of all the cases referred to the Society for the suppression of begging, from the first opening of the office on the 25th of March to the 31st of December, 1818 :—

Total number of cases registered	3,284
Of which were referred to London parishes, and obtained casual relief, by the interference of the society . . .	1,222
Relieved, and sent to parishes in the country	184
Cothed and relieved, and sent to sea; not having regular claims upon the committee for distressed seamen . .	128
Provided with employment, and partly clothed	216
Carried forward . .	1,750

Brought forward . .	1,750
Provided with situations and tools, or the means of efficiently supporting themselves	186
Obtained admission into workhouses	92
Obtained admission into hospitals and infirmaries . . .	69
Sent abroad, by application to consuls and foreign ministers	54
Found, on investigation, to be in receipt of sufficient means of supporting themselves	286
Refused parochial relief when provided for them (in most cases admission to workhouses being offered)	146
Did not return as ordered by the society	197
Ascertained to be impostors and confirmed vagrants, and ordered to be prosecuted, (of these 385 have been apprehended and imprisoned, and chiefly passed to their parishes.)	564
Total . . .	3,274
Of these there appeared to be—	
Belonging to parishes in London	720
To parishes in the country	1,022
Irish	927
Scotch	129
Welch	59
Foreigners of all nations	427
ALLEGED CAUSES OF DISTRESS.	
Age and infirmity	587
Sickness and accidents	537
Loss of husbands by death and desertion	219
Foreigners wanting the means of returning . . .	106
Want of tools and implements of work	122
Want of clothes	98
Suspension of pay and prize money	47
Number of cases in which the causes of distress were apparent.	1,716
Number of cases in which the *want of employment*, real or pretended, was the alleged excuse for begging . .	1568
Total	3284
Total number of meals supplied by the society . .	16,827

From the above statement it will be seen, that the operations of the society are not confined to the objects referred to them by tickets, but that endeavours are made to clear the streets of sturdy beggars and known impostors, and for this purpose men are acting as constables in the constant employ of the society.

MARCH.

FRANCE.

In the chamber of peers, on the 20th ult. it appears a proposition was made by the marquis de Barthelemy, the object of which was to beseech the king that he would be pleased to grant a *projet de loi* for making such a change

in the organization of the electoral colleges, as might appear to be indispensably necessary. This being the first formal attack made by the ultra-royalists in the legislature, upon the election law, gave rise to a warm, nay fierce discussion; so much so, that the term "Revolutionist" escaped the lips of the duc de Fitzjames, in an altercation with M. Boissy d'Anglas. The ministers in the chamber earnestly opposed the motion of M. Barthelemy. M. de Cazes declared that it was the most fatal measure which could proceed from the chamber of peers. The result, however, was, that on a division, the chamber decided in favour of entertaining the proposal, by a majority of 89 to 49, thus leaving the government in a minority.—It is not however, at all likely to be carried through the lower house. Next to the abolition of the charter itself, this is the most important subject that could come under the consideration of the chambers.

On the 15th inst. the president of the chamber of deputies anno ced officially, his receipt from the peers of their resolution with regard to M. Barthelemy's proposition on the election law. After a short debate, this message was referred to the bureaux, which were to assemble on the morrow. —The king seems resolute to show the world, that he is sincere and earnest in the support which he lends to his ministers. On a late occasion, he deliberately overlooked M. Barthelemy, who stood near his throne; and gave messrs. Laine and Ravez an equally cold reception.

The *Journal des Debats* states, that it was understood the duke of Richelieu had disposed of the grant decreed to him, in favour of the hospitals of Bourdeaux. The duke was greatly piqued at the opposition which the motion on this subject encountered in the chambers; and by the manner in which he has disposed of the grant, gains the praise of benevolence, and indulges the expression of his disdain.

On the 12th of March, the king issued a royal ordinance for the creation of fifty new peers, for the purpose of ensuring a majority in the upper chamber. The following is the list.

ROYAL ORDINANCE.

Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c.

Agreeably to the 27th article of the constitutional charter, we have ordained, and do ordain, as follows:—

Art. 1. The following are appointed members of the chamber of peers:—

Our cousin, the marshal duke d'Albufera.
The marquis d'Angosse.
Count d'Argout, counsellor of state.
The marquis d'Arragon.
The marquis d'Aramon.
Baron de Barente, counsellor of state.
Count Becker, lieutenant-general.
Baron Bastard de l'Etang, chief-president of the royal court of Lyons.
Count Belliard.
Count Raymond de Berenger.
Our cousin the marshal duke de Conegliano.
Count Claparede, lieutenant general.
Count Chaptal.
The marquis de Catelan.
Our cousin, the duke de Cadore.

Count

Count Colchen.
Count Cornudet.
Our cousin the marshal duke de Dantsic.
Count Daru.
Lieutenant-general Dubreton.
Viscount Dijeon, lieutenant-general.
Count d'Arjuzon.
Count Dejean.
The marquis de Dampiere.
Our cousin, the marshal prince d'Eckmuhl.
Our cousin, the duke d'Esclignac.
Count ———.
Count Germain, prefect of the department of the Seine and Marne.
Count de Germiny, prefect of the department of L'Oise.
Count de Grammont d'Aster, colonel of the legion of the lower Pyrenees.
Count Felix d'Hunolstein.
Viscount d'Houdetot.
Our cousin, the marshal Count Jourdan.
Count Laforest.
Count Lacépède.
Count Latour-Maubourg.
Count de Montalembert, our minister plenipotentiary to the king of Wurtemberg.
Count Maurice Mathieu, lieutenant-general.
Baron Mounier, counsellor of state.
Count Mollien.
Count de Montalivet.
Count Marescol, lieutenant-general.
Count ———.
Count de Pontécoulant.
Our cousin, the duke de Plaisance.
The marquis de Pange, major-general.
Count Pelet de la Lozere, counsellor of state.
Count Portalis, counsellor of state, minister plenipotentiary at the holy see.
Count Reille, lieutenant-general.
Count Rutty, lieutenant-general.
Count Rapp, lieutenant-general.
Count Rampon.
Count de Sparre, lieutenant-general.
Our cousin, the marquis de St. Simon, major-general.
Count de Sussy.
Our cousin, the marshal duke de Trévise.
The marquis de Talhouet, major-gen.; col. of the 2d regiment of horse grenadiers of the guard.
Count Truguet, vice-admiral.
Count Verhuel, vice-admiral.

They consist of marshals of Buonaparte, 6; members of the house of peers of the 100 days, 22; members of the house of representatives of the 100 days, 3; ministers of Buonaparte, 9; lieutenants-general of Buonaparte 15; chamberlains of Buonaparte, 3; surgeons, 2; unknown peers, 6; decided royalists, 1.—The second article runs thus: — "The terms of the first article of our ordinance of the 25th of August, 1817, are specially dispensed with in favour of the above-named peers. In consequence whereof, the said peers will immediately take their seats in the chamber of peers, although they may not previously have established the majorat required by the act above mentioned. Nevertheless, the said peers, to enjoy the privileges of our ordinance of the 19th of August 1815, and render the dignity of peerage hereditary in their families, must establish a majorat annexed to the title, which will be conferred upon them by our letters

ters patent. They will take rank of peerage in the chamber, agreeably to the title of which they have established the majorat. Until the establishment of their majorats, they will take rank after the peer last nominated and received, according to the order of nomination observed in the present ordinance."

The names of many of the newly-created peers will excite surprise. The very first name is that of marshal Suchet, who reviled the Bourbons during the hundred days. Marshal Moncey, who was stripped of his peerage for adhering to Buonaparte, and deprived of his marshal's staff for refusing to preside at the trial of marshal Ney. Count Chaptal, notorious for his animosity to the Bourbons, and his attachment to Buonaparte. General Champagny (duke of Cadore), a favourite minister of Buonaparte. Count Dejean, a most zealous Buonapartist. Count Lacépède, a man highly favoured by Buonaparte. Count Mollien, Buonaparte's minister of finance during the hundred days. Count Ponte Coulant, a most active person in Buonaparte's chamber of peers during the hundred days. General Rapp, a favourite aid-du-camp of Buonaparte, and one of the first who joined him during the hundred days. Marshal Davoust, the last who clung to the fallen fortunes of Napoleon—who fired upon the bearer of the Bourbon flag, at Hamburg, after the restoration—who was the first person invested with command, and the last who abandoned it, during Buonaparte's second reign.

The new peers, or their partisans, have adopted an effective mode of asserting their equality with the noble families of the *old regime*. They have published, from old records, an account of the origin of several of what are considered the most distinguished families of France. The founders of these appear to have been quite as humble as the nobles of the revolution.

Disturbances are said to have broken out at Nismes, in consequence of the general feeling produced by the attack of the ultra royalists on the election law. On the 7th inst. a large assemblage was formed in front of the theatre; when many violent indications of the unsettled state of the public mind were exhibited by the populace. The magistrates interposed, but without effect. The patrols, employed to keep order in the streets, were insulted and pelted by the people. No blood, however, was lost, nor any serious injuries sustained; and on the following day, the arrival of colonel de Briche, commandant of the district, with 500 men, suppressed the tumult, and restored tranquillity. — The private correspondence from Paris gives the following explanation of the affair:—

"On the 9th and 10th of March, an ultra royalist movement took place at Nismes. The men who committed so many excesses in 1815, the assassins of general Lagarde, have taken advantage of the departure of the Swiss regiment of Bleuler, to re-assemble in great numbers on the public walks, to re-echo their ancient cry of cannibals—*The Bourbons, or death!* The protestants immediately shut themselves up in their houses, and prepared to sell their lives

lives dearly. The national guard, commanded by the marquis de Bange (one of the 60 new peers), armed themselves, as well as the gendarmerie. Twenty of the rioters were arrested; but they were almost immediately rescued by a strong body. The voice of reason appeared to be at last heard; for at the departure of the courier, tranquillity was nearly restored. The new prefect of Nismes, M. d'Haussez, who was at Paris, set out in great haste this night to repair to his post. It is said that he is provided with very full and ample powers."

On the 15th instant, the minister of finance brought forward in the chamber of deputies the budget of 1819. The whole national expenditure appears by the official statements to be 889,210,000 francs, or about 37,050,000*l.* sterling; being an increase over the year 1818 of upwards of 89,000,000 francs, or near 4,000,000*l.* The increase has taken place chiefly in the consolidated and funded debt (occasioned by the departure of the army of occupation), in the foreign department, and that of the marine. The minister held out, however, the prospect of a progressive amelioration in those burthens. "Thanks to the long calm (said his excellency) guaranteed to Europe, our industry will provide new elements of prosperity, the benefits of which will extend to our finances." After some observations upon the relief afforded to France by the evacuation of the kingdom, the minister presented a projet of law to effect the financial measures detailed in his speech.

The *Moniteur* states, that the French navy need no longer look to the north of Europe for pitch and tar, which, though always indigenous in the department of the Landes, have not hitherto been prepared in such a manner as to answer the purposes of the royal marine. M. de la Borde has, however, succeeded in rendering them perfectly fit for use.

A horrible murder was committed a few days since at Angiers: A butcher cut in two with a large knife, a man of whom he was jealous, and buried not far from his house the two parts of the body. His dog, however, who had witnessed the interment, scratched up the earth and uncovered the head: by this means the murder was discovered, and the murderer taken into custody.

STATISTICS OF EUROPE.

The present population of Europe amounts to 177,221,600 persons, scattered over 154,450 geographic square miles. This population, considered in an ethnographic point of view, comprehends 53,195,000 Teutonians or Germans, 60,586,400 descendants of the Romans, 45,120,000 Sclavonians, 3,718,000 Caledonians, 3,499,500 Tartars and Bulgarians, 3,070,000 Magarians, 2,022,000 Greeks, 1,760,000 Finlanders, 1,610,000 Cimmerians, 622,000 Basques, 313,600 Guistes, 294,000 Arnauts, 131,600 Armenians, 88,000 Maltese, &c.—There are 1,179,500 Jews, 3,607,500 Mahometans, and 172,432,500 christians, of whom there are 98,229,000 catholics, and 41,898,500 protestants. Europe is divided politically into 78 sovereign states, nominally independent. Their aggregate forces in peace, are 1,600,000

1,000,000; and on the war establishment, 3,600,000. Their maritime forces consist of 409 ships of the line, 38 ships of 50 guns, 348 frigates, 1,563 vessels of an inferior class.

On the 10th of January the royal court of Paris decided that judgements awarded by foreign courts *have no execution in France*—consequently, persons who wish to defraud their creditors in this country may find a safe asylum in France!

SPAIN.

Letters from Spain give assurance, that proceedings had lately been followed up, and sentence of death pronounced by the high tribunals in Barcelona, on 50 Spanish officers implicated in the conspiracy of the unfortunate general Lacy. The sentence had been referred to a consultation with the king.

ITALY.

A letter from Rome states, that four persons, viz. a physician, surgeon, priest, and cook, had gone out to Buonaparte, with passports from lord Bathurst. The first of these is a Corsican, the remaining three Italians.

A Mr. Brianza, at Milan, has invented a new travelling machine, which is said to be far superior to that of baron Drais, and with which the traveller may go backwards or forwards. In the front of this vehicle, say the Milan papers, there is a winged horse, by the wings of which the carriage is put in motion.

The origin of the intelligence, happily proved to be false, of the destruction of the city of Messina by an earthquake, appears now to be explained. A calamity of that description appears actually to have visited Sicily; but its ravages, though sufficiently dreadful, have not been of so important a nature. A letter from Palermo of the 4th inst., received on Saturday, contains the following particulars:—"We have had most dreadful weather here these last 14 days, with three heavy shocks of an earthquake, which has done much mischief on the south-east part of the island, throwing down churches and destroying whole villages. Much damage has also taken place among the shipping; but I am happy to say that nothing of any consequence has happened here." Letters from Messina of the 3d, and from Naples of the 9th, were also received; but though they remove all doubts respecting the safety of Messina, they contain no particulars of the devastation mentioned in the Palermo letter.

GERMANY.

It is mentioned in a letter from Vienna, that the archduke Charles has completed his history of the celebrated campaign of 1799; in the writing of which his imperial highness was engaged for many years.

On the 7th ult. the king of Bavaria gave a dinner of 200 covers to the members of the senate and house of representatives of his new and popular constitution. The queen and all the royal family were present at this too rare union of a king and his people. His majesty drank a golden cup full of native wine of Franconia, to the toast, "Prosperity to Bavaria and her states general!" which was answered by prince Wrede, president of the chambers, by the toast, "Long live the king and the royal family!"

In Bavaria, the first chamber, in

in its address to the king, has set out by declaring war against the chamber of deputies, in proclaiming their determination to stand to their ancient principles. This latter body seemed desirous of assuming a defensive position before it accepted the challenge of the former. It was content at first with entering on its minutes a sort of protest; but it is known, that some days afterwards it hesitated to take into consideration the proposal which was made to them by M. de Hornthal, to administer to the army the oath of allegiance to the constitution.

According to the letters which have been lately received from Munich, this proposition has caused the king great embarrassment: it divides the opinions of the army, and excites in all classes of society a very strong interest. We hope that the oath in question will not take place; but we are afraid of the consequences, if, at the commencement of the constitutional government, a measure should be rejected which tends to give strength to that constitution. Besides, by its intrigues, the chamber of peers has lost all its influence; and the public is only desirous of seeing in the chamber of deputies more courage and of hearing in it more nervous and vigorous language.

In the midst of all this, the king affects great liberality in his speeches: but at the same time lends an ear to the counsels of the prince royal and of the prince de Wrede, who are entirely devoted to the system of strengthening the throne by political and religious prejudices, and of *ruling by dividing*. The following anecdote shows well enough the contrast between the words and actions of the king.

The pope's nuncio, returning from the country, presented himself during the night at one of the gates of Munich, which was shut. The lamps of the nuncio's carriage were out, and the officer on guard was obliged to bring his own lantern to inspect the apostolical voiture, and take the name of the passenger who demanded admission into the city. The wind likewise extinguished the light carried by the officer. When, on the following day, the king was informed of the circumstance, he replied, "It is a bad omen; the nuncio comes to us without light of his own, and extinguishes ours." Notwithstanding this, the priest exercises a great influence over the Bavarian church, and in all his pretensions finds a firm support in the favour of the king.

In Wurtemberg the mediatised princes and the noblesse, lately holding immediately of the empire, have evinced a less tractable disposition than ever, towards the commission appointed by the king to treat with them, and to remove the difficulties which their pretensions opposed to the reconvocation of the states. In that kingdom all the elements of discord are in full activity, and the king finds it impossible to take one step towards the re-establishment of confidence and conciliation. Tossed amid opposing parties and between contending interests, the king sees himself isolated from his subjects, because he has allowed the favourable moment of bestirring himself for the general interests of his country to pass over altogether unimproved.

In the grand duchy of Baden there

there has appeared a pamphlet claiming for the nobility certain immunities and a great part of their ancient privileges. These pretensions, proclaimed during the elections, and on the eve of the convocation of the states, afford a prognostic of the spirit which will reign in the legislative chamber of Baden.

The external relations of the grand duchy being, besides, far from consolidated, and the majority of the inhabitants showing a preference to the sway of Austria or Bavaria, over that of their own government, it is more than probable that the grand duchy will become the focus of foreign intrigues, as, from its position with regard to France, it offers points of observation whence the interior of the latter country may be examined. Public opinion will always be without power in the grand duchy; but it will always march with the age, and will receive the impulse which an enlightened neighbour cannot fail to communicate.

In Prussia, the progress which the public mind is making, contrasts strongly with the inertness of the government. It will be forced to give up its inaction, and to change its position. May this change be effected only through the medium of of ameliorations and the interior consolidation of the monarchy, and not by measures which may compromise the safety of neighbouring states!

It is very remarkable to see the interest taken in the affairs of France by all parts of Germany, as manifested by the German journals, and how completely these journals have laid aside that language of hatred and exaggeration which formerly disgraced their pages. On the left bank of the Rhine the inhabitants testify their constant attachment to France by a great indifference to every thing that regards their relations with Germany. They separate themselves from their brethren of the right bank, and from all that concerns the general interests of their country.

Frankfort, March 30.

The assassin of M. de Kotzebue persists that he had no accomplices. There were found upon him many papers filled with reflections on the country, humanity, and liberty; in these he styles his victim the slave of kings, and a Russian spy: he said that all the partisans of M. de Kotzebue ought to perish in a similar way.

Very inaccurate details have been circulated relative to the circumstances of the assassination. He presented himself about five o'clock at the residence of M. de Kotzebue, and some ladies coming up to the door at which he had just knocked, he let them enter before him: they were on a visit to M. de Kotzebue. Sandt remained in the hall, and requested the servant to announce him to the councillor of state. The servant returned and showed him into a room, where M. de Kotzebue shortly joined him. It does not appear true that he proposed a duel to M. de Kotzebue, or that he read his sentence of death, written on a large sheet of paper. He must have struck his victim at the very instant that he approached towards him; for scarcely had M. de Kotzebue entered the room, when the servant heard a loud shriek, and a noise of something

thing which fell: he entered, and saw his master and the student stretched on the floor.

It appears that the assassin, on M. de Kotzebue's entering, had immediately stabbed him with a poniard, which penetrated his heart; it appears also, that having been dragged to the floor by M. de Kotzebue, he stabbed him a second time through the lungs; a wound was likewise received in his face. The ladies ran to the room, opened the windows, and in loud and piercing accents called for help and a surgeon. Miss Emily Kotzebue, with the assistance of the servants, bore the body of her father to an adjoining apartment, where he expired a few minutes afterwards. The assassin rose up with a composed air, and, flourishing the bloody poniard, descended the door-steps, exclaiming—"The traitor is dead! the country is saved! Long live Germany!" Observing that a crowd had assembled in front of the house, he violently forced his way through them; but hearing the ladies exclaim from the open windows of the house—"There is the assassin!" he returned, cast a wild look towards them, and, lifting up the poniard with one hand and a piece of paper in the other, exclaimed—"Yes, I am the murderer! It is thus that all traitors ought to perish!" On the paper was written, "The death-blow of Augustus de Kotzebue, in the name of virtue!" He then knelt down amidst the assemblage, which increased every moment; and raising his hands and eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, in an inspired tone, "God, I thank thee, for having permitted me to accomplish this act!" After this, he opened his bosom, plunged the poniard in his heart, and fell without any signs of life. Having recovered the use of his senses in the hospital to which he was conveyed, he only spoke of the assassination with a kind of ecstasy: "He is then dead," he exclaimed, "that Russian spy! It was a demon of hell that inhabited the body of Kotzebue; it would not quit him; he gave me a terrible grin at parting."

Every thing proves that this assassin was a confirmed fanatic, and that he had meditated the crime for a long time past. His father is a respectable man, and has a large family.

The Russian minister at Carlsruhe, M. Struve, and the Prussian minister, M. Vernasen de Euse, have despatched extraordinary couriers to their respective courts, with the intelligence of this assassination, which will, perhaps, lead to very serious political consequences. It is feared that the emperor of Russia, who is already very much irritated against the ultra-liberaux of Germany, will require from the governments new measures against anarchical associations.

SWITZERLAND.

There has been a most calamitous fire in the large village of Azmoos, in the canton of St. Gall. Nearly the whole of the population were at work in the dykes on the banks of the Rhine; and before any help arrived, 113 houses were destroyed by the flames; and 313 individuals, forming 78 families, were reduced to the most afflicting misery.

NORWAY

NORWAY.

At Christiana, in Norway, a man, named Niels Otsen, convicted of having beaten his mother, has been sentenced to death by the supreme courts. The lower court had sentenced him to three years' imprisonment in a fortress.

RUSSIA.

The claims of the English merchants on the court of Russia, for the value of 140 vessels and cargoes under neutral flags, detained by the government of Petersburgh in 1810, are, it is said, likely at length to be adjusted, and favourably to the owners.

TURKEY.

Advices from Constantinople state, that the Turkish government has acquainted our ambassador, that the government of this country must, like those of others, agree to a higher tariff of customs.

In consequence of the recent calamitous fires in Constantinople, and the unaccountable and ridiculous opinion that prevails among the Turks, that all fires are caused by elephants, those "half-reasoning" and useful animals have been removed from the capital to Adrianople.

AFRICA.

A letter from Sierra Leone, dated Jan. 9, 1819, says:—"It is with the deepest regret I inform you that notwithstanding the liberality of Great Britain—notwithstanding the faith of treaties solemnly entered into, this coast swarms with slave vessels, dragging thousands of its miserable inhabitants into endless captivity. A few days since, the Union of Liverpool arrived here, from to leeward, the supercargo of which states, that during his stay in the river Calabar, not less than eight vessels, averaging 500 slaves each, had sailed for the Spanish colonies. We may indeed from an estimate of their numbers from the circumstance of the late colonial brig, lieutenant Hague commander, having detained and sent into this port in the space of two years, twenty-two vessels, having upwards of two thousand slaves on board. To those who have seen these creatures in the holds of slave ships, and now witness the change effected by the blessings of freedom, the contrast is truly striking; a great majority of the adults industriously supporting themselves, and embracing with avidity the precepts of christianity; and the children, owing to our excellent governor's incessant and paternal exertions, placed at the schools in the several villages. Indeed, to witness the astonishing degree of intelligence evinced by many of them at the general examinations, and the affecting manner in which they sing the concluding anthem of 'God save the king,' must make every British heart beat high in the idea, that to the benevolence of his country alone can be attributed all the good that has been done, and must doubly interest every feeling mind to persevere in the grand object of our hopes, that of ridding this coast of these vile traffickers in the blood of our fellow creatures."

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

American papers to the 28th ult. have arrived. We learn from them, that the Americans have, at length, succeeded in gaining the Floridas from the imbecile dominion of Spain. The treaty of cession was laid before the senate

nate by the president, on the 2d of last month.

American papers have brought a copy of the convention between England and the United States, signed at London the 20th of last October, by Messrs. Gallatin and Rush on the American side, and Messrs. Robinson and Goulburn on that of the British, and since ratified by the president of the United States. The chief points which are arranged by this convention relate to the right of fishing on the coast of North America and Newfoundland; the line of demarcation between the British possessions and the territories of the United States; and the extension of the existing commercial convention for ten years further. It does not touch upon any of those questions of our maritime laws, which have incidentally been brought into discussion by the navigation acts of the last congress. These are to be matter of future negotiation.

The New York chamber of commerce has voted unanimously to petition congress to pass a general bankrupt law.

New York papers have brought us a very long report of a speech of Mr. Clay, the speaker of the house of representatives, on the report of the committee, disapproving the trial and execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Mr. Clay concluded by saying, "Gentlemen may bear down all opposition; they may even vote general Jackson the public thanks; they may carry him triumphantly through this house: but if they do, in my humble judgement, it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination—a triumph of the military over the civil authority—a triumph over the powers of this house—a triumph over the constitution of the land." And he prayed most devoutly to heaven, that it might not prove, in its ultimate effects and consequences, a triumph over the liberties of the people.

A colony of Welsh Indians has been discovered in North America. Their language is pure Welsh, and their religion a mixture of druidism and christianity. Their origin is said to be by settlers from Wales, who retired inland when America became disturbed by a succession of invaders from Europe.

Washington, March 11.

Mellish's map has been referred to in the late negotiations with Spain. From that map it appears that the whole domain of the United States, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, is about equal to 2,256,955 square miles; of which that part lying east of the Mississippi, and including the Floridas, is equal to 942,130 square miles. If the whole domain were as populous as Connecticut at the last census (1810), it would contain a population of 135,417,300 persons: and if as populous as Italy now is, the number would be 501,044,010! Give but the imagination play, and there is no limit to the grandeur we may anticipate for our country. Nay, if arithmetic be true, a very few brief years will find this the most powerful nation on the globe. We have only to wish that it may be as enlightened as it will be powerful.

INCREASING STRENGTH OF AMERICA.

In 1791, Baltimore contained 18,000 inhabitants; in 1810, 46,000; in 1817, 60,000. In 1790, it possessed 13,000 tons of shipping; in 1798, 59,000; in 1805, 72,000; in 1810, 103,144. The progress of Philadelphia is as follows:—

	Houses.		Inhabitants.
In 1683 there were in the city	80	and	600
1700	700		5,000
1749	2,076		15,000
1760	2,969		20,000
1769	4,470		30,000
1776	5,460		40,000
1783	6,000		52,000
1806	13,000		60,000
1810	22,710		69,000

Now, it is computed that there are at least 120,000 inhabitants in the city and suburbs, of which 10,000 are free coloured people.

The population of New York (the city) in 1805, was 60,000; it is now 120,000. Their shipping, at present, amounts to 300,000 tons. The population of the state of New York was, at the accession of his present majesty, 97,000, and is now near 1,000,000. Kentucky, first settled in 1773, had in 1792 a population of 100,000, and in 1810, 406,000. Morse reckoned the whole population of the western territory in 1790, at 6,000; in 1810 it was near half a million, and will probably exceed a million in 1820.

The accounts from South America give a distressing description of the fate of the expedition which sailed some time since from Cadiz. Of 600 soldiers and 36 officers, who sailed from the mother country, 216 perished during the voyage; and the remainder, reduced to the utmost misery by disease and famine, were taken off the island of Santa Maria by the independent commander Engalade.

Letters from Buenos Ayres, dated 2d January, state, that an express from Chili had brought the news of the arrival of lord Cochrane on the 4th of December at Valparaiso. His lordship was received in a manner the most enthusiastic and flattering; and, as admiral, would immediately proceed to take the command of the Chili squadron, consisting of one 70 gun ship and two fifties, with a proportionate number of frigates, brigs, &c.; in all amounting to 13 sail besides gun-boats.

A copy of an address to the lord bishop of Durham, unanimously voted at a general meeting of the subscribers to the clergy jubilee school holden at Newcastle, and of his lordship's answer to the same:

To the honourable and right reverend Shute, by divine providence, lord bishop of Durham.

May it please your lordship,—We, the clergy of the diocese of Durham, beg leave to offer to your lordship our fervent and heartfelt congratulations on the opening of this, the fiftieth year from your consecration to your high office in the church of Christ. During the larger portion of that long

long period, it has been the happiness of those who now address you, to be placed under your lordship's paternal governance, to witness the exercise of your public and private virtues, and to be excited to the due performance of their own part in the christian ministry by the eminent and uniform example held forth to them by their bishop.

When we look back on the eventful years which have passed since your lordship's translation to this see, and reflect on the important duties which the peculiar character of the times long imposed on the clergy, we cannot forget, that in whatever degree those duties may have been fulfilled by ourselves, the vigilance and constancy of your lordship were never wanting to the common cause. Your warning voice was heard in the beginning of danger; and, to the last, it ceased not to animate and encourage all under your authority, manfully to bear their part in the awful conflict with principles which assailed alike the thrones of kings and the altar of God.

And, as you thus called on us to contend earnestly for the truth against the enemies of christianity in general, so likewise we have been instructed by your lordship's precepts and example, how best to defend the distinguishing doctrines of our own pure church, against the advocates of ancient corruptions on the one hand, and of heretical innovations on the other; to temper zeal with charity, and with discretion; yet at the same time to repel that spurious moderation, which abandons what is essential to the soundness of faith, or purity of discipline, for the false and hollow praise of modern liberality.

But it is not only on these greater and rarer occasions that we have been benefited by your guidance. In every particular of our pastoral care, whatever assistance could be derived from the advice, the protection, or the bounty of your lordship, has been freely and largely bestowed. We abstain from violating the sacredness of private charity, by saying all that long experience has brought to our knowledge; but the voice of fame itself bears testimony that neither the limits of your lordship's diocese, nor the peculiar claims of ecclesiastical interests, nor any restriction but the unfitness of the object, have bounded the exercise of your beneficence. The same generous patronage which aided the labours of Kennicott, of Blany, and of Holmes, in accumulating to sacred literature some of its richest and choicest stores, has been extended to every well-devised plan of public utility. Above all, that inestimable invention of the age in which we live, the system of education, has found in your lordship its unremitting, its most munificent supporter. You have even directed your exertions, in this great cause, to the benefit of generations yet unborn, and have provided, in the ample foundation which bears your name, a succession of future labourers in this fruitful field.

In order to perpetuate the memory of our gratitude and profound respect for your lordship's high deservings, by a monument, not unacceptable, we hope, to your feelings, as it is peculiarly

appropriate to your praise, we solicit your lordship's permission to erect, in the most populous and important town of the diocese, a school for the instruction of poor children in the principles of the church of England; and we humbly implore the favour of almighty God to this our work. May He see fit to grant that the spiritual good of thousands may be the fruit of this offering of dutiful attachment to your venerable and venerated name! And may the time be far remote when we shall be made to feel the full value of the blessing we now enjoy in a living example of the qualities which best become a father of the christian church!

To the clergy of the diocese of Durham.

Cavendish-square, Feb. 18, 1819.

Reverend and dear brethren,

—In returning an answer to such an address as I have recently received from you, I am at a loss in what terms I can convey an adequate idea of the feelings which it has excited: for none but myself can estimate the gratification of finding that I am the object of the affection and esteem of a body of clergy, with whom it has been my happiness to be connected during a period of 28 years; and who have not confined their expressions of favourable opinion to language only, but have marked it by a work of public utility the most consonant to my wishes. May the blessing of God prosper your undertaking! that in the school which you are about to erect, the children of the poor may be taught the principles of christianity and the doctrines of the established church, be confirmed in useful and moral habits, and thus be qualified for the faithful and conscientious discharge of their future duties in life!

At my very advanced age, this, humanly speaking, will be the last occasion of our public intercourse. Of all that has hitherto passed between us, as well as of the exemplary discharge of your sacred duties, I retain, and hope to carry to my grave, the most pleasing remembrance. My prayers, while the Almighty graciously continues to me the inestimable privilege of prayer, will be offered for the welfare of this diocese; and that, by the divine blessing, the interests of true religion may be advanced and supported by its clergy of every succeeding generation, as they have been by those whom I now address.

Believe me,
Reverend and dear brethren,
With true regard and esteem,
Your sincere and affectionate
friend and brother, S. Dunelm.

GALVANISM.

Various galvanic experiments were lately made by Dr. Ure, of Glasgow, on the body of a murderer, with a voltaic battery of 270 pairs of four-inch plates. The results were truly appalling. On moving the rod from the hip to the heel, the knee being previously bent, the leg was thrown out with such violence, as nearly to overturn one of the assistants, who in vain attempted to prevent its extension. In the second experiment, the rod was applied to the phrenic nerve in the neck, when laborious breathing instantly commenced; the chest heaved, and fell; the belly was protruded and collapsed, with the relaxing and retiring diaphragm; and it

is

is thought, that but from the complete evacuation of the blood, pulsation might have occurred! In the third experiment, the supra-orbital nerve was touched, when every muscle in the murderer's face "was thrown into fearful action." The scene was hideous, several of the spectators left the room; and one gentleman actually fainted from terror or sickness. In the fourth experiment, the transmitting of the electral power from the spinal marrow to the ulnar nerve at the elbow, the fingers were instantly put in motion, and the agitation of the arm was so great, that the corpse seemed to point to the different spectators, some of whom thought it had come to life. Dr. Ure appears to be of opinion, that had not incisions been made in the blood-vessels of the neck, and the spinal marrow lacerated, the criminal might have been restored to life.

8.—About two o'clock in the morning, a calamitous fire broke out in a large house belonging to Mr. G. Kellow, of Winterbourne Stoke, in Wiltshire. James Davis, in the fright of the moment, leapt from the window to the ground; but recollecting the danger to which his wife and children were exposed, he re-entered the house, and ascended into the chamber. At that time the women of both apartments were running about in an agony of despair: he caught his eldest child with his left hand, and with his right dragged the mother, clasping her infant to her bosom, down the stair-case; but by some means the wife became disengaged from his grasp, and was lost with her infant in the flames which surrounded them. The father, bursting through the door, which was on fire, again reached the outside with his child, but both were dreadfully burnt. The roof at this moment fell in, burying in the mass of fire, in addition to the mother and her infant, the four women and the child who remained behind.

18.—Sir Masseh Manasseh Lopes was tried and found guilty at the Exeter assizes, on an indictment charging him with having corrupted and bribed the electors of Grampound, to get himself returned for that borough. The chief facts were proved by Wm. Hoare, an alderman of the place, who deposed that the voters were called into a room, and paid 35*l.* a piece; himself being one who was thus bribed! The defendant will receive judgement in the court of king's bench next term.

A REPORT OF THE MISERIES OF THE OFF ISLANDS OF SCILLY.

It is highly gratifying to us to learn, and we doubt not it will be equally so to all those who have subscribed, and to those who can compassionately feel for the extreme suffering of the inhabitants of the Scilly islands, that a cargo of potatoes, which had been forwarded by the committee for the appropriation of the subscriptions in Bristol, arrived at St. Mary's at a time when they were greatly needed, when numbers were sinking for want. The letters received from the committee at Penzance state that "the arrival of the vessel quite electrified the wretched sufferers with joy."—Their sufferings are much increased by the small-pox, which is at present raging amongst them.

The circumstances which led to the invitation which produced this report were these:—"Vari-

ous accounts of the distresses of the inhabitants living on the islands of Scilly having frequently reached Penzance, it became a subject of general conversation in different parts of the neighbourhood. Some of the particulars appeared so shocking as almost to excite suspicion of the whole. After much consideration, Mr. Smith, of Penzance, accompanied by Mr. Stevens, a member of the society of friends, and afterwards joined by Mr. S. Tregarthen, Mr. Jeffrey, and captain J. Tregarthen, undertook a complete investigation of every family in the Off Islands." The following are extracts from their journal:

"I. O. ten in family: this was one of the most affecting instances of poverty and misery we ever beheld; the cottage, the children, and the mother, all exhibited the saddest proofs of extreme wretchedness; despondency and gloomy apathy pervaded the whole family; with pallid countenance, eyes sunk into the head, and a vacant dispirited aspect, she cast an impression of poignant grief on us all, and drew tears from every eye. 'You have suffered much?' 'O yes, very much; we are barely alive.' 'How did you live last winter?' 'I don't know, the Lord supported us; but we have been greatly distressed.' 'Have you wanted any bread?' 'Yes, for many, many days.' 'Have you had potatoes?' 'But very seldom.' 'How then have you lived?' 'I can scarcely tell; limpets and burnt barley have been our chief support; often have these children been crying around me for bread; oh, it made my heart ache to look at them, and hear their cries for bread—poor things, I had no bread to give them; we have sold every thing we had; even our poor cow is gone, and all to obtain bread.' 'You must have suffered greatly as a mother, to hear the cries of your poor little ones around you for bread, and no bread to give them?' 'Yes, I have; they have brought me down almost to the grave with their distress.' This was uttered with such a tone of real woe, and accompanied with such a flood of tears, that it shot through every vein, and reached every heart with the rapidity of lightning: a momentary pause of sympathetic grief followed, and we looked at each other in a manner that seemed to say, What a scene of undissembled woe! 'You have young children here?' 'Yes; I had twins, and have suffered much, indeed, through them.' 'Had you no tea?' 'Oh no, nothing but burnt barley-corn; when we had bread, we could only allow the family to taste it once a-day; I weaned one child at twelve months old; but seeing the wretched state of my family, pining for bread, I kept the other child at my breast for many months, thinking that my milk, though poor, would be some nourishment to the babe; and I knew that I could live on limpets, or any thing that we could get, but it injured me a great deal; yet what could I do? Oh, it was very hard to see all my children pining for bread.'"

"F. H. five in family. This was a case of real woe, the relation of which made every heart in company ache. The husband and wife had never known the island in such distress for fifty years. Almost every thing sold for

for bread, many days quite destitute, not a potatoe had been in the house for some weeks. They had gone out for a month, early in the morning, to hard work; one slice of bread, hot water, and limpets, were all their support; the work just got them this bread. The mother declared, in the most affecting manner, she had shed hundreds of tears for hunger. No clothes but what they had on; have two sons grown up, one deaf and dumb, nothing for them to do. If they had a boat about twenty feet keel, the father and sons might go in her, and get something to keep the family from perishing."

"St. Agnes—As limpets have been often mentioned, and seemed to have been so generally used in this island, it may be proper briefly to describe this kind of food. The limpet is a small shell-fish that adheres with great strength to the rocks; it has never been considered very wholesome, and when any other kind of fish could be obtained, scarcely ever eaten. Now when it is considered that this species of fish was seldom eaten, even when accompanied with bread and potatoes, it will easily be imagined to what a state of extreme wretchedness the people must be reduced, when they were forced to eat limpets alone, as a substitute for every other kind of food, and the only means left to prevent absolute starvation."

"G. H. nine in family; great distress was evidently prevailing here; the tale was told by a weeping mother in the bitterest affliction. This family formerly appeared very decent: the man is remarkably diligent and laborious, he is out night and day in his little boat, using every means to obtain bread for his large family. The children had been out carrying sea-weed on their backs for kelp; it injured them greatly, as they had no clothes to change when they came home, and scarcely any thing to eat. It ought to be remarked here, that families in general have a boat to gather the weed, and a pony to carry it from the beach; they can then earn much more with less trouble; but women and children search in the sea for it, and carry it on their backs, while the water continually passes through their clothes; and this is a method to which they resort to prevent starving for a month or five weeks, while the season lasts.—With all the diligence of this poor man in his boat, his wife declared that he could not, in the best times, of late, obtain above 1*s.* 4*d.* a day, and very recently about 5*s.* per week."

"B. H. six in family; no boat; no land; no work until kelp; down for hours carrying sea-weed; no change of clothes; but for some people at St. Mary's all must have perished; clothes in rags; no bed; only straw to lie on. A man, woman, three girls and one boy, and scarcely any clothes; no bread for many days; burnt barley and a few potatoes kept for the poor children once a day; often ate limpets alone, and drank hot water.—After these remarks the mother burst into tears, and exclaimed, 'Ah! gentlemen, I lately lost a dear little girl; she was playing on that cliff, when the children suddenly pushed her over in their play, and my poor child was

 drowned!

drowned! O sir! that morning she had cried, as she often did before, O, my dear mother, give me some bread; I am dying with hunger! I said, My dear child, what shall I do? I have no bread to give you. O that I had but a bit of bread or a potatoe for you! Dear child! she is gone from a miserable island, and a wretched family; she don't know the sufferings of her poor father and mother, and brother and sisters. The Lord, after all, was very good in taking her from us; we ought not to repine; (after a pause) when her dear corpse was brought home, we had no money to get a coffin and bury her; poor child, she was just two years old; often would she cry, O mother! give me a bit, only a little bit of bread. Dear lamb! her mother had not a bit of bread in the world; but she is taken away from the evil to come. Oh, we are greatly distressed; in the morning we get up, take a little bit of cold fish, and sometimes a potatoe; we have no spirit or strength to work; we get faint and can hardly walk home; sometimes nothing to eat when we get home; often lie down groaning with hunger, and cry to God to take us before morning; sometimes I awake in the night, get up, and wander hither and thither, asking for my children; their cries for bread arouse me, and I sit down and weep with them in despair; O that God would take us to himself! We cannot live long at this rate; when the kelp is done we have no other prospect."

These were only a few of the cases which the report contained; there were many others, if possible, still more distressing.

At a late assizes at York, a cause went thither for twenty shillings. The plaintiff obtained a verdict in the most triumphant manner; the attorney was all exultation; and the plaintiff having come off conqueror, has been in gaol ever since for the expenses.

It is at length determined, that a commission of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery shall issue into the four northern counties; and Mr. Raine, the king's counsel, is to preside on the occasion.

At the York assizes an innkeeper, named James Shaw, recovered 13*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* from a person named Marmaduke Horsley, for particulars, some of which excited much merriment in court; one item was, "To damage done to the bed you slept on, 2*l.*;" another, "To a man for picking you up on the road, and rubbing you down with straw, 1*s.*" The chief baron, who tried the cause, lamented that its being undefended deprived the court and the country of a further *warning insight* into the just consequences of excessive drunkenness!

The new machine, entitled a *Velocipede*, consisting of two wheels, one before the other, connected by a perch, on which the pedestrian rests the weight of his body, while with his feet he urges the machine forward on the principle of skaiting, is already in very general use. "The road from Ipswich to Whitton," says the Bury paper, "is travelled every evening by several pedestrian hobby-horses; no less than six are seen at a time, and the distance, which is three miles, is performed in 15 minutes. A military gentleman has made a bet

bet to go to London by the side of the coach." The crowded state of the metropolis does not admit of this novel mode of exercise, and it has been put down by the magistrates of police; but it contributes to the amusement of the passengers in the streets in the shape of caricatures in the print-shops.

The following is a correct List of the Quarters of the Army.

1st life guards, Hyde Park, London
2d, King-street barracks.
Royal horse guards (blue), Windsor, Reading
1st *dragoon guards*, Hamilton (N. B.), Kilmarnock
2d, Caher
3d, Dublin
4th, Nottingham
5th, York
6th, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Shrewsbury
7th, Exeter, Plymouth
1st *dragoons*, Ballinrobe
2d, Dundalk
3d *light dragoons*, arriving in New bridge barracks, Kildare, from England
4th, Cork, intended for Canada this spring
5th, extinct
6th, Edinburgh
7th, (hussars,) Manchester
8th, Bengal
9th, (lancers,) Brighton
10th, Weymouth
11th, India, on passage
12th, Canterbury
13th, India, on passage
14th, Dublin, ordered to England
15th, (hussars,) Ipswich
16th, Clonmel
17th, Bombay
18th, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Carlisle, Penrith, Whitehaven
19th, Hounslow
Royal waggon train, Croydon
1st foot guards, 1st bat. Westminster
1st foot guards, 2d bat. Windsor, Reading
—— 3d bat. Holburn, Finsbury
2d foot guards, 1st bat. Knightsbridge barracks
—— 2d bat. Chatham
3d foot guards, 1st bat. Portman barracks
—— 2d bat. Tower of London
1st *foot*, 1st bat. Dublin
—— 2d bat. East Indies
2d, West Indies
3d, Naas.
4th and 5th, sailed for the Leeward islands
6th, Sunderland
7th, Dublin
8th, Gibraltar
9th, sailed for the West Indies
10th, Malta
11th, Gibraltar
12th, Limerick
13th, Guernsey
14th, India, Cawnpore
15th, Halifax
16th, Athlone
17th, India, Ghazapore
18th, Waterford
19th, India, Ceylon
20th, St. Helena, on their passage
21st, about to embark for the Leeward islands
22d, Isle of France
23d, Limerick
24th, India, Balapore
25th, Cork, intended for Canada
26th, Gibraltar
27th, on passage to Gibraltar
28th, Ionian isles
29th, Armagh
30th,

30th, E. Indies, Fort George
31st, Chatham, Sheerness, Harwich, Landguard fort, Heligoland
32d, Ionian islands
33d, Hilsea
34th, India, Vellore, Nundian
35th, Cork, intended for Canada this spring
36th, Malta
37th, Quebec
38th, Cape of Good Hope
39th, Castlebar
40th, Glasgow
41st, Londonderry
42d, Dundalk
43d, Belfast
44th, Kilkenny
45th, proceeding to Ceylon
46th, India, Bengal, Fort George
47th, India
48th, New South Wales
49th, Fermoy
50th, on passage to Jamaica
51st, Plymouth
52d, Chester
53d, India, Trichinopoly, and camp
54th, on passage to the Cape of Good Hope
55th, Jersey
56th, Isle of France
57th, Clonmel
58th, Jamaica
59th, Ceylon
60th, 1st battalion, Demerara
—— 2d bat. Quebec
60th, 3d bat. Halifax, to be disbanded
61st, West Indies
62d, Halifax
63d, West Indies
64th, Ionian isles
65th, India
66th, St. Helena
67th, India, Bombay
68th, Nova Scotia
69th, India, Bangalore
70th, Niagara
71st, Weedon barracks
72d, India
73d, India, Ceylon
74th, Canada
75th, Ionian islands
76th, Canada
77th, Galway
78th, Mullingar
79th, Chichester
80th, Kingston-upon-Hull
81st, Enniskillen
82d, proceeding to the Isle of France
83d, India, Ceylon
84th, India, Bellary
85th, Plymouth
86th, Madras, five companies Ceylon
87th, India
88th, Edinburgh
89th, Hydrabad
90th, Brighton
91st, Dublin
92d, on passage to Jamaica
93d, Dublin.

In the further estimates and miscellaneous services for the year 1819, just printed by order of the house of commons, are the following items:—80,000*l.* for foreign and other secret services; for printing bills, reports, &c. Deficiency of grant of last session, 4987*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* Grant for the present session, 21,000*l.*

An official return, printed by order of the house of commons, presents in one view an accurate representation of the state of crimes made capital by the law, in the several years from the year 1805 to the year 1818 inclusive. From this it appears, that the total number of persons convicted of burglary in said interval was 1874, of whom 199 were executed; of larceny in dwelling-houses

to

to the value of 40*s*., 1119, of whom 17 were executed; of forgery, 501, of whom 207 were executed; horse-stealing, 852, of whom 35 were executed; house-breaking in the day time, and larceny, 761, of whom 17 were executed; of murder, 229, of whom 202 were executed; robbery on the person, the highway, and other places, 848, of whom 118 were executed; sheep-stealing, 896, of whom 43 were executed; making, with various other offences of a capital nature within said interval, a gross total of, convicted, 8430, of whom 1035 were executed.

An account of the total import of foreign and colonial corn, grain, meal, and flour, in real value, in each year, from the year 1812 to the year 1818, both inclusive, into Great Britain:—

	Value, as calculated at the average market prices in England and Wales.
Year 1812	£1,267,350 3 1
—— 1813	2,192,592 3 6
—— 1814	2,815,319 4 0
—— 1815	798,243 8 11
—— 1816	942,497 19 7
—— 1817	6,403,893 10 6
—— 1818	10,908,140 0 2

5.—This day in the court of king's-bench, Guildhall, a German quack-doctor, named Hube, brought an action against a warehouseman, of Crown-court, Cheapside, named Phelps, to recover 17*l*. for attendance and medicine to Mrs. Phelps. The plaintiff has a "sovereign medicine" for cancers, which he administered to Mrs. Phelps; but proving useless, notwithstanding the doctor's sanguine opinion of its efficacy, the defendant refused to pay his bill. Two witnesses were called, who proved that patients under the doctor's hands had died, in spite of his representations that he could speedily cure them.—Chief-justice Abbott held the law to be, that no man had a right to induce another to purchase any thing of him, whether medicines or other articles, by holding out false and fraudulent hopes; the jury therefore immediately found for defendant.

"Windsor Castle, March 6.—His majesty has been generally cheerful through the last month, but without any abatement of his disorder. His majesty's bodily health continues good."

From official returns, printed by order of the house of commons, it appears, that the aggregate amount of gold coin issued from the mint, in the course of the year 1818, was, in sovereigns, 2,347,230*l*. 7*s*. 6*d*.; in half sovereigns, 515,143*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. Amount of silver coin issued from the mint in ditto, five hundred and seventy-six thousand one hundred and eighty pounds.

No fewer than *eighty-three* persons were admitted solicitors in the court of chancery, by the master of the rolls, on the last day of last term.

In the rolls of parliament, A.D. 1445, is a petition from the commons of two counties in England, stating that the number of attorneys

neys had lately increased from *six* or *eight* to *twenty-four*, whereby the peace of those counties had been greatly interrupted by suits. The commons therefore petition, that it may be ordained that there shall be no more than six common attornies for Norfolk, the same number for Suffolk, and two for the city of Norwich. Any other person acting as an attorney, to forfeit twenty shillings!

18.—The prince regent this day held his first levee for the season at Carlton house; when, exclusive of the royal dukes of York and Gloucester, archduke Maximilian, state officers, and cabinet ministers, there were present 10 dukes, 13 marquisses, 39 earls, 22 viscounts, 34 lords, 17 bishops, 10 foreign ministers, 250 naval and military officers (the latter in the proportion of nearly ten to one), and about 100 other gentlemen.

20.—The Gazette of this day announces the prince regent's approbation of the following scale of rewards proposed in a memorial from the board of longitude, taken into consideration by his royal highness in council on the 19th instant, viz.:—

1. To the first ship belonging to any of his majesty's subjects, or to his majesty, that shall reach the longitude of 110 degrees west from Greenwich, or the mouth of Hearne's or Coppermine river, by sailing within the arctic circle, 5000*l.*: to the first ship, as aforesaid, that shall reach the longitude of 130 degrees west from Greenwich, or the Whale island of Mackenzie, by sailing within the arctic circle, 10,000*l.*; to the first ship, as aforesaid, that shall reach the longitude of 150 deg. west from Greenwich, by sailing westward within the arctic circle, 15,000*l.*: the act having already allotted to the first ship that shall reach the Pacific Ocean by a north-west passage the full reward of 20,000*l.*

2. To the first ship, as aforesaid, that shall reach to 83 deg. of north latitude, 1000*l.*; to 85 deg. 2000*l.*; to 87 deg. 3000*l.*; to 88 deg. 4000*l.*; the act having already allotted to the first ship that shall reach to, or beyond, 80 degrees, the full reward of 5000*l.*

24.—This night, Southwark bridge was opened for passengers. There was no ceremony observed on the occasion; but as St. Paul's clock struck twelve, the toll of one penny commenced. Thus, in the space of four years, another ornament has been added to the metropolis. It has 30 lanterns lighted with gas. The roads intended to lead to the bridge on the Surrey side are in great forwardness; one has been planned, from the Elephant and Castle, to cross St. George's Fields, passing by the back part of the king's bench prison; thence across Great Suffolk-street, to meet at a right angle with New Bridge-street, in Union-street.

26.—The question, as to the impolicy of the longer continuance of the present copy-right act, which compels authors and publishers to give eleven copies of their works to public libraries, is again coming under the discussion of parliament. A petition was this day presented to the house of commons from Messrs. Lackington and Co. praying relief from the very oppressive operation of the present law, which creates a loss

loss of 2454*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* upon the following six works alone, now in the course of publication, the whole of which were commenced prior to the contemplation of the present copyright act:

Dugdale's Monasticon Anglic.	£.	819	0 0
Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's		189	0 0
Portraits of Illustrious Personages . , . . .		630	0 0
Hoare's Hist. of Wiltshire		241	10 0
Ormerod's History of Cheshire		315	0 0
Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss		259	17 6
	£	2454	7 6

A hoax was lately played off on alderman sir J. Eamer. Letters were dispatched to many aldermen, deputies, &c. requesting they would favour him with their company to dinner. Accordingly, about dinner hour, a worthy deputy was announced. He was received with all the welcome of a friend; and soon afterwards a number of other gentlemen were announced, all of whom received the same cordial welcome. Sir John then ventured to ask to what he was indebted for the honour of so much company? The answer led to a complete *denouement*. An entertainment, however, as comfortable as the time would allow, was served up; and the evening was passed with great hilarity.

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

The following statement of the services of his grace the duke of Wellington, we doubt not, will be acceptable to our readers:

HON. ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Ensign 73d foot	7th March, 1787
Lieutenant 75th	25th Dec. 1787
Ditto 41st	23d January, 1788
Ditto 12th dragoons	25th June, 1789
Ditto 8th dragoons	31st October, 1789
Captain 58th foot	30th June, 1791
Maj. 33d ft. (by purch.)	30th April, 1792
Lt. Col. 33d ft. (do.)	30th Sept. 1793
Brevet-colonel	3d May, 1796
Major-general	29th April, 1802

HON. SIR A. WELLESLEY, K. B. IN 1804.

Colonel 33d foot	30th January, 1806
Lieutenant-general	25th April, 1808

VISCOUNT WELLINGTON.

General in Spain and Portugal	31st July, 1811

EARL AND MARQUIS IN 1812.

Colonel of royal horse guards	1st January, 1813
Field-marshal	21st June, 1813

DUKE AND K. G. IN 1814.

Master-general of the ordnance	1819

APRIL.

FRANCE.

The detailed budgets of the expenses of the various departments of administration have been published. By these it appears, that the salaries and administrative expenses of the ministry of justice amount to 668,000 f.; the salaries of the ministry of state to 256,500 f.; and those of the council of state to 801,000f. The salaries of the ministry of foreign affairs amount to 150,000 f.; the expenses of its bureaux of 380,000 f.; for persons employed in the service of the bureaux, &c. 170,000 f.; for casual missions 320,000 f.; for additional service 830,000 f.; and, if the *Moniteur* be not in error, only seven francs for secret service money. The expenses of the ministry of the interior, which require a gross sum of 102,700,000 f. are thus stated:—1,800,000f. for the general administration; 3,750,000f. for the encouragement of agriculture and industry; 2,800,000 f. for the general establishments of public instruction; 1,580,000 f. for the sciences and fine arts; 22,300,000 f. for the clergy; 500,000 f. for sects not catholic; 30,000,000f. for roads and bridges; 1,400,000 f. for works of general interest and utility in Paris, and for similar works in all the departments, a sum of 1,000,000 f. The budget of the war department amounts, in interior expenses, to 1,522,000 f.; fund of reserve for unforeseen expenses 1,383,000 f., 1,833,000 f. for divers disbursements; which, with the general expenses, gives for the actual service of the army, a sum total of 176,494,000 f. The pay of those not in active service amounts to 16,256,000 f., which sum raises the war budget to 192,750,000 f.; a sum exceeding that of last year by 37,600,000 f. The budget of the ministry of marine amounts to the small sum of 45,200 f.; and that of the finance department to 257,100,000 francs.

The French fortresses of the first, second, and third order are to be put in a perfect state of defence; and all the works are to be completed, and cannon mounted, in the course of the spring. This plan has, it is stated, been adopted, "to increase the strength and independence of France, by making her respected abroad." The organization of the French army is equally rapid.

The important proposition of M. Barthelemy, on the election law, has been rejected in the French chamber of deputies, by a large majority, 150 to 94.

In consequence of the great increase of students of law in Paris, a royal ordinance has been published, appointing three professors to the school of law in Paris: namely, one for the elements of the law of nature and of nations; a professor for the Roman institutes, as far as they have relation to the law of France; and another for civil and criminal jurisprudence. Another royal ordinance is published in *The Moniteur*, incorporating a savings bank at Bourdeaux.

Some researches which had been undertaken in the ancient abbey of the Trinity at Caen, by order of the count de Montlivaux, prefect of the department of the Calvados, has led to the discovery of the ashes of queen Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, foundress

foundress of this abbey, who died in 1083. The tomb was discovered under the pavement on the spot where the cenotaph had been erected, which was destroyed during the revolution, and which will now be restored with its former inscriptions.

The following is an extract of the speech delivered by the keeper of the seals, in the chamber of the deputies, against the proposition for altering the election law: —"All possible efforts," said he, "have been made by the government of the king to bring to justice the assassins of general Legarde, who was attacked at the moment when, in the name of the king, he came as a minister of peace. The author of that crime was arrested, delivered over to the tribunals, and convicted of having fired upon general Legarde, while, with his sword in his hand, that officer was endeavouring to appease the multitude. The jury declared, that the homicide was rendered necessary by the want of legitimate defence.—(*A moment of horror in the assembly.*)—The law directed the president of the court of assizes to set the accused at liberty. General Ramel was wounded in the tumult of Toulouse. Carried to his apartments, he was assailed on his death-bed by furious wretches, who mangled his body. These ruffians being brought before a court of justice, were acquitted by the jury, on the ground 'that the blows which were inflicted on the general when in bed, had not determined his death, because the wounds which he had previously received were mortal'!" After some moments of interruption, the minister continued:—"Shall I speak, gentlemen, of a man whose name I feel a horror in pronouncing? Trestaillon, accused of frightful crimes, became the object of prosecution, at the instance of the king's law officers. The judicial authority objected to his being tried in the same city where his crimes were committed, because they entertained a fear for the freedom of the court, from the consternation of the citizens, and the terror which the criminal inspired. He was accordingly transferred, for trial, to Riom. Would you believe the result? A single witness could not be found to depose against Trestaillon, and a hundred presented themselves to vouch for his innocence. The terror those assassins inspired was so great, that justice could not find witnesses who durst give evidence for the prosecution, nor a jury who would have dared to find them guilty. Finally, the assasination of M. Fualdes was a party crime, and the government was obliged to exert all its force to protect the action of justice, and to repress those efforts which the partisans of the criminals made to rescue them from execution."

ITALY.

The Paris papers lately mentioned, on the authority of letters from Italy, that a conspiracy had been formed in Mantua, to administer poison to the emperor of Austria, who was then in that country; and that the plot was discovered but half an hour before the time appointed for carrying it into execution. Several of the society called Carbonari, who are very

very numerous in the Austrian states of Italy, and against whom the court of Vienna some time since determined to enforce very severe measures, are said to have been arrested as being implicated in this conspiracy.

GERMANY.

A letter from Vienna says—"Amongst other presents, the Persian ambassador delivered to our emperor, in the name of the Schah of Persia, several poems which pass for *chef-d'œuvres* in the east. One very long poem, consisting of 14,000 stanzas, will be translated by the aulic councillor, M. Richter, of Hanover."

Prince Leopold has purchased a house in the neighbourhood of Vienna for 7000*l.* sterling; but not for his own residence, as his highness certainly returns to England in the course of next month. He will reside at Claremont during the summer, and at Marlborough-house, Pall-mall, in the winter. The house which his highness purchased at Vienna is not at any season intended for himself, but for his brother, to whom he has made a present of it.

The students in different parts of Germany continue to break out into acts of insubordination. These frequent disturbances do not say much for the discipline of the respective universities.

A Prussian officer who lately killed another in a duel at Berlin, has been condemned to 20 years' imprisonment, and the seconds to three or five years' imprisonment.

Hanover, April 3.

The assembly of the states is near to its dissolution. In the sitting of to-day was read a communication from the prince regent of the 5th of January last, in which his royal highness declares his views with respect to the future general assembly of the states, and requires the opinion of the assembly. In this communication his royal highness says, "That it is not the plan to make great changes in the constitution, according to which the states have the right to grant taxes, and to share in the legislation—partly because experience has shown the utility of this ancient constitution of the country, and partly because constitutions introduced upon merely theoretical principles will never be so advantageous as those which have been gradually formed according to the wants of the state."

In the second chamber will be the members of the board of taxes, who are not noble; three deputies from the administration of ecclesiastical property; the deputies of the smaller abbeys; one deputy from the university of Gottingen; twenty-nine from the cities; and twenty-two from the possessors of free estates, who do not belong to the equestrian order. The hereditary land-marshal (and in his absence the president of the chief board of taxes) presides over the united chambers. Each chamber proposes three of its members, from whom the sovereign selects one to be its president. The diet meets every year; the members are elected for six years, but may be reelected: no persons will ever be admitted to hear the debates.

The propositions from the so-

vereign are to be addressed to both chambers; if their decisions do not agree, an union is to be attempted by a commission chosen by both, to which commissioners from the sovereign may be added to promote an agreement. It is necessary in propositions from the state that both chambers should agree. The present assembly is invited to deliberate on this subject, after which it will be dissolved.

Valenciennes, April 5.

The events which have borne heavy upon France for some years past had caused the triple line of fortresses to be neglected, which extends from the upper Rhine to the North Sea, and forms an almost insuperable barrier when it is well defended. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, the minister of war, has adopted a plan, which the king has approved, to increase the strength and independence of France, by making its power respected abroad: besides, the ancient system of defence created by Vauban has undergone some changes by the cession of the important fortress of Landau to Germany, and of Philippeville and Marienburg to the Netherlands: on the other hand, Luxemburg, the Gibraltar of the centre of Europe, is a fortress of the German confederation. The frontiers of Prussia touch those of France, and the Moselle and the kingdom of the Netherlands will shortly be covered by a line of fortresses which are erecting with a rapidity that is truly astonishing. Under those circumstances, it has been judged indispensable that France should take a respectable attitude; in consequence, all the fortresses of the first, second, and third ranks, will be successively put in an excellent state of defence; the artillery, and all the materials necessary to arm them completely, are to arrive from the interior of the kingdom during the spring, and will be distributed among the fortresses which need a supply. The cannon unfit for service will be recast at Douay, where the regiment of artillery of Toulouse is expected this week to replace that of Douay, which goes to La Fere. The new organization of the army proceeds with rapidity; the legions of foot and the regiments of horse in garrison in the sixteenth military division, daily receive a considerable number of recruits. Many old soldiers willingly resume their arms to serve their country anew, especially since a great number of the officers who have so often led them in the field of glory have been recalled to their standards. The third battalion of each legion is forming, and soon the complete organization of the army of reserve will end the new military system. Many officers on half pay have lately received commissions and notice of the corps in which they are to serve. The two regiments of infantry of the royal guard in garrison in this city and Lille are also completing by voluntary enrolments. Tranquillity, order, and peace, reign in our provinces, where the prevailing spirit is excellent. While the manufactures of Picardy, Artois, and French Flanders, become every day more prosperous, a formidable army of douaniers on our coast and frontiers protects our natural industry. It is almost impossible for contraband goods to pass this triple line; every

douanier piques himself on hindering foreign manufactures from entering France; and it may be said that they show in this service, independently of their own interest, a truly patriotic zeal; they consider the seizure of English goods in particular as a sort of triumph of which they boast.

Frankfort, April 10.

On the 1st instant, M. Von Henrich, minister of the ducal and grand ducal houses of Saxony, made the following declaration to the diet:—The erroneous opinions on the present state of the German universities which have been recently in writings, in some sense official; the attacks made against the institutions existing in these bodies, particularly at Jena; and the importance of deliberating on the changes useful to be introduced into establishments of learning destined to form the youth of Germany, have determined his royal highness the grand duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, and his highness the duke of Saxe-Gotha and Altenburg, to bring the subject before the diet, and to order the following declaration, which contains their opinion on this subject, to be inserted in the protocol:—

1. The state of the German universities is an object of general interest to all the governments of Germany, and on this account ought to be submitted to the deliberation of the diet.

2. Their royal and serene highnesses will cheerfully lend their aid to bring about a general agreement on certain principles of academical discipline, and will support all measures useful and practicable for facilitating the direction of the interior government of the universities. Thus impressed, they have seen with pleasure that the university of Jena considers itself as forming a member of a subsisting association of universities, and that in consequence of a decree of its senate, it refused matriculation, after the disturbances at Gottingen, to all students from that place who were not provided with a certificate of their conduct while there.

3. But in changes which their royal and serene highnesses will admit, they will not consent to any disposition which would invade the interior constitution of the universities, and destroy their academical liberties by converting them into gymnasia, &c.

4. The universities must preserve their freedom of opinion and instruction.

The following biographical sketch is extracted from the *Journal des Debats*:—M. Auguste de Kotzebue was the son of a counsellor of legation of the duke of Weimar. Being appointed at the age of 20 private secretary to general Baur, one of the best informed military officers in the service of Russia, he gained the good will of the empress Catharine, who employed him to compose some pieces for her theatre of The Hermitage. A romantic affection united him to a Russian young lady of noble family. He rose rapidly to the post of president of the civil government of Revel, in Esthonia, and to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was decorated with several orders. The independence of his mind caused him to give in his resignation in 1795. He accepted in 1796 the functions of director of the theatre of Vienna; but he soon became

became disgusted with an office surrounded with difficulties and disagreements. On his return to Russia, in the spring of 1800, he was arrested on the frontier of the empire, and conducted to Kurgan, a handsome little town in Siberia, where he enjoyed his full liberty, and had his pieces played by the inhabitants. His numerous friends soon removed the erroneous opinion entertained of him by the emperor Paul; and that monarch, having called him to his court, loaded him with marks of kindness. During the first years of the reign of Alexander, he travelled in France, Italy, and Germany. He appeared to settle at Berlin, where he undertook a journal; but having offended Buonaparte, he withdrew for several years to his small estate in Esthonia. Admiration and hatred found him out in his retreat. While the *Moniteur* thundered against him, the agricultural society sent him ploughing machines, and the English admiral commanding in the Baltic gave orders to let this pacific present pass freely. Kotzebue took a share in the manifestoes and diplomatic notes of Russia in the years 1811 and 1812. The emperor Alexander rewarded him by naming him at first, in 1813, consul general at Konigsberg; and by attaching him afterwards, in 1816, to the department of foreign affairs, with the title of counsellor of state.

The climate of Russia being unsuited to his delicate health, the emperor Alexander gave him leave, in 1817, to travel in Germany as long as he thought proper, and continued all his appointments, without imposing any condition but the honourable one of making him reports on the state, literary, political, and moral, of that country. Being informed of the fanatical rage that was excited against him in the universities, he had demanded his passports to return to Russia, when an assassination almost unexampled terminated his life. He was only 58 years of age, but the public considered him to have been very old, because he had commenced his literary career very young, and during 40 years his numerous writings formed subjects of conversation.

"*Dum numerat palmas credidit esse seuem.*"

Kotzebue was twice married, and has left 14 children. The eldest is a captain in the Austrian service. M. Otto de Kotzebue, a lieutenant of a vessel in the Russian service, has already rendered himself famous by a voyage round the world, the expense of which was defrayed by the munificence of the illustrious chancellor of Russia, the count de Romanzow. Another brother, Maurice, an officer in the Russian army, has published an account of the Russian embassy to Persia, to which he was attached. Thus the talents of the sons seem still to adorn the illustrious name left to them.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

The governor of Dalecarlia has presented an affecting report to the Swedish government, respecting the situation of 40,000 souls in that province; who, according to his statement, will, from the beginning of this month, have neither bread nor other means of subsistence!

Letters from Copenhagen of the 27th ult. state, that two English merchants have obtained per-

mission to establish granaries in Courland, for the purpose of having corn at all times ready to send to England, on the first notice of the ports being at any time open.

RUSSIA.

The important reduction of 10 per cent. has taken place in Russia on all goods imported and exported from that country, excepting on those that pay *ad valorem*.

The Russian government is fitting out two expeditions for scientific researches in remote seas. Each will consist of two ships: one of them is designed to make discoveries towards the north pole.

Letters from Petersburgh, of the 15th ult. mention, that prince Gustavus of Sweden, son of king Gustavus IV., has obtained permission from the emperor, his uncle, to proceed to England, for the purpose of completing his studies at Oxford. Report speaks highly of the virtues and talents of this unfortunate young prince, who excites universal interest and sympathy in the north of Europe.

ASIA.

Recent Calcutta papers describe the interior of India as being generally tranquil; though in some parts, as the Beitool valley, and the Nagpore country, refractory brigands continue to produce disturbances. Letters from Huseinabad, of the 10th October, state, that Sheikh Dulloo, a celebrated Pindaree chief, had made his appearance in the Beitool valley with a train of followers. Appa Sahib was also collecting his forces in all directions, according to these accounts; while intelligence from Poonah represented the inhabitants of the late peishwa's territory as so restless that it had been found necessary to dispatch his majesty's 67th regiment of foot from Bombay towards Seroor.

A Ceylon paper has reached town of the 19th of September; at which period the hostile movements of the Candians were, it is asserted, drawing to a close. The native who had assumed the office of king is said to have been taken prisoner, as also his principal adviser; and the people of the country were in many places tendering their submission.

AFRICA.

The Cape Town gazette of January 2, 1819, has been received, which contains an account of an expedition from the Cape of Good Hope into the Caffree country, in order to support a faithful Caffree chief, named Gaika, and to punish a rebellious chief, named 'TSambie. This expedition was completely successful: reinstating Gaika in possession of his lands and property, and taking from 'TSambie near 11,000 head of cattle.

In a letter from Grand Cairo are the following details of the first interview of the unfortunate Abdallah, chief of the Wechabites, with the viceroy of Egypt. The latter received the prisoner with much kindness; and asked him, among other questions, "Is Ibrahim Pasha a good general?" "Your son," replied Abdallah, with great firmness and dignity, "is, though young, a consummate captain; I have combated valiantly against him, but fortune has decided on my life. You are powerful, and I believe generous. Do not regard the fate which I know

I know awaits me. I only recommend to you my capital and my family." "Abdallah," replied the viceroy, "the fall of your capital cost the grand seignior, my sovereign, and me, immense sums, and the lives of some thousands of men. This city must be dismantled, in order to eternize the infamy and the punishment of a sect rebellious to the Koran. The inhabitants will be invited to go and settle elsewhere. Your family is in safety; I have received it under my special protection. Be assured of this, and make yourself easy."

Prince Abdallah was sent to Constantinople, where he was beheaded.

AMERICA.

New York papers to the 10th ult. have been received. The congress closed its session on the evening of the 3d; "beyond which," says *The National Intelligencer*, "their constitutional term of service did not permit them to extend."—These papers contain the report of the committee of the senate upon the conduct of general Jackson, and the Seminole war. —The report, after taking a detailed view of the whole of general Jackson's military proceedings, in which they consider that he "disregarded the positive orders of the department of war, the constitution, and the laws," observes further, that the tendency of his measures was—"to involve the nation in a war without her consent, and for reasons of his (general Jackson's) own, unconnected with his military functions."—In reviewing the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, the committee observe, that, "as prisoners of war, they were entitled to claim from the American government that protection which the most savage of our foes have uniformly experienced, when disarmed and in our power. Humanity shudders at the idea of a cool-blooded execution of prisoners disarmed and in the power of the conqueror."—"The principle assumed by the commanding general, that Arbuthnot and Ambrister, by uniting in war against the United States, while we were at peace with Great Britain, 'became outlaws and pirates, and liable to suffer death,' is not recognised in any code of national law." The committee of representatives also disapproved his conduct; but these decisions, we are sorry to add, were afterwards set aside.

The New York papers communicate the important intelligence of the conclusion of a treaty with Spain, by which the Floridas are ceded to the United States for the sum of five millions of dollars; out of which the claims of the American merchants in Spain are to be satisfied. The treaty confirms all grants of land in the Floridas from the Spanish government, prior to the 1st of January 1818. It also settles the difference respecting the boundary of Louisiana, towards the Mexican provinces. The line of demarcation commences at the mouth of the Sabine, and runs up that river to the north-western corner of the state of Louisiana; thence north to the Red river; thence up that river to the 100th degree of west longitude; thence north to the river Arkansaw; thence up that river to its source; thence to the 42d degree of north latitude, and on that parallel of latitude west to the Pacific Ocean.

The treaty was submitted to the consideration of the senate on the 22d of February. This surrender of Spanish territory to the United States is an event of a very grave and interesting nature to England; for the possessors of Florida have the power, when they please to exert it, of intercepting the trade, and threatening the existence, of our West India islands.

A Mr. Currie has lately purchased 10,000 acres of land in the Illinois territory, and is forming a new English settlement there.

A return of all the military forces, regular and irregular, serving in India at the date of the last dispatches; distinguishing the numbers of the king's forces from those of the company, and the Europeans from the natives;

REGULAR TROOPS.

King's—Cavalry	*4,692	
Infantry	17,858	†22,550
Company's—European artillery	4,583	
European infantry	3,120	7,703
Native cavalry	11,011	
Native infantry	132,815	
Native artillery, including gun Lascars attached to the European artillery	8,759	152,585
Total regulars		182,838

IRREGULAR TROOPS.

Native cavalry	7,659	
Native infantry	17,082	24,741
Invalids and pensioners		5,875
Grand total		213,454

The landed interest of Devonshire and Cornwall have come to a resolution to erect an iron bridge across Hamoaze, similar to the Sunderland in point of height, viz. 200 feet above the level of the sea, to admit the sons of Neptune passing under without striking their colours. In respect of arches, it will have the same number as the Southwark; the central one spanning the whole breadth of Hamoaze, the other two (under which the streets of Torpoint and New Passage will respectively pass) are for the sole purpose of obtaining a tolerably level roadway of 70 feet wide, including the footway of 10 feet each. The name fixed on is "The Union Bridge," as its key-stone will unite the counties.

The Troon harbour, on the coast of Ayrshire, which was begun by the duke of Portland some years ago, has been some time completed. The duke is said to have expended 200,000*l.* on this

* This number includes two regiments of light dragoons, embarked in February last for India, for the relief of other regiments on that station. The strength of the two regiments was 929 men.

† Four regiments of cavalry and two of infantry are under orders to return to Europe, consisting in the whole, of 4,212 men.

undertaking;

undertaking; the object of which is, to afford a shipping for the coals of the extensive mines belonging to his grace in that district.

A cause of importance to the landed interest was tried at Hereford, in which Mrs. Pytts, of Kyre House, recovered 700*l.* damages against Thomas Benbow, of Hedmore, and Edward Holder of the Whyle, for double the value of cattle which they aided and assisted her tenant (W. Mason) in removing from an estate called Netherwood, in Herefordshire, to prevent the same being distrained for considerable rent due.

One of the largest factories in Yorkshire, situated at Leeds, erected by Messrs. Clayton and Gorside, at an expense of 60,000*l.*, for the manufacture of flax, canvas, and linen, &c. has been closed, and several hundreds of hands in consequence turned out of employ. It is said to be the intention of the late proprietor, Mr. Gorside, to remove to the United States, where, in the vicinity of New York, he intends carrying on similar manufactures on an extensive scale.

24.—At the Devon Assizes, a woman was found guilty of poisoning her husband—and, more horrible still, a son for attempting to poison his mother! The wretched parent was compelled to appear as the principal evidence against her unnatural child.

As the workmen of Mr. A. Marks, of Liskeard, were cutting across an ash tree, they discovered a bird's nest in the interior of the tree, containing three eggs. The nest was entirely surrounded with sound timber, about eight inches thick, without the least appearance of an opening to the outside. About thirty years since, a similar discovery was made in Plymouth dock-yard; a bird called a heckmal being found sitting on its eggs, in the centre of a large oak tree, which, by its immense growth, must have been inclosed 80 or 90 years. The eggs, on being touched, fell into dust: the skeleton of the bird and its nest have been preserved for the inspection of the curious. The inclosure of living toads in large blocks of marble has been occasionally perceived; but the above discovery is a novel circumstance, and merits the attention of the naturalist.

Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Wm. Peel, on hearing of the unfortunate failure of the Tamworth bank, immediately sent a munificent sum of money to the town for the purpose of alleviating the inconvenience and distress of the lesser tradesmen and poorer classes, without distinction; and on one day, 130 persons received donations equal to one-half of their loss.

A small plot of land, at Newtown, in Montgomeryshire, the property of J. Jones, esq. of Blackhall, was sold by auction, a few days ago, at the rate of *three hundred pounds* per acre.

FISHERIES.

It appears almost incredible, but it seems undoubtedly true, that in the comparatively short space of three centuries, the enormous sum of three hundred millions sterling worth of fish, has been caught by the Dutch on the coast of Scotland; while the natives, during this time, have been doing little or nothing, although

the fish were almost at their very doors.

LORD WILLIAM HOWARD.

The earl of Carlisle, and Henry Howard, esq. of Corby, lately gave orders to search in the chancel of Greystoke church, for the remains of their celebrated ancestor, lord William Howard, baron of Gilsland, who was warden of the Western Marches in the time of Elizabeth, and whose vigorous measures against the Moss-troopers form so conspicuous a figure in the poetical writings of Walter Scott.—Lord William was the third son of Thomas duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in the same reign for aspiring to the hand of Mary queen of Scots, while a prisoner in Fotheringhay castle. His elder brother, Philip earl of Arundel, married the lady Ann, one of the coheiresses of the lord Dacre, and settled at Greystoke castle; while lord William married the other co-heiress, lady Elizabeth, and settled at Naworth castle, being baron of Gilsland: from the elder branch of the family are descended, the present duke of Norfolk, the earls of Suffolk and Effingham, &c.;—from the younger branch are descended, the earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Howard, of Corby.—At the depth of about five feet from the surface, the skeleton was discovered, nearly entire; it measured about six feet, and showed the remains of a person of strong and athletic make. The teeth were all perfect in the under jaw, and the shape of the skull exactly corresponded with the original portrait of lord William, in the possession of Mr. Howard, of Corby. We believe it is the intention of lord Carlisle to have the remains of his ancestor translated to the beautiful mausoleum at his lordship's seat at Castle Howard. No coffin or inscription was found, and the body seems to have been buried in a common grave.

A gardener in the neighbourhood of Dumfries lately sold a cow to a butcher in that town, which was killed. In the second stomach of the animal was found an old-fashioned silver spoon, in a perfect state of preservation. This spoon was soon recognised by the owner, who had missed it nearly a twelvemonth ago; and who certainly never dreamed that the pilferer, upon whom he had bestowed so many maledictions, was a four-footed animal.

John Gaffikin, butcher of Belfast, has in his possession a sow of the improved Berkshire breed, reared by David Coatsworth, of Shane's castle, measuring from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail, 5 feet 2 inches—girth 6 feet 1 inch—breadth across the shoulders, about 20 inches—and height little more than 2 feet. She is remarkably fat, and considered a very great curiosity.

There is at present a vessel employed in the coal trade of the Tyne, named the "Betsy Caines," which was originally the royal yacht that conveyed king William III. to this country in the year 1688. She underwent a repair during the last autumn, when her principal timbers were found in so perfect a state as to be quite fit for further service. Part of the ornamental work and gilding of the cabin remained till the time of which we speak, when the rude hands of the carpenter tore down those

those traces of royalty and antiquity.

An old seaman, about 90 years of age, is now living at South Shields, who has been no less than 48 voyages to the Greenland fishery.—Being sent upon one occasion with a boat's crew, to make fast a rope to an iceberg, he alone mounted the floating island, and the boat left him. On walking round to the sunny side of the pillar of ice, he observed a large white bear basking. He immediately called to his comrades to fetch a spear; but bruin, not appearing disposed to await its arrival, was preparing to attack the man, who, with great presence of mind, took from his foot one of his heavy shoes, armed with iron spikes, and with a desperate blow felled his brute assailant. A repetition of blows soon deprived the animal of life, and the gallant seaman brought him home as a trophy of genuine heroism. He still preserves the bear's head, which is hung up in his apartment. By means of a string attached to it, he makes the mouth to open and shut when any stranger visits him.

INTERESTING TO GARDENERS.

Ammoniacal liquor, produced in the manufacture of gas from coal, will effectually destroy the grub and other worms, which so often defeat the rising hopes of the gardener, particularly his early crops. So far is the liquid from injuring the tenderest plant, that it seems rather to invigorate it than otherwise.

SINGULAR DISCOVERY.

While a labourer was digging peat in the moss at La Mancha, parish of Newlands, once the seat of the earl of Dundonald, his spade struck against something hard, which, upon digging, was found to be the body of a man, and identified by some old people in the neighbourhood to be that of a coachman of the late earl of Dundonald, grandfather to the present lord Cochrane, who about 74 years ago committed suicide, by cutting his throat, and was buried in this spot in a sack. The straw ropes which had fastened the sack were found almost fresh, although the sack was nearly all consumed. The clothes on the body, stockings, and garters, were also almost entire, and the colour of the vest (red velvet) little decayed. The razor also, with which he had taken away his life, was found at his side. The body itself was in such a state of preservation, that it could be lifted entire, and carried away for re-interment; but the neighbours stripped it of most part of the clothes, each curious to secure a remembrance of this extraordinary fact.

THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR.

A Paris paper contains some curious details of the history of Mirza Abdoul Hassan Khan, the Persian ambassador, now at Paris on his way to London. Being descended from a distinguished family, who occupied the highest post of honour and power under the kings of Persia, he himself when young was appointed to the government of a district of the kingdom of Persia bordering on the Persian gulf. While thus enjoying his sovereign's favour, a reverse of fortune, not uncommon in the despotic countries of the east, plunged

plunged him from the pinnacle of honour, into the depths of adversity. His uncle, who at that time filled the situation of prime minister at the court of Persia, was accused, by the calumnies of jealous courtiers, of aspiring to the throne; and the royal displeasure, of which he in consequence became the victim, extended its withering effects to all his family. The unfortunate minister was put to death, and his property confiscated to the crown, while several of his relations lost their lives or had their eyes put out, for no other reason, than because they happened to be connected with his family. Abdoul Hassan, the ambassador, who was deprived of his government and threatened with a similar fate, happily escaped death by being forgotten till vengeance was satisfied, and after languishing in prison for three months was allowed to retire from office and danger into foreign lands. His first object was to visit the tomb of the prophet at Mecca, and this pilgrimage inspired him with the wish of more distant travel. Accordingly, after seeing the chief city of the Wechabites, and other parts of Arabia, he embarked at Bassorah on board an English vessel for Calcutta, during the time that marquis Wellesley was governor-general of India. In the British India, and particularly the Deccan, he spent three years; when proceeding to Bombay, he learned that his sovereign had made a tardy discovery of his innocence, and, restoring him to favour, had summoned him home. In 1809, by the influence of a surviving uncle, who was minister of finance, he was sent to England in quality of ambassador, accompanied by M. Morier, who was at that time secretary of embassy at the court of Persia. In London he remained only seven months, when he returned to Persia along with sir G. Ousley, who was appointed our minister to Persia. In his passage home the vessel touched at Rio Janeiro, and Abdoul Hassan was perhaps the first Persian ambassador that saw the new world. When he returned to his master, his services were requited with the title of khan, and new marks of confidence. He was employed to conclude a peace with Russia in 1813, and in the following year proceeded as ambassador to St. Petersburgh, whence he returned home after a stay of three years. The ambassador is not only known for his diplomatic services, but his literary attainments and elegant accomplishments. He is known to have cultivated learning with distinguished success. He speaks several languages, English, Arabic, Russian, and Hindostanee. He has written an account of his travels in England, India, and Russia, which, whatever be its merits, has been honoured by his sovereign with the title of "The wonderful book;" and to this "wonderful book" he is said to be adding fresh claims to the favour of the *great king*, by annexing his observations on France and Germany. Mirza Abdoul Hassan is about 44 years of age, of an ordinary height, but of a noble and agreeable exterior. His mind is as enlightened by study and experience as his manners are graceful and polished by his extensive travels and his intercourse with the

the highest society. He is an accurate observer of works of art, and takes an account of the most remarkable *chefs d'œuvres* which he visits in the French capital.

ARRIVAL OF THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR AND THE FAIR CIRCASSIAN.

Dover, April 25.

About three this afternoon his majesty's schooner Pioneer arrived in the roads, and very shortly after the boat belonging to the customs put off from her under a salute. She had on board the Persian ambassador and suite, who on landing were greeted with another salute from the guns at the heights. As the schooner had been seen for some time before her arrival, there was an amazing concourse of people assembled on the beach, and the novel nature of the arrival of ten or a dozen persons habited in silks and turbans, with daggers and long beards, in no small degree attracted the attention of the inhabitants, whose curiosity had been raised to the highest pitch by the different accounts of the beauty of the fair Circassian; and had not a coach been provided at the water's edge, I much doubt if his excellency and suite would have reached the inn without considerable difficulty. The crowd followed to Wright's hotel nearly as fast as the carriage, it being reported by some that the fair female was in a mask, under the habit of a male attendant, while others stated that she would not be landed till the middle of the night. In about half an hour, however, after the arrival of the first boat, a second boat came into the harbour, and landed the Circassian beauty! She was attended from the schooner by lieutenant Graham, of the preventive service, and two black eunuchs. She was scarcely seen; for the instant she landed she was put into a coach, which conveyed her to the inn. She had on a hood, which covered the upper part of her head, and a large silk shawl screened the lower part of her face, across the nose, from observation: therefore her eyes, which are truly beautiful, and part of her forehead, were the only parts of her beauties that could be seen. She is of the middle stature, and appeared very interesting. Her look was languid from illness, arising from a rough passage. She was conducted to a bed room on reaching the inn, but no one was allowed to attend her but the eunuchs.

"*Windsor Castle, April* 3.—His majesty continues to enjoy a good state of bodily health, and has been tranquil and cheerful through the last month; but his majesty's disorder remains undiminished."

The earl of Hardwicke has been elected president of the board of agriculture, *vice* the earl of Macclesfield, resigned.

The list of the subscriptions at Calcutta to the noble Waterloo fund is at last received. The amount is 231,500 rupees, about 30,000*l.* sterling for that settlement. The marquis of Hastings opened the subscription with 2000 rupees, and his example was followed by many of the principal inhabitants giving 1000 rupees each.

12.—This afternoon, at the time the duke of York was in attendance

ance upon the king, at Windsor, as his royal highness was in the act of opening the door of a room in Windsor Castle, to enter it, one of his spurs caught the loop at the bottom of his pantaloons, or trowsers, which caused him to fall; when he unfortunately broke the bone of his right arm, about three inches above the elbow joint. The fracture was set very soon after the accident by Mr. O'Reilly.

24.—Charles Rennett, who stands accused with stealing the child of Mr. Horsley, reached town this morning from Harwich, where he had arrived the preceding day, in the custody of a police-officer of Cuxhaven. He seemed to be sunk in the lowest depths of despair. Mr. Birnie, on being informed of Rennett's arrival, directed the officers who had come with him to be brought into his presence. He also dispatched a special messenger to Mr. Horsley, requesting his immediate attendance at the office. Mr. Horsley lost no time in attending this summons, and on his introduction to Mr. Birnie, stated, that by advice of Mr. Harmer, his solicitor, he had preferred two bills of indictment against Rennett on Friday, before the grand jury of the city of London, and that the grand jury had returned them true bills. The prisoner made no defence, and was committed to Newgate for trial. At the prisoner's desire the trial is postponed till next sessions.

25.—This afternoon the duke and duchess of Kent arrived at Kensington palace.

30.—The fraternity of shoemakers has, unquestionably, given rise to some characters of great worth and genius. The late Mr. Holcroft was originally a shoemaker; and though he was, unhappily, at the beginning of the French revolution, infected with French principles, yet he was certainly a man of great genius, and, on the whole, a moral writer. His dramatic pieces must rank among the best of those on the English stage. Robert Bloomfield wrote his poem of "The Farmer's Boy," while employed at this business; and Dr. Wm. Carey, professor of Sanscrit and Bengalee in the college of Fort William, Calcutta, and the able and indefatigable translator of the scriptures into many of the eastern languages, was, in early life, a shoemaker in Northamptonshire. Mr. John Struthers, the author of The Poor Man's Sabbath, Peasant's Death, and other poems of merit, still continues this business. The present Mr. Gifford, the translator of Juvenal, and the supposed editor of the Quarterly Review, spent some of his early days in learning the "craft and mystery" of a shoe maker.

The plan offered to the bank is said to have been recommended by Mr. Ricardo; according to which, the bank should never pay in coin, but in bars of gold at the standard price: in fine, it is advised, that the bank shall at all times buy gold when offered, at 3*l.* 7*s.*; and sell it, when demanded, at 3*l.* 7*s.* 10½*d.* This scheme may have been derived from the practice of the bank of Hamburgh. This bank (as we learn from a little work, entitled "A Statement of the Pars of Exchange, and Trade in Bullion") is "bound by its constitution to receive

receive all silver that is brought in, at the rate of 27 mks. 10s. banco, for the mark of fine or *pure* silver; for which the person who deposits has credit given him upon the books of the bank. But the bank returns all silver called for by any persons having an account there, or holding a bill of exchange, payable in bank money on Hamburgh, at the rate of 27 mks. 12sh. banco, the mark of pure or fine silver."

The following general order has been issued from the horse-guards:

GENERAL ORDER.

Horse-guards, April 5, 1819.

It has been represented to his royal highness the prince regent, that lieut. T. Hasker and ensign E. Ring, who have been recently placed on the half-pay from the 55th regt., have grossly insulted and challenged lieut.-col. Frederick, commanding that regt., upon the grounds of his conduct towards them in the capacity of commanding officer, while they were on full pay under his orders. As it would be highly injurious to the discipline of the service to permit the notion to pass with impunity, that when an officer is placed upon half-pay, he shall feel at liberty to set aside all the restraints of decorum and subordination, by indulging feelings of personal resentment towards his former commanding officer, his royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, has been pleased to command, that his displeasure upon this flagrant act of misconduct, shall be marked by erasing the names of lt. T. Hasker and ens. E. Ring from the list of the army. The prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, has also been pleased to command, that as lieut. R. W. Lambrecht, on the half-pay of the 3d garrison battalion, who was the bearer of the challenge from ensign Ring to lieut.-col. Frederick, appears to have been equally culpable, his name shall in like manner be erased from the list of the army.

The commander-in-chief has received the prince regent's commands to promulgate to the army, the above declaration of his royal highness's pleasure on the subject of lieut. T. Hasker and ensign E. Ring, and of lieut. R. W. Lambrecht, in order that officers on half-pay may be sensible, that whenever they so far forget their duty as to give vent to feelings of personal animosity and resentment against their former commanding officer, on the grounds of his conduct towards them in his official capacity during the time they were serving under his command, they will not fail to draw upon themselves the royal displeasure to the same extent as is hereby expressed against the individuals to whom this order specially applies. The commander-in-chief has it further in command to express his royal highness the prince regent's approbation of the line of conduct adopted on this occasion by lieut.-col. Frederick, and to declare, that any officer, who shall prove so unmindful of what is due to his station, and so regardless of military discipline, as to accept a challenge given on grounds similar to those on which these officers presumed to challenge their former commander, will incur his royal highness the prince regent's highest displeasure.

By

By command of his royal highness the commander-in-chief,
Harry Calvert, adj.-gen.

MAY.

FRANCE.

The Paris papers of Saturday the 15th inst. contain the termination, on the preceding day, of the trial of Marinet and Cantillon, accused of having attempted the life of the duke of Wellington. The proceedings of the fifth and last day commenced with the summing up of the case by the president of the court. The jury remained in deliberation an hour, and declared the prisoners not guilty. They were then set at liberty; and the advocate-general, addressing them by name, first informed Cantillon that he was acquitted, and that there was no further charge against him. He then congratulated Marinet on his acquittal, both as regarded himself and the French nation. Alluding to the supposition that a safe-conduct had been given to Marinet, he denied this to be founded in fact; but added, "The French government is honourable in this affair, and will afford a proof of it. Here are two passports; they are at your disposal; one is for all Europe; the other will enable you to proceed to Dijon, to clear yourself of your condemnation *par contumace*, if you deem it proper." To this Marinet replied, "I am penetrated with gratitude for this noble proceeding. I should desire a passport for Switzerland." The advocate-general, "This is for all Europe." The foreman of the jury apprized the court that the decision was unanimous. The court resounded with the applauses of the multitude on learning the decision. There certainly was not sufficient evidence to convict either of them, and the whole of the business remains involved in mystery. It was not proved on the trial, though an explosion was heard, that any ball was fired at the duke of Wellington.

It is with pleasure we perceive in the Moniteur of the 16th, an article respecting the trial of Cantillon and Marinet, the object of which is, to do public justice to the character of the duke of Wellington; and to show, in fact, that the government does not participate in the coarse and illiberal feelings of those who so malignantly aspersed the character of the duke during the progress of the cause.

The editors of several papers are under prosecution in Paris for libelling the Swiss guards attached to the royal household. This foreign corps has, ever since the restoration of the house of Bourbon, been more or less noxious to the French people. A Swiss soldier has been recently killed in a duel by a soldier of the royal guard, and under unfair circumstances. The survivor has been ordered for trial by court-martial.

The king of France has sent to the Persian ambassador, to be transmitted as a present to his sovereign, a chest of fire-arms and sabres of splendid workmanship from the royal manufactory at Versailles.

The French Moniteur of the 17th of April, contains an ordinance for carrying into effect a law by which stock exchanges have been opened in every part of France.

A tu-

A tumult took place on the 26th of April, at Charonne, near Paris, in which great violence was offered to a clergyman, while engaged in performing the burial service. The clergyman was obliged to shut himself up in the vestry-room, and there to listen to the cries of his assailants. The shouts of *à bas la culotte! à la lanterne!* were uttered, as during the worst days of the revolution. Had it not been for the presence of mind and judicious firmness of the mayor's assistant, the rioters would have proceeded to every excess. It was not without considerable difficulty that this worthy magistrate succeeded in restraining and dispersing them.

A commission, composed of some of the principal bishops of France, is said to have been appointed, charged to revise the form of an oath taken by the French kings at their coronation; and to introduce some modifications, so as to make its tenor in unison with the existing institutions of the country. This, no doubt, is preparatory to the coronation of his present majesty.

An effort is making by the French government to naturalize in France the Thibet goat, which yields that hair or wool of extraordinary fineness whence Cachemire shawls are fabricated: a vessel has arrived at Marseilles with a flock of them, sent by M. Jaubert from the Crimea. It consisted originally of 568, of which 160 died; but this loss is said to be nearly compensated by the number of young ones brought forth during the passage.

The sieur Fretin, a poor Frenchman resident at Nogent-sur-Seiner is declared the right and sole heir of the rich M. Courtois, late of London.

NETHERLANDS.

The assize court of Brussels has passed sentence on the persons found guilty of conspiring to seize the emperor Alexander in November 1818. They were all adjudged to be imprisoned for different terms, and to pay costs.

SPAIN.

By letters and papers from Cadiz to the 21st, and from Madrid to the 27th April, it seems that the Spanish government had made great exertions to forward the departure of the expedition; and, in consequence of instructions from Madrid, a considerable number of troops had been put on board several of the ships of the line; and it was expected at Cadiz that these would have sailed for South America before the smaller vessels. An order had, however, unexpectedly reached Cadiz, directing that the soldiers who had been embarked should be disembarked. This circumstance had excited considerable sensation, and numerous were the conjectures as to the cause of this sudden alteration of the determination of the government.

Spain has refused to submit the disputes between herself and her American colonies to the arbitration of the duke of Wellington, as proposed by the sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle.

GERMANY.

The king of Prussia has ordered to leave Jena (the university to which the assassin of Kotzebue latterly belonged) such of his subjects as were there prosecuting their studies.

It is said, the commission sent by the grand duke of Saxe Weimar

mar to Jena, for the purpose of making inquiry whether the assassin of Kotzebue acted in concert with others, has returned to Weimar, and reported, that they could discover no persons in league with the murderer. On the contrary, however, the Vienna papers assert, that Sandt's plot had extensive ramifications. A Ragusan physician, and at the same time the agent for a prince possessing great estates in Bohemia, is considered by them as the original of the affair. He was arrested and sent away from Prague for correspondences exhibiting the same doctrines, and breathing the same spirit, with those of Sandt.

The following curious mode of catching rats is extracted from the works of Muller, an apothecary of Wernigerode, in Germany:—"Procure a large cask, and place it in the vicinity of places infested with rats. During the first week this vessel is employed only to allure the rats to visit the solid top of the cask, by means of boards or planks arranged in a sloping direction to the floor, which are to be strewed with oatmeal daily, or any other food grateful to the palate. Being thus lulled into security, and accustomed to find a regular supply for their meals, a skin of parchment is substituted for the wooden top of the cask, and the former is cut for several inches in the centre in transverse directions, so as to yield on the slightest pressure. At the same time, a few gallons of water, to the depth of six or seven inches, are poured into the empty cask, in the middle of which a brick or stone is placed, so as to project one or two inches above the fluid, and afford to one rat a place of refuge. These measures being taken, the top of the cask should be furnished with the proper baits, in order to induce the marauders to repeat their visits. No sooner does one plunge through the section of the parchment into the vessel, than it retreats to the brick or stone, and commences its lamentations for relief. Others follow, and share the same fate. A dreadful conflict then commences to obtain possession of the dry asylum. Battles follow in rapid succession, attended with such loud and noisy shrieks, that all the rats in the neighbourhood hasten to the fatal spot, where they experience similar disasters. Thus, hundreds may be caught by a stratagem, which may be greatly facilitated by exposing a living rat taken in a trap, purchased from a professional rat-catcher."

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

A fire broke out in the timber-yards of the principal merchants at Christiana, in Norway, on the 4th instant, and burnt property to the amount of 250,000*l.* sterling. The fire lasted four days; and, but for calm weather during the time, the whole of the town must have been destroyed. The fire having broken out in four different places at the same time, it is doubtless the work of incendiaries.

RUSSIA.

The nobility of the Russian government of the Duna have resolved on the emancipation of the peasants their vassals.

Mr. Henderstrom has discovered, in New Siberia, the claws of a bird measuring each a yard in length; and the Yakuts assured him they had frequently, in their hunting excursions, met with skeletons,

letons, and even feathers, of this bird, the quills of which were large enough to admit a man's arm. This is a strong fact in support of the tradition that the earth was formerly inhabited by giants; for men not exceeding ourselves in stature would have been helpless against birds of prey of this magnitude. Captain Cook mentions having seen a monstrous bird's-nest in New Holland, on a low sandy island in Endeavour River, with trees upon it, and an incredible number of sea-fowl: he found also an eagle's nest with young ones, which he killed, and the nest of some other bird, of a most enormous size: it was built with large sticks upon the ground, and was no less than six-and-twenty feet in circumference, and two feet eight inches high.

TURKEY.

Accounts from Constantinople state, that great difficulties still exist in the execution of the treaties between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. Immorality is described as having arrived at a dreadful pitch in the Turkish capital. Crimes and disorders have greatly increased; and this is attributed partly to the dearness of the necessaries of life, partly to the excessive influx of Europeans, since the peace, to "satisfy their curiosity;" and partly to the depreciation of the gold and silver currency, and the quantity of counterfeit money in circulation. A gang of coiners have been apprehended, and two Jews hanged at Adrianople for being engaged in that infamous business.

ASIA.

We lament to state, that the Queen Charlotte East-India ship has been lost in a hurricane, off Madras, with all on board. The Lady Castlereagh and Cornwall were dismasted; the Georgiana and Harriet were disabled; and the Barkworth blown out to sea, so as not to have been heard of since.

Abbas Mirza, crown prince of Persia, is one of the most remarkable men of our times. He was born in the year 1782, and every body expects great changes when he ascends his father's throne. His intercourse with learned Europeans; his speaking the English and French languages very fluently; his introduction of the European military system and discipline, and forming on that system a body of about 10,000 infantry, and a considerable corps of artillery; and other measures, display a mind of no common order. Abbas Mirza is not a mere soldier, but his finer qualities render him still more worthy of the throne. Moritz Von Kotzebue relates the following honourable anecdote of him:—"The Russian ambassador," says he, "perceived in the garden belonging to the prince, a projecting corner of an old wall, which made a very ugly contrast with the rest, and disfigured the prospect. He asked Abbas Mirza why he did not have it pulled down. 'Only think,' replied the prince, 'I have bought this garden from several proprietors, in order to make something magnificent; the proprietor of the place where the wall projects is an old peasant, the only person who positively refused to sell me his piece of land, as he would not part with it for any price, it being an old family possession. I must confess it is very vexatious, but, notwithstanding,

ing, I honour him for his attachment to his forefathers, and still more for his boldness in refusing it me. But I will wait till an heir of his shall be more reasonable!'"

AFRICA.

The viceroy of Egypt, abandoning the Turkish doctrine of fatalism, has resolved to adopt the European practice of quarantine and lazarettoes, to prevent the spreading of the plague.

AMERICA.

A new steam-vessel, called the Savannah packet, of 300 tons burden, has been built at New York, for the express purpose of conveying passengers across the Atlantic. She sailed for Liverpool direct on the 30th of April.

It is calculated that there are 1700 taverns in the city of New York; that is, one to every fourteen houses. A motion was made at a meeting of the corporation, to reduce the number of licenses to 1500; but the interest of the tavern-keepers prevailed over those of morality and sobriety, and the motion was lost.

The following extract explains the president's object in his tour through the states:—

The president departed from Washington, in the steam boat, for Norfolk, with an intention to proceed by Pasquotank, the Albemarle, and Pamlico sound, to Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah, having in view, in reference to public defence, a careful inspection of all the inlets from the ocean. The reports of the board of commissioners, consisting of officers of the corps of engineers and of the navy, relative to a naval depôt, dock-yards, and fortifications, point out the objects peculiarly deserving his attention. From Savannah his course will probably depend upon circumstances. The season, it is expected, will be too far advanced to admit his passage by land to New Orleans, if indeed it were proper to take that route before the late treaty with Spain is carried into effect. Should he not continue his journey towards New Orleans, it is said that he will proceed westward by Augusta, through Tennesse and Kentucky, to the new states, or to some of them. In that section of the union, many objects of the highest interest present themselves to view, a correct knowledge of which, it is believed, would be useful to all employed in public counsels. Our relations with the Indian tribes, under the immense cessions of territory obtained from them by the treaties of the last year, are of that character. The game on which they have principally relied heretofore will no longer furnish them with a subsistence. New efforts will be necessary to civilize them; and effectual regulations must be adopted for the purpose, or they will perish. The great amount of the public lands, which constitute an inexhaustible source of wealth to the whole nation; the disposition of our troops to protect our frontier-settlements and preserve peace with the Indians; to protect the Indians themselves from injustice, and to secure the public lands from intrusions; are subjects highly worthy of the attention of those to whom the management thereof is intrusted, and particularly of the chief magistrate.

Mr. Monroe has evidently considered it his duty to attend in person to these objects since he was elected

elected into the present office, and particularly to measures relating to the public defence. The late war obviously formed an epoch in our history, and furnished the motive, if it did not impose the obligation on the chief magistrate, to give to those measures the utmost activity and vigour. We have not forgotten the imminent perils of that momentous struggle; the desolation of our coast, throughout its whole extent; the great number of our citizens who were called, even from the most remote parts of the interior, to its defence; and the waste of life from disease which followed. Had the coast been fortified, 1-10th of the force would have been more adequate to its defence, and more than 9-10ths of our citizens and property thus lost would have been saved from destruction. We all recollect the ability and virtue with which the citizen then at the helm sustained that struggle, and his persevering firmness in moments of the severest trial. Mr. Monroe then acted under him, in the department of war; and having witnessed the difficulties of that struggle, he thinks it incumbent on him to exert every means in his power to carry into effect the salutary laws and provisions of congress, since adopted to avert like calamities in the event of another war.

Such, obviously, are the motives and the objects that, in the opinion of the president, impose upon him this arduous duty; which he commenced soon after the national concerns were confided to his hands, and which he is now prosecuting.

The secretary of war set out with the president, and will accompany him until he leaves the coast for the interior.

It is stated in the New Providence Gazette, that the inhabitants of that island and Jamaica have transmitted strong memorials to government, praying that New Providence may be made a depôt for a trade between the British West-India colonies and the United States.

The Americans are fitting out, for the first time, an expedition round the world. The Congress frigate, captain Henley, has been selected for the purpose; and, by the last advices, was lying at Norfolk, nearly ready for sea. She takes out with her from 20 to 30 midshipmen, and will be absent about two years.

The United States now contain a population of near eleven millions.

The prince regent has purchased the palace at Newmarket, which is to undergo a complete renovation, under the direction of Mr. Nash. The occasional residence of his royal highness there would, no doubt, infuse new life into the town and its amusements.

At the late Hants county sessions an appeal cause occupied the court several hours, the result of which ought to be extensively known. It was instituted by the rev. Henry Wake, rector of Over Wallop, against the accounts of the overseers of that parish, who had been in the habit of eking out the poor labourers' wages by allowance from the poor rates. One of the witnesses examined was a man with a wife and five children, who in the summer received 6s. in the winter 9s. sometimes 10s. per week. He could not subsist on this, and on going to the overseers they made it up to 12s. 6d. This practice was so commonly under-

stood by the farmers, that they made engagements with their labourers accordingly, and the men were induced to accept almost any wages from those who hired them. The noble chairman (the earl of Carnarvon) said, the payment of a portion of labourers' wages out of the poor rates was illegal, and should be disallowed; that it was alike unjust in principle and practice, and pressed heavily on the small farmer, on the shopkeeper, and on other persons in the parish, who contributed a larger proportion towards the poor rates than the more extensive occupiers of land. The overseers were accordingly directed to refund 25*l.* to the rev. H. Wake, and discontinue the practice.

The farmers of the parishes of Cliddesden and Farleigh in Hampshire, have supplied every cottager with a portion of land for the cultivation of potatoes, the produce of which is considered to be equal to the yearly consumption of each family; and the rector gives potatoes for seed.

Government is expediting the new dockyard and arsenal at Pater: the whole navy of Europe might ride in Milford Haven, if once safely in—it is so deep and land-locked. A light-house is now building on Lundy Island, to serve as a pharos for the Bristol channel and Milford Haven, as the Eddystone does for the English channel and Plymouth sound. A portion of the Plymouth-yard business is to be removed to Milford. Being situated in the neighbourhood of iron-mines and collieries, a great saving is calculated on both as to fuel and all sorts of iron materials.

A tunnel under ground is now cutting from the River Medway, at Rochester, to Higham. When this great work is completed, it is thought that a steam-boat can be employed from Maidstone to the capital.

The Leeds papers notice the alarming decrease of 240,000 yards of cloth in the manufacture of this year, as compared with last.

On the 18th of April was killed, at Old Bewick farm, in the parish of Eglingham, a cow, three years old, the property of Mr. Henderson, of the Bell Inn, Belford. About seventeen months ago, she broke one of her hinder legs, and amputation was deemed necessary, by which the poor animal was reduced to a skeleton. The defect was at length supplied with a *wooden leg*, with which she walked about and grazed, and became the astonishment of all who beheld her. There is also in the possession of Mr. Hayes, a butcher, of Southampton, a pig with a *wooden leg* on the off side before; and it appears to walk with little lameness or inconvenience.

A tree in the episcopal garden at Wells at this time exhibits the singular appearance of fine apples of last year's growth hanging upon its branches, while blossoms of the present spring are bursting forth around their matured companions.

A short time since, 21 goslings, the property of Stephen Hammond and Jonathan Stacey, were stolen from Wymondham. The proprietors offered a reward of five pounds to any person who would discover the offender. A man named William Doubleday was suspected, who, it was ascertained, was gone to Epping to sell goslings. The goose, from which the goslings were stolen, was procured; and a person proceeded to Epping,

Epping, where Doubleday was found, with a number of goslings in his possession. The goose was set down, and the 21 goslings immediately left the rest, and came about her. Doubleday was, in consequence, taken into custody, and is committed to Chelmsford gaol to take his trial at the next assizes.

Several of the Hartlepool fishing-cobles were overtaken when at sea, by a violent gale which blew from the E.S.S. and it was with the greatest difficulty they succeeded in timely reaching the shore, after many of them had been several times filled with water by the heavy seas which broke over them. On the first discovery of the alarming situation of the cobles, the life-boat was launched with the most praiseworthy alacrity, and immediately proceeded to their assistance. Her approach gave fresh energy to the fishermen, who now redoubled their exertions, and most of them regained the shore without her aid: but one coble, in which were three very young men (Michael and Richard Coulson, and John Shepherd) was left at a considerable distance, and the weather being thick, and the approach to the harbour dangerous, they considered their fate inevitable; they were however, fortunately discovered by the crew of the life-boat, and rescued from their perilous situation. Another coble containing three young men (Robert and William Pounder, and James Harrison) was upset, the boat sunk, and the crew supported themselves in the water, by clinging to the loose mast, till another coble came to their assistance, when, by the active and praiseworthy exertions of Joshua Hastings, a powerful and clever seaman, they were taken on board his coble, and brought safe to land. On the Sunday following, the fishermen, with nearly the whole of their families and relatives, attended divine service at Hartlepool church, and offered up public thanks to the almighty for their unexpected preservation.

A lad (named James Bigmore) started from Sudbury with the Phenomenon coach at half past twelve at noon, and ran eleven miles in the first hour. On stopping at the different stages he took no rest, but assisted in putting in the horses, and again set off with alacrity. In this manner he kept up with the coach the whole way to Norwich, a distance of nearly sixty miles, where he arrived five minutes before seven; nor did he seem at all distressed, but walked about to view the city. He has a very sickly and emaciated appearance, and is rather of short stature.

At the Downpatrick assizes, H. Mulholland was found guilty of having fraudulently received bank-notes to the amount of 4*l.* the property of B. S. Young. The prosecutor and a constable proved that his daughter, Margaret Young, was enticed away from him in December last, and took with her some money, and several articles, the property of her father. She was found in the house of Mulholland, a methodist, to whose sect she had turned. The judge observed in his charge, "This is a case of great enormity; the prosecutor's daughter is carried away from him by night, under the influence of a set of ignorant hypocrites, who, at their class meetings, and by letters (such as one

read at the trial) attack the weak mind of an innocent girl, not 19 years of age—a letter subversive of religion, perverting the gospel, and making it destructive of the happiness of families. Suppose any of you, gentlemen of the jury, to have a daughter carried away, as the prosecutor's daughter was, what would be your feelings? a daughter whom he had instructed in the principles of his own religion. It appeared that the prosecutor was a presbyterian: for his part, he rejoiced that in this free country all religious persuasions were tolerated; but a set of fanatics were not satisfied with professing their own religion, but must go about to make proselytes to a religion exemplified in the letter just read—a religion whose professors always had Jesus in their mouths to forward their designs on the weak and the unwary." Mulholland was then sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

12.—In consequence of a manufacturer of Carlisle having lowered the price of weaving ginghams 2*s.* per cut, a considerable number of weavers assembled in a tumultuous manner this afternoon, broke some of his windows, and exhibited other tokens of their displeasure. They also held a meeting on the sands, at which they resolved to petition the prince regent to send them all to America!

EMIGRATION.

The following vessels have sailed this season from Hull, with passengers for British America and the United States:—For Quebec—Maida, Estill, 149; Harmony, Taylor, 22; Robert, Stewart, 30; Fame, Minnett, 171; Andersons, Clark, 82; Isabella, Brady, 168; Eagle, Henley, 84; Whim, Barchard, 97; Kingston, Stewart, 99. For New Brunswick—Valiant, Ashton, 11. For Prince Edward's Island—Dixon, Roberts, 101. For Philadelphia—John and Sarah, Bilton, 59; Little Cherub, M'Kever, 32; Triton, Heseltine, 74. Total, 1174.

EQUESTRIANISM.

A person rode on Saturday last from Whitehaven to Workington, a distance of eight miles in twenty-five minutes, remained there an hour, and returned (upon the same horse) in thirty minutes.—This was not for a wager, but on a business which required dispatch.

The equestrian feats of the present day, while they evince much science and skill, do not, however, surpass those of the jockeys sixty years ago; for although Mr. Harrison's (of Canterbury) match, a few days since, was undoubtedly a great performance, he riding fifty-six miles in rather less than three hours, and changing horses eleven times, yet it falls short of the following exploit of a noted equestrian recorded in the registers for 1759:—"June 27.—For a wager of 1000 guineas, Jennison Shaftoe, esq. rode fifty miles on the Newmarket course. He was allowed two hours, but actually traversed this distance in one hour and forty-eight minutes, riding ten horses."

A very ancient implement of warfare was lately discovered in the crevice of a rock, at Bangor Ferry, by one of the labourers employed in preparing the foundation for the Menai bridge. It is a hard reddish stone, formed at one end like a wedge, and pointed at the other, intended for insertion at the end of a pole, and calculated to answer the purpose of a battle-axe. From the simplicity of the material,

rial, it is probable that it was used by some of the aboriginal inhabitants of Anglesea as an instrument of warlike defence, prior to the discovery of the use of metals.

A beautiful specimen of the art of cutlery has lately been manufactured by J. Rodgers and sons, Sheffield. It is an elegant knife in miniature; containing 30 instruments, moving 11 springs and 14 joints, of the most exquisite workmanship; it employed the workman 28 days of close application to complete it; does not exceed five-eighths of an inch in length, and weighs only one quarter of an ounce.

1.—The duke of York held a council upon the state of the king in Windsor palace. The following bulletin was the result of its meeting:—

"*Windsor Castle, May* 1.

"His majesty's bodily health continues to be good, and he is generally in cheerful spirits, but his disorder is undiminished."

From the appendix to the bank report, we learn that on February 11, 1819, the one and two pound notes in circulation amounted together to the sum of 7,445,108*l.*

The importation of grain into England amounted in value in 1818, to the enormous sum of 13,271,629*l.* whilst those of 1815 were only 2,192,685*l.*

The late wars are calculated to have cost England two thousand and forty millions; equal at 5*l.* per ounce, to 11,400 tons of gold.

Never since India was laid open to British commerce, has there been so great an import of India raw material in general, and of cotton in particular, as at present. This redundant import has had various operations; it has proved ruinous to the parties engaged, but has increased the revenue, and in some degree has occasioned the scarcity of gold coin. Cotton imported at ninepence the pound free of duty, is selling at 5*d.* and 5½*d.* and will probably be reduced still lower, by the approaching sale at the East India House, when near 100,000 bales will be brought to the hammer. The export of British produce to India has also been extensive beyond all example, and the consequent fall in the price almost incredible; shoes, hats, clothes, and goods of all descriptions, being offered at prices below the journeymen's wages who manufactured them. This strange state of things has been produced by opening the trade to Liverpool, Hull, and other ports. The consequence to the merchants has been disastrous in the extreme; but the probability is, that, in a general view, the result will be beneficial to the nation at large; as the very inundation of English goods into the East Indies will teach even the bigoted natives new wants.

The late rev. John Wesley used to assert, that six hours sleep was sufficient for a man, seven hours for a woman, eight hours for a child, and nine hours for a *pig*.

It appears from official documents, that London within the walls contained in 1701, 139,800 inhabitants; in 1750, 87,000; in 1801, 78,000; and in 1811, only 57,000.—It also appears, that in 1813, London within the walls contained 97 parishes, having 67 churches, and a population of only 55,484 persons; while Westminster and its liberties, Southwark, and twelve out parishes of the me-

tropolis, contain 27 parishes, 27 churches, and a population of 686,655 persons!

Firth, Tate, Hodgetts, Bigours, Law, Brook, and Taylor, were convicted at the last sittings, before the chief justice, at Guildhall, of a conspiracy to sue out a fraudulent commission of bankruptcy against a person named Smith, and with intent to defraud his just creditors. The defendants being brought up for judgement, the court sentenced Firth to eighteen months' imprisonment, Tate and Hodgetts to fifteen, Bigours to twelve, and Law, Brook, and Taylor to nine months, all in Coldbath-fields prison.

By virtue of the act 59 Geo. III. cap. 13, the reduced rates of duties on husbandry horses are continued for two years: and such horses may be used in the following manner, without subjecting them to the *guinea duty* as heretofore, viz. they may be lent or let for purposes of agriculture—for the making or repairing of roads—for drawing coal, wood, peat, or turf, for fuel in private houses, but not for sale.—Butchers may use a *second* riding horse in their trade for *one guinea*.—Ponies for riding or drawing carriages, *not exceeding thirteen hands high*, to pay only two guineas, whatever number may be kept; which will be a great accommodation to persons with families; for, suppose a person to keep one horse chargeable at 2*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, he can for the use of his family keep a pony for 2*l.* 2*s.* making together 4*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* instead of 9*l.* 9*s.* as heretofore.—Mares solely kept for breeding are wholly exempt.—Bailiffs' horses to pay only 2*l.* 10*s.* each.—Tenants coming into the occupation of their farms at or after midsummer, who never used their horses before that time, may appeal and be discharged for the moiety of the duties on such horses.

8.—Lord Donoughmore and col. Bagwell fought a duel on the Uxbridge road—col. Bagwell fired and missed—lord Donoughmore missed fire—the duel was then settled through the interference of the seconds—the cause was a political quarrel.

14.—Kinnear, Levy, and Woolf, convicted lately at Guildhall of setting up a fictitious firm, and thereby obtaining goods to the amount of 35,000*l.* were brought up from Newgate to the court of king's bench, and received sentence as follows: Moses Woolf, two years' confinement in the house of correction for the county of Middlesex, and to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*—Lewis Levy, the same period in Gloucester jail, and to pay a fine of 5,000*l.*—John Kinnear two years in Ilchester jail.—Woolf and Levy to be further imprisoned till the fines be paid.

15.—A tremendous explosion took place in one of Messrs. Grueber and Harvey's gunpowder mills on Hounslow Heath. Two men at work were literally blown to atoms.

16.—This morning, shortly after six o'clock, a young man about 18, the son of Mr. Atkins, of Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell, put a period to his existence by shooting himself through the head, in the area in front of the house. A dreadful spectacle presented itself to the view, in consequence of the bursting of the pistol, which was doubly charged, and which had scattered his

his brains in a most shocking manner upon the wall and stones of the area.

17.—A banker's parcel was stolen this morning from the Margate coach: it contained 1280*l.* in *5l.* notes of the Dover, Deal, Margate, and Ramsgate banks, besides nine Prussian bonds of *50l.* each.

19.—An inquest was held before T. Stirling, esq. at the Black Horse, Bayswater, on the body of an elegantly dressed female, about 24 years of age, who was found drowned in Kensington Gardens the day before.—Cries of "Murder" being distinctly heard in the gardens that evening, strong suspicion was excited that it was not her own act. —The jury returned a verdict of "Found drowned; but by what means the deceased came into the water, the jurors have no means of ascertaining."

THE PRINCE REGENT'S LEVEE.

20.—Yesterday the prince regent held a levee at Carlton House, chiefly for the purpose of giving audience to the Persian ambassador, and to receive the presents which had been sent for his royal highness's acceptance from the sovereign of Persia. It being known that the ambassador was to proceed in grand procession, with the presents, from his residence in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, to Carlton House, the streets (notwithstanding the incessant rain) were thronged with persons of every description, anxious to witness the ceremony. A detachment of life guards were stationed in front of Carlton House, and Pall Mall was lined with them. At the bottom of St. James's-street, opposite the palace, the band of the royal horse guards (blue) were stationed; and the line from St. James's-street, through which the procession was to pass, was guarded by the whole of that corps in new uniforms.

At two o'clock the cavalcade left the residence of the Persian ambassador, and proceeded through Albemarle-street, Piccadilly, St. James's-street, and Pall Mall, to Carlton House, preceded and followed by a body of lancers and constables. Three royal carriages, drawn by six horses, containing the officers in the ambassador's suite; next came eight beautiful horses, of the most perfect symmetry, and superbly caparisoned, led by the ambassador's attendants, as presents to the prince regent, followed by a royal carriage, drawn by six beautiful black horses, bearing the Persian ambassador, escorted by a strong body of lancers and horse guards. A strong detachment of guards brought up the rear, which was followed by a great number of noblemen's and gentlemen's carriages, and an immense concourse of pedestrians.

On the appearance of the cavalcade in St. James's-street, the band of the blues struck up *God save the King*; and the troops stationed on each side saluted his highness as he passed.—On its reaching Carlton House, the band of the life guards struck up the same tune, and the troops saluted in like manner.

On reaching the grand entrance his highness was received by the lords in waiting, and conducted, with the usual ceremonies, to the royal presence, when he tendered the presents from his royal master to the prince regent, which, as well as his highness, were most graciously received.

The

The approach of the ambassador to the throne was quite after the eastern style of etiquette.—His excellency was dressed in a rich embroidered robe, his turban ornamented with jewels, and in his hand a silver stick or staff; his excellency leaned on the arm of sir Robert Chester, being a little lame from a kick he received on Tuesday from one of his horses. On his approaching the person of the regent, his royal highness descended from the step of the throne, and advancing two or three paces, received him with that dignity and affability of manner for which he is so eminently distinguished. The ambassador then, in very good English, made a most appropriate speech, which was answered by the prince regent in terms calculated to gain his confidence and admiration. After much conversation, in which the ambassador astonished his royal highness, and every one present, at the fluency with which he spoke our language, the prince regent and his excellency went into the next apartment, where the presents were laid out; they consisted of—

A gold enamelled looking glass, opening with a portrait of his Persian majesty, the object of which was to exhibit, at one view, the portraits of two sovereigns; the one in painting, the other by reflection; and around which were poetical allusions.

A gold enamelled box.

A magnificent costly sword, celebrated in Persia for the exquisite temper of its blade; the sheath ornamented with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds.

A string of pearls.

Carpets of Cashmere shawl, composed of four distinct pieces; the principal carpet is in length 17 Persian yards, breadth nine yards. They were manufactured for the king of the Afghans, who sent them as a present to the shah, and who, without hesitation, sent them as the greatest rarity he possessed, to the prince regent. In Persia they are inestimable, such a specimen of manufacture being there hitherto unknown.

Two carpets of Herat.

A large painting of his Persian majesty.

Ten magnificent Cashmere shawls, of various sizes and denominations.

The Arabian horses brought by his excellency to England as a present to the prince regent were drawn up in the court-yard.

After the regent had concluded his reception of the foreign ambassadors, his royal highness held an investiture of the most ancient order of the thistle, which was attended by the duke of Atholl, earl of Aberdeen, earl of Galloway, and earl of Abergavenny, when Robert Quarme, esq. the gentleman usher of the green rod, introduced the earl of Aylesbury, when the prince regent was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon the noble earl with the sword of state, and afterwards to invest him with the order of the thistle, the green ribbon, &c. in the usual form.

The levee was attended by most of the ministers of state, the foreign ambassadors, and an unusual number of noblemen and persons of distinction, prompted as well by loyalty to the prince, as by curiosity to witness the novelty of the spectacle.

SUITORS

SUITORS IN CHANCERY.

The following is a return of the total amount of the effects of the suitors in the High Court of Chancery, in the years 1756, 1766, 1776, 1786, 1796, 1806, 1816, and 1818, as laid before the house of commons:—

In the year 1756, the total amount of the effects of the suitors in the high court of chancery was	£2,864,975	16	1
In the year 1766, the total amount was	4,019,004	19	4
In the year 1776, the total amount was	6,602,229	8	6
In the year 1786, the total amount was	8,848,535	7	11
In the year 1796, the total amount was	14,550,397	2	0
In the year 1806, the total amount was	21,922,754	12	8
In the year 1816, the total amount was	31,953,890	9	5
In the year 1818, the total amount was	33,534,520	0	10

It is curious to trace the increase of the above sums. In 1756, they were under three millions, and had scarcely exceeded four millions at the end of ten years (1766).—In the next ten, the increase was above two millions and a half (1776). In the next above two millions (1786).—Thus in thirty years the total amount rose from 2,800,000*l.* to 8,800,000*l.* The increase in the next ten years, from 1786 to 1796, was nearly six millions. From 1796 to 1806, above seven millions. But from 1806 to 1816 above ten millions. The increase in the two years 1817 and 1818 is above one million and a half. The total amount is now above thirty-three millions and a half!

POWER OF THE SCREW.

The admiralty yacht, lately under repair in his majesty's dock-yard, Woolwich, was on the 12th inst. raised from her bearings, sufficiently high to have the bottom of her keel coppered, by the application of a *single pair* of screws, under the direction of Mr. William Hookey, assistant builder. The vessel is one of 120 tons, having on board 30 tons of ballast, with all the stageing, &c. attached. The whole operation was performed by eight men, in five minutes; and Mr. Hookey, it is said, is decidedly of opinion, that he could, by the application of ten such pairs of screws, which are those used in his bending machine, raise any frigate in the service, an operation which in many cases would be of great public advantage.

DISTRIBUTION OF WATERLOO PRIZE MONEY.

Commander-in-chief 60,000*l.*, general officer 1,250*l.*, field officer 420*l.*, captain 90*l.*, subaltern 33*l.* sergeant 19*l.*, rank and file, 2*l.* 10*s.* The duke of Wellington's share is equal to 50 general officers, 143 field officers, 666 captains, 2,158 sergeants, 24,000 rank and file.

JUNE.

FRANCE.

The Paris papers of May 29 bring a piece of information which at another time would have passed without notice, but which at present excites surprise and curiosity. Four ex-conventionalists, who had voted the death of Louis XVI. and who stood on the list of banished regicides, have received the permission of the king in council to return to France. What makes this proceeding so strange

is,

is, that it was but a week before, that a motion being made by M. Caumartin in favour of their return, the keeper of the seals (M. Serres) settled the matter, by declaring, that with respect to those of the exiles who had been banished for such a period only as the public safety might require their absence from France, their treatment might be safely confided to the royal clemency; but "for the regicides—*never shall they return*; except in such cases of age or weakness as the king may be pleased to consider worthy of indulgence on grounds of common humanity. I demand the order of the day." The effect produced by this declaration has seldom been equalled, even among French assemblies. La Fayette and some other members strove to raise their voices in reply; but the chamber would not hear them, and the motion was negatived by an immense majority.

There has been a sharp debate in the chamber of deputies, on a motion indemnifying the ministers for expending 58 millions of francs beyond the estimates voted last year;—it was, however, carried. In the course of this discussion, it appeared, that 1,500,000 francs, (about 60,000*l.*) had been disposed of at Aix-la-Chapelle, in *secret services*.

The *projet de loi* for abolishing in France the *droit d'Aubaine*, which has been adopted by the peers, will, if finally adopted by the chamber of deputies, effect a great revolution in the condition of aliens in France; for it will enable them to acquire and hold property in that kingdom, both by descent and purchase.

The established civil list of France comprises 25 millions of francs to the king, and nine millions to the royal family (about 1,416,666*l.*)

The French navy now counts 49 ships of the line, and 29 frigates, besides 11 of the line on the stocks.

Forged bank of England notes to the amount of more than 1500*l.* were lately seized in Paris.

NETHERLANDS.

The king of the Netherlands has interdicted all the numerous popish processions, except two; the one to take place on the Sunday after Corpus Christi day, and the other to be left to the choice of the bishops.

The public attention at Brussels is at present occupied with a dreadful crime, of which the following are given as the details: In May 1817 a serjeant of the 38th militia, named Maters, disappeared from the garrison at Termond, and was reported to his superior officers as a deserter. At Grimbergen, in April last, Charles Claus, a soldier, had a violent quarrel with his wife; in the course of which she was overheard to call him an assassin. In consequence of this, information was given, and inquiries set on foot, by which it was discovered that Maters had been assassinated at Grimbergen in May 1817, and that the perpetrators of that crime were the brothers James and Charles Claus. The house of the latter was a brothel. One night in May 1817, the brothers learned that serjeant Maters was coming to their house; and they assembled three girls to meet him, to whom they added their own sister. After a debauch which lasted till midnight, Charles Claus called Maters into an adjoining

joining closet, from which the girls soon after heard the sounds of groans issuing. One of them went and half opened the door, but recoiled, terrified at beholding the unfortunate Maters expiring on the floor, and weltering in his blood. The two other women were also eye-witnesses of this horrible spectacle, which the asssasins seemed not to wish to withdraw from their sight. At last the murderers cut the head from the body, put the whole into a sack, and went to inter it on a heath near their house. On their return, Charles Claus exacted from the women a dreadful oath, that they should be silent respecting all they had seen; himself swearing that he would murder the first of them that said a word about it. One of the most atrocious circumstances connected with this crime was, that in this very closet, still overflowing with the blood of their victim, Charles Claus passed the night on the straw with one of these females. The two Clauses have been apprehended. The principal assassin is an old soldier returned from the service of France. Those who served with him recount many instances of his cruelty.

ITALY.

Sir Thomas Lawrence arrived at Rome in the beginning of last month. He went there charged by the prince regent, to take a whole-length portrait of the pope. The artist is lodged in the Quirinal Palace, and has been presented to his holiness.

GERMANY.

A student of Vienna, a native of Prussia, lately blew out his brains in a tavern at Leopoldstadt, under the following extraordinary circumstances: This young man arrived at Vienna, accompanied by an intimate friend, and fell in love with a young lady, who also engaged the affections of his friend. A challenge ensued; but each felt a strong repugnance to take the life of his friend. It was, therefore, agreed to decide the affair by a party at picquet; on an undertaking, that the party who lost should blow out his brains. The game was accordingly played; and the loser, a youth of 19, instantly payed the forfeit by shooting himself through the head.

A singular rescript of the grand duke of Darmstadt is said to have excited a lively sensation throughout Germany. He finds the lawyers in his territory too stiff-necked and refractory; and, to reduce them to better order, declares that they shall for a specific time be incorporated with the regiments of his army, under the same duty and discipline, until they become sufficiently obedient. The gentlemen of the long robe are loud and vehement in their remonstrances, and the echo of their complaints rings through Germany.

The whole Jew population, rich and poor, young and old, were driven like wild beasts from the city of Meiningen, in virtue of a certain privilege claimed by the citizens of that town, as having been enjoyed by their ancestors.

An article from Frankfort of the 29th ult. says, "Great complaints are made here of the stagnation of trade. Large capitals are out of circulation, and discount is at 3 to 3¼ per cent. The only business of any importance now carried on is in public paper currency. We have a most favourable prospect of an abundant harvest

vest and vintage: the prices have declined considerably. Wine, which sold two months ago at 800 florins per tun, is now sold for 500 florins. The finances of this city have experienced a great loss by the badness of the Easter fair: this loss is estimated at 70,000 florins. The tolls alone brought in 12,000 florins less than last fair."

PRUSSIA.

The king of Prussia lately amusing himself at Berlin by sliding down what is called a *Prussian mountain*, fell out of the sledge, and literally broke his nose!

A dreadful crime has spread consternation in Berlin: it has made the greatest impression, as people think they recognise in it the same kind of delusion which placed in the hand of Sandt the dagger of an assassin. Dr. Neuman, physician to the hospital La Charité, had just lain down in bed with his wife, when the latter, seizing a kitchen knife, which she had concealed under the bed-clothes, stabbed him in the breast. The doctor leaped out of bed, and called for help. His servant came; but, being terrified, lost all presence of mind, and ran away. Mrs. Neuman pursued her husband, and in spite of his resistance, wounded him in 17 places. One wound only is thought to be mortal. The guard at last mastered this fury. She merely said to the magistrate who interrogated her, "What I have done it was my duty to do." This deliberate cruelty is the more astonishing, because till this time, the woman had lived on very good terms with her husband, by whom she had several children. She earnestly desires that she may not be supposed to be mad: however, from the nature of her conversation, and the choice of her books, an opinion seems to be entertained that this unhappy woman indulged in intricate speculations, which may have disordered her brain, after having depraved her moral character.

RUSSIA.

The Russian privy counsellor, D'Engel, who is governor of Theodosia, is said to have found in the Crimea the true breed of the goats of Kirguis, whose wool, according to the testimony of French manufacturers, particularly of M. Terneaux, is the same as that of the goats of Thibet. M. Joubert, during the journey which he made into the Crimea, discovered that the goats there were the same as those which he had purchased among the Kirguis; the breed had, in fact, at an anterior period, been imported from the Kirguis into the Crimea. This discovery is expected to have a great influence on the fabrication of fine shawls in Europe.

A little prior to the failure of the house of Zuckerbecker, Klein, and Co. of Riga, the emperor, with that readiness for which he has ever been conspicuous in rendering his powerful assistance where he thinks it will be of general benefit, on an application being made to him, granted this house a loan of one million of roubles (about fifty thousand pounds).—According to the custom generally prevalent throughout Europe, the crown, or the persons exercising the supreme functions, is entitled to priority in all claims upon the estate of an insolvent debtor. The emperor, however, has not only

only signified his pleasure that his claim should rank as those of a common individual creditor, but has instructed the governor general of Riga to apply the dividends, as they arise, to the use of the widow and children of Mr. Klein.

TURKEY.

It appears by accounts from Constantinople, that frequent and bloody conflicts have taken place between the Janissaries and the Bostangis. The aga of the Janissaries, who attempted to restrain those unruly ruffians, was forced to fly from their resentment; but afterwards, having seized and strangled a number of the ring-leaders, he was rewarded by government with the loss of his command, and banished to a distance from the capital. The tumults, however, were not appeased by the severity of the aga, nor by his subsequent sacrifice to the vengeance of the exasperated soldiery. When the accounts left Constantinople on the 20th of April, the different corps of the garrison were cutting each other's throats. The inhabitants were in extreme consternation; and all the efforts of the capitan pacha and of the other chiefs had failed to restore tranquillity.

AFRICA.

Letters from the Cape of Good Hope, to the 21st of March, state, that all the men that could be spared, amounting to about 3000, had been embarked for the corn districts, to quell an insurrection of the Caffrees. Captain Gethin, of the 72d regiment, and ensign Hunt, of the African corps, had been killed in two separate affairs with the insurgents. "The former (says one of the letters) of these valuable officers was pursuing some maraunders in the vicinity of his station, at De Bruin's Drift, with seven men of his regiment, whom he had mounted, when he was surrounded by a vast number of the savages, and fell gallantly defending himself, pierced with upwards of thirty wounds. Ensign Hunt, in like manner, having discovered towards evening traces of stolen cattle, thought it best to halt in the plains till day-light to pursue them; but was attacked in the night by a very numerous body of Caffrees, and fell in the conflict. The party, however, repulsed the enemy."

AMERICA.

American papers to the 25th ult. have arrived. They state, that the most general commercial distress prevails in the United States; and a petition has been presented to the president, praying him to convene congress as early as possible, in consideration of "the calamitous situation of the union."

By letters from New York it appears, that upwards of forty houses in the cotton line failed in the course of seven days; and the greatest distress prevailed throughout all the great towns in America.

Intelligence to the 8th of last month has been received from Jamaica. The patriots in Spanish South America have captured Porto Bello, a sea-port on the north coast of the Isthmus of Darien. This event took place on the 10th of April, by the troops under the command of sir Gregor M'Gregor.

We have received a Buenos Gazette of the 26th of February. The sovereign congress opened their session on the 25th of February;

ary; and the supreme director, Pueyrredon, delivered an address, which gives rather an unfavourable picture of the internal condition of that republic. He congratulates the congress upon the commencement of their sittings; expresses his hope that their proceedings will put an end to the "vacillation on which the state fluctuates," and defeat the designs of its enemies, who "dread to see the day in which order and the empire of the laws are for ever consolidated;" and concludes with requesting congress to appoint a supreme director in his place, who will be better able to apply their military energies than himself. It was understood that congress were busily employed in framing the constitution.

During the voyage of discovery last year to Baffin's-bay, a bottle was thrown into the sea from the Alexander, lieutenant Parry, on the 24th of May, when that ship was off Cape Farewell. It contained the latitude and longitude the ship was then in. About two months since the bottle was found on the island of Bartragh, in Killala-bay, and an account of it forwarded to the admiralty. It is supposed it must have floated at about the rate of eight miles per day across the Atlantic.

On Whit-Tuesday a fight took place at the village of Twerton, near Bath, between two brothers, named Wiltshire, of the adjoining parish of Newton. One of them had been knocked down, and the other was in the act of kicking him; when a man, named Ashley, touched him on the elbow, and said, "Don't kick him; for if you do, you will kill him; it is a shame for brothers to be fighting;" at which Wiltshire turned round, and vociferating to Ashley, with a tremendous oath, "I'll knock your brains out, or any one who takes his part," instantly struck Ashley a violent blow under his ear, who fell to the ground never to speak again, and after lingering till the following day he died! The coroner's jury, who sat upon the body, returned a verdict of Wilful Murder against Wiltshire, who has been committed to Shepton Mallet jail to take his trial.

To counteract the effect of frost on tender vegetables, water them on a frosty morning, before the sun shines on them.

A fact, well worthy of the most serious attention of the public, was stated by sir Thomas Tyrwhitt lately at a meeting at the London Tavern, in support of the Plymouth and Dartmoor-railway, that in the course of last year, 1,800,000*l.* were paid to Russia for 18,760 tons of dressed flax; and that 87,484*l.* were paid to the United States of America for flax-seed, chiefly for the service of Ireland; and that he was authorized to state, by those who presided over the linen board in that country, that even should all the forest of Dartmoor be turned to flax, Ireland was ready to take every grain of its seed.

A relative (we believe the son) of the celebrated sir R. Arkwright, who invented the cotton spinning machine, is the purchaser of Mark Hall, Essex, the seat of Montague Burgoyne, esq. One hundred thousand guineas "down on the nail" is said to be about the sum given for it.

An application was made a few days ago to the mayor of Leeds by 76 croppers, who have 56 wives

wives and 161 children, to be sent to Canada. This application was laid before the board of the workhouse, who expressed an opinion that the scheme was *visionary*.

There is great distress among the Glasgow weavers. The magistracy, on being appealed to, considered emigration as *the only remedy!*

The following is a comparative statement of the Supplies and Ways and Means for the last and the present year, at one view :—

SUPPLIES GRANTED FOR

1818.		1819.
8,909,603	Army	8,900,000
6,456,809	Navy	6,436,000
1,245,600	Ordnance	1,191,000
1,958,939	Miscellaneous	1,950,000
18,570,951	Total supplies	18,477,000
2,000,000	Interest on exchequer bills	1,570,000
560,000	Sinking fund on ditto	430,000
21,130,951		20,477,000
	Reduction of unfunded debt	10,597,000
		£31,074,000

WAYS AND MEANS GRANTED FOR

1818.		1819.
3,000,000	Annual malt	3,000,000
3,500,000	Excise duties continued	3,500,000
250,000	Lottery	240,000
250,000	Old stores	334,000
7,000,000		7,074,000
	Loan	12,000,000
	Loan from the sinking fund	12,000,000
		£31,074,000

MIRACULOUS INCIDENT.

A little girl, about four years of age, the daughter of W. Telford, of Crossdale, situate at the head of Ennerdale lake, Cumberland, accompanied its mother to the peat moss at the foot of what is called Great Banna Fell, and in the course of the afternoon rambled to the adjoining peat pots, where some of the neighbours were at work. The mother being one of the last at work, and not seeing the child, imagined one of the neighbours had taken it home. This not proving the case, an immediate search commenced, in which a great number of people assisted. It was unavailingly continued through the four following days and nights. On Sunday, many more assembled; some of whom extending their search as far as Foultern Tarn, observed a clog-mark in a steep track seemingly accessible only to shepherds. As it was evident this could only be made by the little wanderer, an active search commenced in

that direction, and on the eastern side of Herdis, in a place called Clea Gill, the little innocent was discovered with its head reclined on its arms. As not the most distant idea was entertained that it could survive six days and five nights of incessant hunger, and exposure on these bleak mountains, it occasioned no small consternation amongst those who first discovered it; when on calling out "it was found," it raised its head, and desired they would not hurt it. When found, its feet were partially covered with water, and much swollen. This was the only water, and consequently the only sustenance within its power to procure, during the time it was missing. It instantly recognised its father, the neighbours, and even some of their dogs; and complained of hunger. Food being sparingly administered, it was taken home, and is now running about seemingly well! The place where it was found was much paddled, and it is conjectured it had wandered there on the night it was lost, as a small cavity where it was found, from which it could occasionally emerge, must, under Providence, who "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," have been the means of its preservation; otherwise it seems impossible it could have survived the inclemency of the weather on Friday night.

IRISH DIAMOND.

A circumstance of a singular nature, likely to attract the notice of mineralogists, is at present the subject of conversation among the literati of Dublin. An exceedingly fine specimen of diamond crystallized has been found in the sand of a small stream in the north of Ireland. It is the species called by lapidaries the yellow diamond, of extreme beauty and remarkable size.

WATERLOO SUBSCRIPTION, 18TH JUNE, 1819.

On the anniversary of the great, decisive, and important victory of Waterloo, on the 18th of June 1815, the committee for managing the subscription present the following report:—

The return of the army from France has enabled the committee to proceed in the distribution of donations to nearly the whole number of those who are wounded; and every claim preferred to the committee has been separately considered. The committee congratulate the public upon the extent of relief, and the essential benefit rendered to the brave men wounded, and to the relatives and dependants of those whose lives were devoted to the service of their country.

Annuities for life, and for limited periods, (payable half-yearly,) have been granted to

727 widows,
977 children,
277 disabled non-commissioned officers and privates—amounting in the whole to 22,142*l.*

In addition to the annuities, there has been voted the sum of 192,844*l.* in donations to officers and privates wounded, and to the parents and dependent relatives of those who were killed. Within the four years which have elapsed since the victory of Waterloo, the committee have considered, and decided upon 7531 cases, many of which were involved in difficulties, requiring extensive correspondence and investigation,

vestigation, occupying much time, and attended with considerable labour; but the committee have found their reward in the important benefit they have rendered, and in the honour conferred on them by a grateful nation.

R. H. MARTIN, Chairman.

WATERLOO TROPHIES.

On Friday week a numerous fashionable party attended at the late museum, in Piccadilly, to witness the sale of the carriage and other things which belonged to Napoleon Bonaparte, and were captured at Waterloo. The articles were all eagerly bought up, and some of them at most extravagant prices. The following statement of the prices given for some of the things will serve to show in what estimation these relics are held:—The carriage 168*l.*; small opera glass 5*l.* 5*s.*; tooth brush 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; snuff box 166*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; military stock, or collar, 1*l.* 17*s.*; old slippers 1*l.*; razor, (common) 4*l.* 4*s.*; piece of sponge 17*s.* 6*d.*; shaving brush 3*l.* 14*s.*; shirt 2*l.* 5*s.*; comb, 1*l.*; shaving-box 7*l.* 7*s.*; pair of old gloves 1*l.*; old pocket handkerchief 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Many other articles were sold for prices equally high.

The following curious calculation is extracted from a provincial paper, and shows the effects produced upon the national purse by a protracted war, independent of the sacrifice of human existence:—"The last wars have, it is said, cost Great Britain not less than 2,040,000,000*l.* of our money. To aid our conceptions of the vastness of this sum, suppose this money were in gold, and valued at 5*l.* per ounce, it would weigh about 11,400 tons, which would load, at three tons each, 4,800 waggons; and if in silver, at 5*s.* per ounce, about 76,000 waggons; and allowing 20 yards to a waggon, would reach, in a direct line, about 864 miles. If an ounce of gold can be drawn into a wire of 1,000 feet long, the above sum would be sufficient to make a girdle for the whole globe! This is only our loss; but what has the war cost to all the powers engaged, France, Spain, Germany, Denmark, &c.?"

It perhaps is not generally known that the box-tree is a strong poison. The box borders of several beds in a garden at Wittering Lodge, near Lincoln, were last week thrown upon some manure in which nine strong pigs were rooting, four of whom died from eating the noxious leaves, notwithstanding castor oil and other antidotes were administered.

5.—The duke of York held his council on the state of the king; when, after visiting his majesty, the usual attestations were made by the physicians, who also signed the following bulletin:—

"*Windsor Castle, June* 5. His majesty has passed the last month very quietly, though still exhibiting the same continued marks of disorder. His majesty's general health is unimpaired."

The bill of the solicitor of the excise, in the prosecution of a person of the name of Weaver, for the offence of selling a certain drug to a brewer, amounted to nearly 250*l.* In this case, there were five counsel employed for the crown, and the penalty ultimately recovered from the delinquent was 200*l.*

Lord Thanet and Mr. Grey, both eminent agriculturists, have

communicated to the board of agriculture their conviction, from experiments, that lime sown by hand, or distributed by a machine, is an infallible protection to the turnip against the ravages of the fly. It should be applied as soon as the turnips come up, and in the same daily rotation in which they were sown; and the lime should be slacked immediately before it is used, unless the air be sufficiently moist to render that operation unnecessary.

The total value of corn, grain, meal, and flour, imported into Great Britain in

1812, was	£2,908,753	10	6
1813	4,975,608	2	2
1814	4,478,131	4	0
1815	2,192,685	1	0
1816	2,343,891	0	6
1817	7,763,895	0	4
1818	18,271,629	3	0
1819, ditto from 5 Jan. to 30th March	2,249,164	6	0

So immense an importation of corn in one year as that which took place in 1818, could not fail to affect most seriously the British farmer; and it ought to stimulate the legislature to give such protection and encouragement to agriculture, as shall make the produce of our own soil equal to the consumption or superior to it, that we may again become an exporting nation.

E. Crane, detained from the last session, was indicted at the Old Bailey, for stealing a pair of sheets, the property of Mr. Browne, of Fitzroy-place. This prisoner was tried upon a similar charge last sessions, and was acquitted in consequence of his sister, Charlotte Leslie, refusing to give evidence against him. Upon that refusal she was committed for contempt of court; and was now brought up, in custody, in order to give evidence against him on the present indictment. The officer was proceeding to administer the usual oath to her; but she refused to take it, unless she knew what questions would be put to her. Mr. justice Bayley perceiving the dispute between her and the officer, asked her what reason she had for refusing to be sworn? Leslie—"My lord, the prisoner is my brother." The judge—"That may be; but you have a higher duty to perform than any you can possibly owe to a brother—your duty to your country and to your God." Leslie—"Indeed, my lord, I don't know how that is; but this I know—that I never can bring my conscience to give evidence against my own flesh and blood—I never should be happy afterwards if I did." The judge—"Then you positively refuse to be sworn?" Leslie—"Positively, my lord, I will suffer any punishment you can inflict upon me, but I never will give evidence against my brother." The judge—"Let her be again committed." She was then re-conducted to prison, and his lordship proceeded to sum up the other evidence; which having done, the jury pronounced the prisoner guilty.

Charles Rennett was put to the bar, on the charge of stealing the child of Mr. Horsley, of Canonbury-lane, Islington. The indictment having been read, the case was opened to the jury by counsel, who then called Mr. Horsley, and Ann Holbrook, the servant, to prove the well-known facts of the case, from the time of the

the girl's leaving her master's house with the two children, to the apprehension of the prisoner and recovery of the boy in the duchy of Oldenburgh. The prisoner being called on for his defence, read a long written statement, to show that he had experienced many wrongs and injuries from the family of Mr. Horsley. He also adverted to promises of mercy by the prosecutor, and to the fact of the child being found in good health, in proof of the care he had taken of him, and in extenuation of the crime. Judge Bayley summed up briefly; and the jury, after turning round for a moment, pronounced the verdict of guilty. The learned judge, in a short but most impressive address, then pointed out to the prisoner the great enormity of his offence, which, he observed, might have led to the derangement or death of the child's parents; and concluded by informing him that he would, at the end of the sessions, be sentenced to seven years' transportation, the severest punishment the law imposed on his offence. Rennett is apparently four or five and thirty, of diminutive stature and appearance; his deportment was respectful, and during the reading of his defence he seemed much affected. Mrs. Horsley is his first cousin.

The chancellor of the exchequer concluded his contract for a loan of 12 millions with Messrs. Rothschild and co. on terms highly favourable to the public. The parties delivered their biddings on reduced, in addition to 80*l.* of consols.

Reid, Irving, and co.	£65 10 0
D. Ricardo and co.	65 2 6
M. Rothschild and co.	62 18 8

The last offer being so much below the other two, was readily accepted. Consols at the close of the market on the 8th were 70¼, and red. 69¼. At that price, the 80*l.* of consols at 70¼ is equal to £56 8 0

62*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* of reduced at 69¼, is 43 17 10

Exclusive of disct. £100 5 10

17.—A presentation at court being, from long-established custom, a necessary preliminary among persons of rank to an introduction into company at home, and to admission at foreign courts, the prince regent determined on holding a drawing-room this day at Buckingham-house. A precedent for the reception of ladies, without a royal female to preside, was found in the reign of George II., which sovereign was accustomed to hold drawing-rooms after the death of queen Caroline. It was determined also to combine with it the celebration of the prince regent's birth-day, his royal highness having been indisposed on the day first appointed to be observed as his natal anniversary. In pursuance of this plan, grand dinners were given by the respective ministers; the morning was ushered in with the usual rejoicings, the military attended in the usual manner, and, in conjunction with the police, maintained perfect order. The prince regent arrived dressed for the drawing-room in full regimentals, with a brilliant display of his orders, and appeared in the full enjoyment of health. The duchess of York, duke and duchess of Gloucester, prince Leopold, princess Sophia of Gloucester, and duke of Kent, came

in state; the duke of York came in private. The company began to appear at the palace soon after 12 o'clock, and they continued to arrive till near five. The prince regent entered the room appropriated for his closet, at half-past one o'clock; when the lady of the French ambassador was introduced, and had the honour of a private audience. After this ceremony, his royal highness proceeded to the late queen's drawing-room, where the attendants upon his royal person, the great officers of state, &c. were assembled; they proceeded into the Japan room, where the foreign ambassadors, cabinet ministers, the archbishop of Canterbury, and all those who have the high privilege of the *entrée* were assembled. Having received their congratulations, the regent proceeded to the grand saloon, and took his station in the front of the throne; the princess Augusta took her station to the regent's left, the duchess of Gloucester, princess Sophia of Gloucester, and the duke of Gloucester to the right. The court was a very crowded one, and the presentations were very numerous. Among those not usually attendant, were—the duke and duchess of Bedford, the duke of Grafton, the marquis of Lansdown, and earl Grosvenor.

A disturbance took place opposite St. Andrew's, Holborn, this evening, owing to the refusal of the parish-officers to suffer the interment of a body in an iron coffin. The body was left on a tomb-stone in the churchyard by the undertaker; who was taken to prison for an alleged assault, and the coffin subsequently conveyed to the bone-house. The ecclesiastical court is to decide between the parties.

23.—Early on Sunday morning it was discovered that a large black bear, sent as a present to his royal highness the duke of Sussex, had contrived to break out of his cage, which was placed in a coach-house, and bruin having an inclination to explore these premises, containing a handsome new chariot, mounted the footboard, and began to play with the tassels; he next ascended the roof and the box, the covering of which became a prey to his claws: after enjoying himself as an outside passenger as long as he thought proper, he proceeded to examine the interior of the vehicle, and turning from the box, made his *entrée*, through the front windows into the carriage, which bore serious marks of his savage curiosity. No one dared to approach this northern visitor; and in order to prevent further depredations in his probable rambles, guards were placed with fixed bayonets, until some of the keepers arrived from the menagerie at Exeter 'Change, who secured him, after great difficulty, in one of their strong cages.

26.—Near two o'clock the premises of Messrs. Bensley and son, printers, extending from Bolt-court to the back of Gough-square, were discovered to be on fire; and such was the rapidity of the devouring element, that, notwithstanding the prompt assistance of the fire-engines, the whole of that extensive and complete office, with its warehouses and contents, was destroyed, together with the upper part of the family dwelling-house in Bolt-court.

We

We hardly ever witnessed a more rapid fire*. Fortunately the large room, which contains the elaborate machine for steam-printing, being considerably lower than the rest of the buildings, escaped the fury of the flames, sufficiently so, at least, to leave the costly apparatus free from any material injury. We are happy to state, that neither the life nor safety of any person was affected. Respecting the cause of this conflagration, at present, conjecture alone can be indulged; but we are assured it rests not with the conduct of the steam-engine itself; though possibly some of the flues connected with it might have caught fire. In a northerly direction the fire extended to the backs of the houses in Gough-square, occupied by Messrs. Smith and co. Messrs. Ehn and co. (both furriers,) and another large house occupied by Mrs. Salmon as a ladies' school; the latter was entirely destroyed, and the former much damaged. Towards the west the fire did also much damage.

JULY.

During a thunder storm at Cleron (Doubs), 120 sheep were struck dead by the lightning.

SUPERSTITION.

A case of horrible superstition is related in the last French papers: some persons opened a tomb in the department of the Aine, cut off the head of a person just buried, and boiled it for more than an hour in a pot; in the hope that, after this operation, the head would point out to them the lucky numbers that would prove fortunate in the lottery!

MELANCHOLY FATE OF MADAME BLANCHARD, THE CELEBRATED AERONAUT.

Paris, July 6.—The extraordinary fête which had been for some time announced to take place this evening at Tivoli, has been signalized by a shocking catastrophe. Among the numerous spectacles which had been announced to the public was the ascension of madame Blanchard in a luminous balloon which was to be furnished with fire works.

Accordingly, at half-past ten, this intrepid aëronaut, clothed in white, with a hat and plumes of the same colour, mounted her parachute. At a given signal the balloon rose, but so slowly that part of the fire-works came in contact with the surrounding trees. However, by throwing out some ballast, madame Blanchard soon rose rapidly. The ascension was illuminated by Bengal lights; the aëronaut waved her flag; and the air resounded with acclamations. All of a sudden the balloon entered a slight cloud, which completely obscured the Bengal lights. Madame Blanchard then set the match to the fire-works, in order that they might produce the intended effect, when it was perceived that some rockets took a perpendicular direction towards the balloon, and set fire to the bottom of it. Immediately a

* It may be interesting to some of our readers to know, that the house in Bolt-court, formerly the residence of Dr. Johnson, formed a part of Mr. Bentley's office, and is entirely destroyed. A view of it is preserved in the European Magazine for 1810.

dreadful blaze struck terror into the hearts of all the spectators, leaving them in but little doubt as to the deplorable fate of the unfortunate aëronaut.

It is impossible to describe the scene which Tivoli now presented. Cries of lamentation burst from all sides; numbers of females fell into convulsions — consternation was painted in every face.

Some gens d'armes rode off at full gallop towards the place where it was supposed the fall might take place, and in about a quarter of an hour afterwards they returned to Tivoli, with the lifeless body of madame Blanchard. She fell in the Rue de Provence, at the corner of the Rue Chaussat—she was in her parachute enveloped in the net-work which had attached it to the balloon.

We need not add, that by the desire of the public all the amusements ceased. A subscription was simultaneously commenced. This unfortunate lady was about 45 years of age.—*Gazette de France.*

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

A melancholy event has terminated in a deplorable manner the fête given this evening at Tivoli. Madame Blanchard, who ascended amidst the plaudits of an immense concourse of spectators, was precipitated from a great height in the air, and fell upon a house in the Rue Taitbont. Her body was brought lifeless to the spot from which she ascended. It is easy to imagine the shock which this terrible catastrophe gave to the spectators.

Several females fainted, and every one withdrew without waiting the conclusion of the fête. It is supposed that the fire-works which came in contact with the trees as the balloon ascended had got deranged, and that the rockets, having by this accident changed their direction, set fire to the balloon. A subscription was made at the gate of Tivoli for the family of the unfortunate sufferer, and every one hastened to deposit his offering.—*Quotidienne.*

M. Blanchard, the husband of madame Blanchard, was the first who constructed parachutes and annexed them to balloons for the purpose of escape in case of accident. During an excursion which he undertook from Lisle about the end of August 1785, when this adventurous aëronaut travelled without halting a distance of 300 miles, he let down a dog from a vast height in the basket of a parachute, and the poor animal falling gently through the air reached the ground unhurt. Since that period the practice and management of the parachute have been carried much further by other aërial travellers, and particularly by M. Garnerin, who has dared repeatedly to descend from the region of the clouds with that very slender machine. This ingenious and spirited Frenchman visited London during the short peace of 1802, and made two fine ascents with his balloon, in the second of which he threw himself from an amazing elevation with a parachute. It descended for some seconds with an accelerating velocity, till it became tossed extremely, and took such wide oscillations that the basket or car was at times thrown almost into an horizontal position. It passed over Mary-la-bonne and Somers Town, and almost grazed the houses of St. Pancras. At last it fortunately struck the ground in a neighbouring

bouring field; but so violent was the shock as to throw poor Garnerin on his face, by which accident he received some cuts, and bled considerably. He seemed to be much agitated, and trembled exceedingly at the moment he was released from the car. One of the stays of the parachute had chanced to give way (as was most likely the case with madame Blanchard); which untoward circumstance deranged the apparatus, disturbed its proper balance, and threatened the adventurer during the whole of his descent with immediate destruction. The feeling of such extreme peril was too much for human nature to bear.

The catastrophe of madame Blanchard has a near resemblance to that which befel Rozier and Romain in 1785. From some vague idea of being better able to regulate the ascent of the balloon, they had incautiously suspended below it a small smoke one of ten feet diameter—a combination to which may be imputed the disastrous issue.

Scarcely a quarter of an hour had elapsed after their ascension, when the whole apparatus, at the height of about 3000 feet, was observed to be on fire, and its scattered fragments, with the unfortunate voyagers, were precipitated to the ground. They fell near the sea shore, about four miles from Boulogne, and were instantly killed by the tremendous shock, their bodies being found dreadfully mangled.

The only other fatal accident with balloons which we at present recollect, happened in Italy several years after the loss of Rozier and Romain, when a Venetian nobleman and his lady, after having performed successfully various ascents, fell from a vast height and perished on the spot.

NETHERLANDS.

Several persons have been killed in the Netherlands, during the recent thunder storms; and an article from Brussels, giving an account of a hurricane at Antwerp, during which the waters of the Scheldt rose to a great height, states the stormy weather to have been announced by the appearance of several unknown marine animals of large size, in that river.

ITALY.

According to letters from Naples of the 4th, accounts had been received there by telegraph of a terrible eruption of Ætna, which began on the 1st of June. Catania, built at the foot of the mountain, was in the greatest danger. Vesuvius has also thrown out a strong eruption, in which the lava directed itself towards Pompeii. Violent shocks of an earthquake have been felt at Viterbo.

GERMANY.

Another dreadful attempt at assassination took place on the 2d ult. at Schwalbach, in the duchy of Nassau; and by another German student. A young man, named Lehning, son of a physician at Idstein, in the same duchy, and a student at Heidelberg, took it into his head that he should be rendering a particular service to his country by ridding it of M. Ibel, president of the regency of Wisbad (who enjoys the confidence of the duke), and determined to assassinate him. For this purpose, he went to him at Schwalbach, and attempted to stab him with a dagger;

dagger; which, however, only cut through the clothes of M. Ibel, but did not wound him. The latter, being a powerful man, soon disarmed the assassin, and prevented him from using two loaded pistols which he had in his pockets. The assassin was instantly interrogated, and committed to prison.

The papers of Stutgardt are filled with frightful pictures of the progress of pauperism and depopulation throughout the kingdom of Wurtemberg. The proceedings of the approaching diet are looked forward to with the greatest anxiety.

The emperor of Austria has ordered a superb service of porcelain for the duke of Wellington. The subjects of the paintings are to be the duke's principal victories.

The princess Maria Josephine of Saxony, to whom the king of Spain is to be married, will not be sixteen till the 6th of October next. Ferdinand the beloved is in his 34th year.

The want of rain throughout Saxony is so great, that the farmers are compelled to fodder their cattle on straw.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

Sweden and Denmark, we are told, are at length reconciled, under the mediation of England: the Norwegian debts due to Denmark are to be defrayed by instalments. The king and his son voluntarily give, for ten years, the civil list revenue assigned them by the States of Norway towards paying the debt.

RUSSIA.

Extract of a letter from Riga, June 14:—"An event, not unparalleled indeed, but very rare, has lately occurred here. During a strong north-west wind, an immense quantity of young caterpillars fell upon the great meadows on the south side of the Duna, and devoured the grass, with the roots, upon a very extensive tract. As soon as this was perceived, the people employed all the means they could think of, to destroy them: they dug ditches, swept the insects together in heaps, and crushed them, &c. but without much diminishing their numbers. On the fourth day they crept into the earth, and changed into chrysalises; so that we have the bad prospect of seeing them return as butterflies, and propagate their species among us."

The Political Journal (published at Hamburgh) gives the following statement of the actual force of the Russian army:—

Regular infantry . .	360,000
Cavalry . . .	68,000
Artillery . . .	49,000
Army of reserve.	
First line . . .	100,000
Second line . .	50,000
Veterans . . .	75,000
Cossacks, Calmucks, and Baskiers . .	68,000
Seamen . . .	75,000
Total .	863,000

of which 788,000 are land forces, consisting of 585,000 foot, 154,000 horse, and 49,000 artillery.

TURKEY.

The Porte, after three years negotiation, has acknowledged Great Britain sovereign protectress of the Ionian Islands.

Accounts from Corfu inform us, that the unfortunate town of Parga had been delivered up to the Turks; or, in effect, to Ali Pacha, who had taken possession of

of it. "The inhabitants," it is added, "to the number of between two and three thousand, have quitted, with tears in their eyes, their native soil; and they are now wandering in that and the neighbouring isles in search of a home."

AMERICA.

American papers to the 10th of June repeat and confirm the commercial distress felt throughout the union, and even through every class of society. The suspension of specie payments has taken place at several banks, and there is a general cry for "a liberal issue of paper." The taxes are with great difficulty wrung both from agricultural and trading persons; and even the engine of the law has been found inefficient. Many have demanded an early meeting of congress, to obtain an act which shall stay the law-proceedings for the recovery of debts.

The following is an extract of a private letter from New Jersey:—"We have now sad times among us, owing to the stagnation of commerce; but the evil is felt chiefly by our merchants. In the country there is abundance of food for man and beast, health and plenty, few taxes, room for thousands, a fertile country requiring labour and skill to any extent, and calculated to supply the wants of all the labouring poor of Europe, could we but transfer them here."

An order was recently issued by an American colonel, in Florida, to shoot deserters, without trial or hearing; and one man was shot in obedience to the order!—The military appear to care little for the laws in that country.

There is a steam-boat in America of 2,200 tons burden. The engine is of 1000 horse power. It is called *The Fulton the First.*

The Americans have applied the power of steam to supersede that of horses in propelling stage-coaches. In the state of Kentuckey, a stage coach is now established, with a steam-engine, which travels at the rate of twelve miles an hour; it can be stopped instantly, and set again in motion with its former velocity; and is so constructed, that the passengers sit within two feet of the ground. The velocity depends on the size of the wheels.

A letter dated the 17th ult. at Aux Cayes, states—"We are all on the *qui vive* here, on account of an atrocious massacre that occurred the night before last, about two leagues from town. Six persons left in a barge for Alquisso, a little town to windward, were assailed during the night by five armed men in a small open boat. The men were literally cut to pieces by these ruffians; two women escaped. Their object was, 600 dollars in specie, which were on board the barge. No discovery has yet taken place."

A fine new brig was launched from the yard of Mr. Ramsay jun. of Boston, Lincolnshire. It is supposed that upwards of 150 persons were on board at the time. The vessel went off in grand style; but not being properly trimmed, she unfortunately upset, and nearly the whole of the persons on board were precipitated into the river! Great and praiseworthy exertions were immediately made, and sanguine expectations are entertained that no lives are lost; but the alarm and confusion that followed the accident can hardly be imagined. The vessel was got

got up again without much damage.

A cow belonging to farmer Evans, of West Harptree, Somerset, having been ill for a few days, attacked him, and threw him over a heap of stones; very fortunately he made his escape. Another man, going to see her soon after, was also attacked in a more violent manner; and, had not the farmer's son been present, she would, no doubt, have killed him on the spot. In the course of an hour after, the beast was taken in a stupor and fell down dead.

4. This afternoon, a considerable district of the county of Norfolk was visited by one of the most tremendous thunder-storms, accompanied by a hurricane of rain and hail, ever recorded. The storm displayed itself in terrific forms at Mattishall, East Dereham, Reepham, Aylsham, and adjoining villages. Pieces of ice fell at Hackford and Whitwell, some of which measured two inches long, an inch wide, and an inch thick.—At Hevingham several trees were blown down, houses partly unroofed, and windows broken by the hail. Mr. Bircham, of Booton, had at least 50*l.* worth of damage done by the hail-stones breaking the glass of his greenhouses, &c.

6.—At night, an alarming fire broke out at Isleham, Cambridgeshire, which totally destroyed the White Horse inn. A poor fellow of the name of Pleasance, wheelwright, of Mildenhall, perished in the flames.

8.—A combat unparalleled in the brutal annals of boxing, took place this evening, at Luton, near Chatham, between two young men, named Lovell and Andrews, in consequence of a dispute which had taken place on a preceding evening in a skittle-ground; and after a most determined contest of three hours and three quarters, in which both were severely punished, they were separated, unsubdued.

12.—This day was opened, near the entrance of Cashiobury Park, Herts, a school, on an extensive scale, and on the improved plan of the Madras system, founded and endowed at the sole expense of the right honourable the earl of Essex. Nearly 200 children of the poor are already admitted, who may be said to have hitherto existed in a state of ignorance bordering on barbarism, and, but for this laudable institution, must have remained so. They will now be brought up in the habits of religion, morality, and industry; and we may look forward with a pleasing hope of their becoming useful members of the community. Too much praise cannot be given to the munificence and liberality of the noble earl, whose example is worthy the imitation of every great and good man, and will hand down to posterity a monument more durable than the marble bust, or the most eloquent inscription on the tomb.

A meeting was held on New Hall-hill, Birmingham, on this day, which is said to have been attended by not fewer than 15,000 people. Mr. Edmonds, a schoolmaster, proposed, that sir Charles Wolseley should be sent to parliament, in the novel character of "legislatorial attorney and representative of Birmingham." He stated, that the issuing of a writ being compulsory, they had not awaited the form of the mandate, but

but anticipated the right. The privilege constitutionally belonged to them; and they were fulfilling their duty as good subjects, in proceeding to advise the sovereign by their representative. If they had not been commanded so to do, the error rested with others! The baronet was then nominated *pro forma*, and declared duly elected. A remonstrance to parliament was read, which the new-elected member was to present to the house, and demand of the speaker his place in the commons assembly. A deputation was proposed to wait on sir Charles Wolseley, and give him the necessary instructions of his constituents. Sir Charles Wolseley had previously promised them to go and claim his seat in the house, if they elected him.

The grand jury, at the quarter sessions, the next day, found true bills of indictment against sir Charles Wolseley, baronet, and Joseph Harrison, a dissenting minister of Stockport, for turbulent and seditious speeches made by them on the 26th June, at Stockport, with intent to excite tumult and insurrection within this realm.

Extract from a letter, dated Holyhead, July 15.—"The Talbot steam vessel, which arrived here this morning from Howth, took fire while lying close to the pier; but by great exertions of the persons then present, she was saved from total destruction: a considerable part of her deck, however, has been cut away to prevent the fire spreading. A poor fellow who was employed in this work, had his finger chopped off in the hurry and confusion inseparable from so alarming an accident. The vessel has, fortunately, in this instance been saved, as it was perfectly calm; had there been a breeze, she must have burned down to the water's edge. She has just now been hauled out into the middle of the harbour, to prevent the crowd of spectators witnessing the extent of the damage sustained by the accident. Had this happened earlier in the day, when she was a few miles distant from the land, unavoidable destruction must have ensued to her and all on board."

16.—Two donkeys were found in Joiner's Wood, Kent, belonging to sir John Fagg, adjoining Chislett-park, tied with chaise-reins to the shrubs, completely starved to death, having devoured every edible substance within reach. It is supposed that they were stolen, and tied there by some villain or villains who have been since apprehended, and have consequently left the wretched animals to perish thus miserably.

20.—A dreadful circumstance took place at Brighton, in the barrack-yard in Church-street, facing the royal stabling, this afternoon. At about half-past four o'clock the military, the 90th infantry, turned out there for the afternoon's parade. A private, who had been confined in the morning for being absent from duty, was released by the orderly serjeant, Watson, to fall-in for the parade. The fellow, meditating revenge for the confinement he had endured, no sooner had his musket in his possession, than, as it seems, he charged it with a ball cartridge; and as serjeant Watson descended from his room to the barrack-yard, he deliberately took aim at him, and shot him through the body. The ball entered

tered on one side, near about the ribs, and came out of the other. —Surgical assistance was useless. He did not survive the fatal wound more than twenty minutes. The horrible deed was perpetrated in the midst of the soldiers mustering for the parade; many of them supposed the gun had been fired from the other side of the yard wall, and were in the act of scaling it to discover by whom; when the miscreant threw down his piece, and exclaimed, that he was the man, and that he had then had his revenge, and was in no wise sorry for what he had done. He was then secured. The deceased bore a very excellent character. He has left a wife and three children to deplore his loss.

The Cambridge Chronicle says: "We inserted some time ago an account of an extraordinary number of miles performed by Joseph Meads, a mail-guard. We have now further to state, that the same individual has completed five years, viz. from Monday July 11, 1814, to Sunday July 11, 1819, betwixt Northampton and London, performing the distance of 66 miles every night, without halting one night; which, including the bissextile, amounts to 120,516 miles; being above forty times the computed length of Europe. The same individual has travelled with mail-coaches, as guard, 547,742 miles; which is above two-and-twenty times the computed circumference of the globe."

The following is quoted as a specimen of the distress of the times: 52 clothiers have, during the last 20 years, carried on business at a borough town in Wiltshire, and at their various manufactories afforded employment to a numerous population; but now, the inhabitants of the place are sunk into pauperism and wretchedness; for of their 52 employers, 9 are dead, 17 have failed, 24 have declined, and only 2 remain in business. Nor is this a singular case; for there are, within eight miles of the above place, four other manufacturing towns, in each of which the depression of trade has been equally severe.

The corporation of Guildford have unanimously elected Mr. serjeant Onslow recorder of that borough, vacant by the resignation of sir W. Draper Best, knight.

The following is a remarkable fact in the history of the apiary.—A hive of bees at Manse, of Dun, in the neighbourhood of Montrose, swarmed on the 15th of May, again on the 1st June, and again on the 3d instant.

A dreadful accident happened lately at New Mill, near Holmfirth, Berkshire, by which two persons lost their lives. While the servant of Mr. Micklethwaite, of that place, carpenter, was loading a cart with wood, the horse took fright; and the wheels passing over his body killed him on the spot. The master, seeing the accident, ran up to the horse, and attempted to arrest its furious progress; but while he was engaged in this effort, the cart came in contact with a wall, against which Mr. Micklethwaite was jammed, and so dreadfully bruised, that after languishing till the Monday following he expired, leaving a widow and a numerous family to lament his loss.

It is a melancholy fact, that no less

less than 140 deaths have taken place in Norwich during the last four weeks, by small-pox.

At Blackburn, near Manchester, a female reform society has been established; from which a circular has been issued to other districts, inviting the wives and daughters of the workmen in the different branches of the manufacture to form themselves into similar societies. They are not only to co-operate with the different classes of workmen in seeking redress of their supposed grievances, but "to instil into the minds of their children a deep and rooted hatred of the government and houses of parliament," whom they are pleased to call "our tyrannical rulers."

Some wiseacres at Henley-upon-Arden, a few days ago, having rubbed a living rat over with spirits of turpentine, set it on fire, and let it loose in a barn over-run with those vermin, thinking it would drive the rest out. The plan succeeded, but in a different way from what they intended; the barn being burnt to the ground!

Four hundred and eleven lambs have this year been raised by Thomas Tyrwhitt Drake, esq. at Shardeloes, Bucks, from 277 South Down ewes.

The bankers of Edinburgh have unanimously resolved to give drafts on London at twenty days date, for money paid in there, instead of fifty days date as formerly.

At Tuam, in Ireland, the Catholic archbishop has refused to confirm a young man, because he worked on saints' days! of which the calendar contains about 50!

EXPLOSION OF A STEAM BOAT.

A serious accident of this nature happened on the 5th instant at Grangemouth. The steam-boat Stirling, captain Sutherland, having undergone some repairs, was preparing to start from the harbour of Newhaven; when, in consequence of the safety-valve not being opened sufficiently to allow the escape of the accumulating steam, the boiler exploded, and nine persons were more or less scalded, three of them severely; but although a number of passengers were on board, and many people on the wharf opposite at the time, providentially no lives were lost.

CUSTOM-HOUSE OATHS.

Memorials have been lately sent to the lords of the treasury, from many of the principal merchants of Liverpool and Hull, praying for a revision and correction of those statutes which enforce the taking of certain useless and unmeaning oaths in custom-house transactions, intended to secure the revenue from fraud; but which, in fact, cannot be taken without the commission of virtual perjury. The memorials having been favourably received, there is reason to hope that this practice, which has long been a proverbial disgrace to morality and religion, will soon be abolished.

POISON IN BEER.

A very eminent brewer, in the county of Sussex, was proceeded against, by information, during the present sittings of the court of exchequer, at Westminster, upon a charge of having received into his possession upwards of 70lbs. of the *cocculus indicus*, for the purpose of being used as a substitute for malt in his beer. This composition, taken in certain quantities, is a deadly poison.

EMIGRA-

EMIGRATION.

An account of the emigration from Belfast, from the 1st of Jan. to the 5th of July 1819:

No. of Vessels.	Where to.	Passengers. Adults.	Children.	Total.
13	St. Andrew's	1839	729	2568
14	Quebec	1858	739	2597
1	St. John's	113	18	131
1	Prince Edward's Island	102	32	134
4	New York	180		180
3	Baltimore	172		172
2	Philadelphia	85		85
1	New Orleans	14		14
39		Grand total		5881

Ten of those ships went to the United States with 452 passengers; and 29 vessels went to British America with 5429 passengers.

ROYAL VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE.

3.—At eight o'clock the duke of Gloucester, chancellor of the university, with the princess Mary his duchess, and the princess Sophia of Gloucester, arrived in his royal highness's carriage with six horses; shortly after which, the vice-chancellor, the honourable George Neville, heads of houses, &c. went in procession from Magdalen lodge to Trinity, to congratulate their royal highnesses on their arrival.

4.—Sermons were preached at Great St. Mary's church by two doctors; in the morning the rev. J. B. Hollingsworth, of St. Peter's college, and in the afternoon the rev. T. T. Walmsley, of St. John's college; before the distinguished visitors, who that day dined at Magdalen lodge. The party consisted of about 80. After this the royal personages attended service at Trinity college chapel, and in the evening gratified the public by walking on Clare hall Place, amidst a great concourse of visitors and inhabitants of the town. In the evening they supped with the bishop of Bristol.

5.—After a levee, at which the presentations were very numerous, the chancellor went to the senate in his full robes, accompanied by the duchess and princess, and followed in procession by the earl of Hardwicke, high steward of the university; lord Erskine, lord Hervey, and the honourable B. O. Noel. The following honorary degrees were conferred:

The right honourable John Beckett, Trinity college, L.L. D.; lord Carrington, Magdalen college, L.L.D; lord Braybrooke, Magdalen college, L.L.D.; marquis of Buckingham, Magd. college, L.L.D.; earl of Rosebery, Pembroke-hall, L.L.D.; sir Thos. B. Lennard, bart. Downing college, M.A.; honourable H. S. Stopford, Trinity college, M.A.; sir F. Sykes, bart. St. John's college, M.A.; honourable R. J. Eden, Magdalen college, M.A.; Mr. George Nevill, Magdalen college, M.A.; sir H. Williamson, bart. St. John's college, M.A.; honourable E. G. Moore, St. John's college, M. A.; honourable A. Cavendish, Magdalen college, M.A.;

M.A.; honourable G. Spencer, Trinity college, M.A.; sir W.W. Wynn, bart. Magdalen college, M.A.; honourable S. E. Eardley, Caius college, M.A.; honourable A. Calthorpe, Pembroke-hall, M.A.; sir Culling Smith, bart. Trinity-college, M.A.

After the chancellor had conferred the several other degrees with his usual dignity, Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay, of Trinity college, recited his English poem on *Pompeii*, which had gained the chancellor's gold medal.

On his return, the mayor and corporation waited on his royal highness at Trinity lodge, and presented an address from the body. The royal party then proceeded to St. Mary's church, to hear the oratorio of Judas Maccabeus. At the conclusion of the part then in performance, "God save the king" was played by the whole band, and sung by the choir, consisting of many of the first performers of the day.

The royal party, with a number of distinguished persons, dined at Trinity college. In the evening their royal highnesses attended a concert which was held in the senate-house. Professor Hague led the band, and was ably supported by Messrs. Mori and Lindley, Mrs. Salmon, mad. Bellochi, and Messrs. Braham, Knyvett, Bellamy, and Vaughan. They were encored in most of their songs, and 2000 persons were present.

6.—This being commencement-day, on which the creation of doctors and masters of arts takes place, a congregation was held by the proctors at eight o'clock, when they created the masters of arts, in order that his royal highness the chancellor and the illustrious visitors might not be detained too long at the usual congregation. At ten o'clock, the duke and duchess of Gloucester, with the princess Sophia, went in state to the senate-house, where his royal highness distributed the prizes to Messrs. H. Waddington, T. Hall, and —— Oakes. After the creations were concluded, the public orator presented the right honourable Charles Grant, of Magdalen college, for admission to the honorary degree of doctor in civil law, which was conferred upon him by his royal highness. Upon leaving the senate-house, their royal highnesses visited the public library, and the Fitzwilliam museum, where they appeared highly delighted with the magnificent collection of pictures and books.

About four o'clock a superb *déjeûné* was given in the cloisters of Trinity college. No less than 1500 ladies and gentlemen sat down to a very elegant cold collation, followed by a fine dessert of fruit, ices, &c. with a variety of wines. It was originally intended that there should have been a dance in the open air, and a platform had been erected for that purpose in one of the avenues of Trinity walks; but the weather proving unfavourable, their royal highnesses and the company, after a short promenade in Trinity library, retired to the hall, where the dancing was kept up until the royal visitors retired. There was another concert at the senate-house in the evening.

7.—This morning the royal party, after having attended an oratorio at King's college chapel, departed from the university,

and proceeded to Audley End, the beautiful seat of lord Braybrooke, to dinner.

3. The following bulletin was exhibited at St. James's palace:

"*Windsor Castle, July* 2.

"His majesty's bodily health continues to be firm; and there has been no sensible alteration in the state of his majesty's disorder during the last month."

A privy council was lately held at the treasury chambers, presided over by lord Harrowby, and consisting of the lord chief justices of the courts of king's bench and common pleas, and the lord chief baron of the exchequer, sir William Scott, and sir William Grant, and attended by the attorney-general, &c. to investigate the circumstances attending the death of a Maltese at Athens, who was shot by Mr. W. Kinnaird (the son of the magistrate) in January last. Mr. Kinnaird had presented himself at Malta for trial, and was sent home a prisoner to England. After a full investigation and examination, Mr. Kinnaird was discharged; being honourably acquitted of any charge against him. It appeared by the evidence transmitted by the consuls of the Levant, that the event of firing on the deceased was in absolute self-defence.

The lord chief justice laid it down, a few days ago, that a person brought from the country to London to give evidence, is entitled to be paid for his loss of time, as well as his expenses, before he is sworn; and the counsel for the plaintiff undertook that it should be done.

A serious calamity has befallen Mr. Moore, of poetical celebrity, in consequence of the misconduct of a deputy whom he has employed some years in his office at Bermuda, and who has embezzled a considerable sum of money (it is said 6,000*l.*). The cause has been decided in the cockpit before the lords of appeal; and Mr. Moore being deemed legally responsible by their lordships, an attachment was decreed against his person. The office, which was conferred on Mr. Moore by lord Moira in 1803, has no salary annexed to it. The trifling emoluments arise from casual fees: which in the course of the fifteen years that he has held the office, have not amounted to one fifth of the sum for which the defalcation of his deputy has made him answerable.

By the last stamp act, a much higher duty is made payable on an administration where there is no will, than is liable to be paid on the proving of a will.

According to an act passed the 2d instant for amending the laws respecting the settlement of the poor, no person can acquire a settlement unless by renting a house or land of the annual value of *ten pounds*, and *bona fide* hired by such person, and the rent actually paid by him for a year.

One of the new acts of parliament makes the copyholds of lunatics liable for their debts.

An official return to an order of the house of commons of the effective strength of the British army, on the 25th May, states it at 14,116 cavalry, 5,412 foot-guards, and 84,812 infantry.—Grand total, 104,349.

By an order in council of the 12th instant it appears, that a prohibition is laid upon the export of gunpowder, saltpetre, and every sort of ammunition, from this kingdom,

dom, to all the ports of the Spanish dominions. The order is a corollary to the proposition of the foreign enlistment act; and, indeed, it was only fair, that as we would not permit our countrymen to fight in the armies of the South Americans, so we ought not to supply their opponents with ammunition.

The case agreed to be laid before the four judges of the court of king's bench for their opinion, respecting a cause between lord Clinton, the hon. Mrs. Damer, and the marquis Cholmondeley, on which property to the amount of 14,000*l.* per annum depends, was taken into consideration a few days ago, when Mr. justice Holroyd and Mr. justice Best coincided with the master of the rolls in favour of Mrs. Damer and the marquis; while Mr. justice Bayley was of a contrary opinion.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that on Monday night, the 28th ult. at ten o'clock, the thermometer was as low as 48 deg.; and that at the same hour on the 14th of January last it was precisely at the same point.

The duke of York, we are told, has handsomely provided for Bidder, the celebrated calculating boy from Devonshire.

The bishop of Calcutta has lately addressed the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, informing them that the sum of 5000*l.* voted by that society for the promotion of christianity in India, would be applied by his lordship towards the erection of a mission college in Calcutta. On the receipt of this letter, the society for promoting christian knowledge in Bartlett's-buildings instantly voted 5000*l.* more towards the intended college; and the church missionary society has just made a grant of 5000*l.* in addition for the same object. Thus no less than 15,000*l.* has been voted by three societies, in connexion with the established church, for the great object of promoting christianity throughout British India.

Not less than 5000*l.*, it is said, have been received this season for admission to the royal exhibition.

It appears from an official report, that in 1812 there were 52 national schools, containing 8000 pupils; in 1819, 1457 schools, containing 200,000; and that of 700 culprits, 23 only have been educated in the national schools.

A few days past lobsters were so plentiful in London, that those of a tolerable size were sold at four for a shilling.

In the course of a series of observations which the chancellor of the exchequer made in the house of commons, on the financial state of the country, the right honourable gentleman informed the house, that a sum of 20,000*l.*, the produce of saving banks, was laid out every week in the purchase of stock; and that a sum of 3,500,000*l.* flowing from the same source, had already accumulated in the hands of the commissioners.

1.—His royal highness the duke of York, accompanied by sir H. Calvert, arrived, at twelve o'clock at the small-pox hospital at Pancras, of which he has been president twenty years, where he was received by the committee and officers of that institution, and immediately proceeded to inspect the several apartments and accommodation

for the patients, several of whom he was pleased to notice in a very condescending and humane manner, particularly a great number of infants in their mothers' arms, who were in attendance for vaccination by Mr. Wachsell, the resident surgeon, who introduced several of these patients, and exhibited the process of vaccination from the first day to the close, greatly to the satisfaction of his royal highness and the committee. Dr. Gregory, who attended for Dr. Ashburner, also, in reference to the accuracy of the register of the hospital, stated the correct system there adopted, whereby it appeared, that 1832 had received vaccination since last Christmas, which was an increase of 750 above the numbers of last year. His royal highness then visited the several wards, and inquired attentively into the cases of the patients, several of whom were confined in the severest stages of the casual small-pox. Mr. Highmore, the secretary, stated to his royal highness the progressive state of the affairs of the institution, and its increasing utility during the last twenty years, since the introduction of vaccination, compared with the twenty preceding years, and the increasing number of those who now call for vaccination instead of variolous inoculation; with all which his royal highness was pleased to express his entire satisfaction.

An account of the number of deaths occasioned by the casual small pox, extracted from the register for twenty years before the practice of vaccination, and also for twenty years since; also the number of deaths as reported by the parish clerks of London, &c. copied from their general bills of all the christenings and burials for the same periods:

Before vaccination.

A. D.	Hosp. reg.	Par. reg.
1779 to 1798	1867	36,189

Since vaccination.

A D.	Hosp. reg.	Par. reg.
179 to 1818	814	22,480

Decreased in deaths since the practice of vaccination was introduced—at the hospital, 1053; in the parishes, 13,709.

The first stone of the new church of St. Pancras was laid by his royal highness the duke of York. The site on which the church is to be built was covered with raised platforms capable of holding five thousand persons, and forming an amphitheatre. The duke of York's band was present, and the whole had a grand and imposing effect. On the arrival of his royal highness he was greeted with loud cheers. Two bottles containing coins, and a brass plate with the inscription of the date, &c. &c. were deposited in the cavity; the duke of York then spread the mortar with a gold trowel, and the stone was lowered. Prayers were afterwards read, and his royal highness left the ground amidst loud applause. The duke of Bedford, earl Spencer, and many persons of distinction were present.

7.—In the court of king's bench, came on the trial of the following actions:—Jewell *v.* Belshaw and another.—Wishart *v.* Sir F. Burdett and Place.—Clarke *v.* Burdett and Place.—O'Neil *v.* Burdett and Place.—Shelley *v.* Burdett and Place.—Davis *v.* Burdett and Place—the earl

earl of Sefton v. Burdett and Place.—The plaintiffs were all inhabitants of the hundred of Ossulston, in the city of Westminster; and having had their windows destroyed, and houses otherwise damaged, by the outrageous mob who assembled at the hustings on the last day of the Westminster election, now brought their actions for indemnification against the defendants, who were selected merely for the sake of form as inhabitants of the hundred, against which they would have their remedy afterwards. The jury under the judge's direction, found verdicts for the plaintiffs in all the cases.

The following is a statement of the quantity of porter brewed by the first eleven porter brewers in London:

	Year ending July 5, 1818.	Year ending. July 5, 1819.
Barclay, Perkins, and co.	340,560	320,090 barrels.
Truman, Hanbury, Buxton, and co.	185,412	210,967
Andrew Reid and co.	168,962	183,675
Whitbread and co.	151,107	181,344
Combe, Delafield, and co.	130,217	133,008
Henry Meux and co.	118,481	111,136
Calvert and co.	97,920	99,286
Goodwyn and co.	60,247	63,377
Elliott and co.	52,161	53,111
Taylor	47,775	53,104
Cocks and Campbell	35,702	26,025

The number of informations filed in the court of exchequer for the recovery of penalties under the customs and excise laws, from 1st January 1818 to 1st January 1819, was 761, as appears from the return made to the order of the house of commons on this subject.

ARTISTS IN ENGLAND.

It appears from a list of each class inserted in a late number of Annals of the fine arts, that modern patronage has created in England not less than 931 professional artists of various descriptions, in and near the metropolis; of whom there are 532 painters, 45 sculptors, 149 architects, 93 engravers in line, 38 in mixed styles, 19 in mezzotinto, 83 in aquatinta, 22 on wood; and it deserves to be noticed, that among the painters, there are 43 ladies.

AUGUST.

FRANCE.

The Paris papers of the 2d instant contain the termination of the trial of M. Bavoux, the law professor. M. Bavoux exculpated himself for the doctrines he had delivered in his lecture, on the ground that the code of law which he had attacked was exclusively the work of Bonaparte. The jury, after half an hour's consultation, acquitted the accused, and the verdict was received with the loudest applauses by the audience.

The notorious general Sarrazin, who when in England married a miss Hutchinson, has been brought to trial by that lady at Paris, for *bigamy*: he was found guilty, sentenced to ten years' hard labour, to be placed in the pillory,

and to pay a fine of 40,000 francs: —he behaved with the most shameless impudence on the trial.

A terrible conflagration was caused by the negligence of an idiot, at Remy, in the department of the Oise. It consumed 325 farming and dwelling houses, and reduced to a state of indigence 260 individuals, who have now no other resource than public charity. This loss is estimated at 600,000 francs.

The Paris papers state, that ten communes in the arrondissement of Montargis were desolated in the night of the 7th instant by a tremendous hail-storm accompanied by thunder and lightning. Every thing was destroyed for the space of twenty leagues. Sixty hours after the dreadful catastrophe, hail-stones were found of the size of an ordinary egg. The damage is estimated at four millions of francs (170,000*l.* sterling).

There have been dreadful storms, also, in several other quarters. In Deux Sevres, a space of seven leagues was desolated by hail, which lay on the ground to the depth of three or four inches: two of the hail stones weighed 12 ounces.

Another dreadful example of the rage for fighting duels lately occurred at Paris. In consequence of an article inserted in one of the French journals, three of the body guards, and three of the editors connected with that journal, proceeded on the 6th inst. to the field, for the purpose of fighting against each other. At the first attack, M. David, one of the editors, received a pistol-ball, which killed him in a moment. This fatal result put an end to the murderous encounter, and the combatants were separated.

The duke de Feltre, late minister at war, and often employed on missions by Napoleon, died so poor, that Louis XVIII. has settled *525l.* pension on his widow.

NETHERLANDS.

Carrier Pigeons.—A letter from Brussels, dated July 17, says, —"Thirty-two pigeons, with the word *Antwerp* marked on their wings, have been sent to London, where they were let loose on the 11th of this month, at seven o'clock in the morning, after having their wings counter-marked *London*. The same day, towards noon, one of these faithful animals arrived at home and obtained the first prize; a quarter of an hour later, a second arrived, and obtained the next prize. The following day, twelve others arrived, making fourteen in all. The prizes, which are very considerable, will be distributed to-morrow (Sunday) at Antwerp. It is not with any intention of establishing a correspondence between London and Antwerp (as the Paris journals pretend) that those pigeons were sent to London, but merely for the pleasure of seeing them return."

SPAIN.

The hope of recovering her trans-Atlantic possessions seems now lost to Spain. The Cadiz expedition, so long in preparation, and upon which the government has bestowed the whole remnant of its resources, has been dissipated by a mutiny. The small proportion of the army which continued to respect the orders of the commander-in-chief, claimed an exemption from the expedition, as the price of their fidelity.

The estimated expense of the Cadiz expedition, now rendered abortive, is not less than 30 millions

lions of dollars; more than seven millions sterling. The whole of the disposable royal treasure was early bestowed upon this object; and it was subsequently found necessary to resort to a mortgage of the royal quicksilver mines, and an almost compulsory loan from the nobility and clergy. The people were already taxed to the utmost.

GERMANY.

The heat at Vienna and in its neighbourhood was greater between the 5th and 8th of June, than has been experienced there since 1748: the thermometer of Reaumur was at 22½ in the shade. Several men and horses at work in the fields fell dead.

We have news from Frankfort of outrages committed on the Jews in that and several other places—their supposed offence was, attempting the removal of certain humiliating distinctions by which their race is oppressed in that quarter.

A Lancasterian school is now established at Hamburgh, where the children are instructed by an English and German master at a penny an hour.

The Prussian government is actively employed in pursuing the traces of the "great conspiracy;" the existence of which is as boldly affirmed, as positively denied. The academical senate of Berlin has commanded the students to attend a court of inquiry, precisely on the model of "the holy inquisition." But, it seems, the students have suddenly decamped. The accounts state, that all Germany is in a ferment, in consequence of the arrests at Jena, Berlin, Weimar, Heidelberg, Bonn, Cologne, the territory of Nassau, and other places. The papers of a Berlin bookseller, named Reimer, have been seized. He was himself absent in Switzerland.

An association is said to have been found to exist, having for its object to destroy the present confederation, and form the whole of Germany into one great republic, to be governed by a senate and an elective prince. In Wirtemberg, the popular opposition to the government is very open and strong; whilst in Bavaria the designs of the king are directly thwarted by the deputies. He wished to maintain a certain military establishment; but the deputies cut it down to a small amount, and persist in that determination.

The king of Prussia has repealed all the legislative provisions which prohibited catholics from holding public offices in his dominions.

DENMARK.

VACCINATION.—For the last eight years not a single case of small pox has occurred in the dominions of the king of Denmark. The whole inhabitants have been vaccinated. Here is one good effect which has resulted from the arbitrary power of the king of Denmark.

The Austrian Military Journal contains an interesting article on the military colonization in Russia, which important measure may be briefly described as follows:—"In order to form and complete the army, it has hitherto been necessary to bring the recruits from all the provinces or governments, which extend over a surface nearly of 350,000 square (German) miles; of course they reached the places of rendezvous late, precariously, fatigued, and for the most part

did not join their regiments till they were no more wanted. Henceforward, however, the military force of Russia is to be for the most part distributed and settled in a certain exclusively military tract of country, which is to be at once their country, their property, their abode, and their district for recruiting. This military zone will intersect Russia in its whole breadth, from the Baltic to the Euxine. According to private accounts from the Rhine, professor Arndt's papers have been restored to him.

It is not true that professors Arndt and Welker have been arrested, as many journals have asserted; nor have the lectures ceased on account of the sequestration of their papers, which the government has thought necessary.

AFRICA.

Advices from the Cape of Good Hope, dated May 10, communicate information of another irruption of the Caffres, who, by the last accounts, were supposed to be completely repulsed, to the number of 30,000 men.—They had crossed the river which divides their territory from that of the Cape, and were committing the most extensive depredations. Orders had been issued to compel the military service of the inhabitants of the adjoining district; and all the horses had been put into requisition, in order to equip a portion of them as cavalry, the species of force best calculated to repel the attacks of these dastardly but mischievous invaders.

The bey of Tunis has succeeded in reducing to submission the revolted Arabs, who have engaged to pay a contribution of 150 camels, 500 horses, and 20,000 sheep.—After having carried off more than 30,000 persons, within the limits of the Tunisian government, the plague has somewhat mitigated its ravages.

The emperor of Morocco, Muley Soliman, gave out, in the beginning of June, that he should visit Tangiers. But, instead of repairing thither, he assembled a force behind the river Sebon, with the intention of imposing a tribute on the inhabitants of the mountains of Tedla, who had revolted against his authority. His troops were scarcely collected, when those mountaineers, generally denominated *Berberes*, surprised the emperor's camp under cloud of night. His negro guards were almost to a man cut to pieces; his treasure, estimated at 400 quintals of silver, 12 of his wives, his own tent, and his baggage, fell into the hands of the rebels.—The governor of Tangiers died of his wounds, and Muley Ibrahim, the emperor's eldest son, was wounded in the head. This young prince, it was reported, had arrived at Fez, under the protection of some Moors. A rumour had been current for ten days, that Muley Soliman himself had been killed: but it appears that he had been able to reach Mequinez in disguise escorted by a single Moor, one of the rebels; who, having entered the emperor's tent during the action, apprized him of his danger, and succeeded in conveying him to his capital amid the greatest perils.

We learn by the return of the Tartar (commodore sir G. R. Collier, bart. and K. C. B.) from the coast of Africa, that Prince's Island, near to the Bight of Biafra, on the Guinea coast, is now the principal,

principal, and indeed the only point of rendezvous on that part of the coast of Africa for the dealers in slaves. Spanish and Portuguese vessels (the only extensive traffickers in this inhuman trade now) from Cuba, rendezvous there. On arrival, the supercargo shifts his cargo of bale goods and hardware into small schooners belonging to the authorities of that settlement, and proceeds to the Bight of Benin, or Biafra, either to Bona Calabar or Benin rivers. Here he bargains with the respective chiefs, or kings, for so many hundred slaves, which are generally ready by anticipation; they are now purchased for goods of the value of 3*l.* 17*s.* to 4*l.* per head, for children under ten or twelve years; and above that for 5*l.*; women of a handsome shape and appearance are one or two pounds sterling higher. At Prince's Island they are landed, and, if no English man of war is in the neighbourhood, are re-embarked at 25*l.* per head to the Spanish captain. If any man of war is there, they are received into factories, until opportunity offer for sending them off to Cuba. The vessels are generally schooners (termed American *clippers*), bought by Spaniards at St. Jago de Cuba, and pretend they are bound to the coast south of the line, such as the Congo or Benguela. The most unmitigated cruelties continue to be inflicted upon the poor African race, by the barbarous slave-dealers. It is an astonishing fact, that two slaves, who were rescued by a boat's crew of the Tartar, and brought on board that ship, belonging to *a cargo* which had been re-landed on the appearance of the Tartar, were weighed by the officers, when it appeared that the weight of the lad was 45lb. and the man 64lb.

AMERICA.

The American papers continue to speak of the great extent of commercial distress and numerous failures in the United States. One house is stated to have failed in New York for 12 millions of dollars; and every thing like commercial confidence is almost annihilated throughout the United States.

It is stated in the National Intelligencer, that between 30 and 40 newspaper establishments had lately been formed in different parts of the United States within eight months.

It is reported in the Canada papers, that the Missisagua Indians have ceded to the British government a tract of 2,748,000 acres of land, equal in extent to forty-six townships. It is said that "this tract embraces that elegant river the Mississippi, from its source to its entrance into the lake Chandiere, or Ottawa river."

In the American papers appears the almost incredible confession of a malefactor, named Willherbarne, executed at Buffaloe, New York, on the 4th of April. This horrible monster, returning home, after spending the day in gaming and drunkenness, was met at the door by his wife, who struck him a blow; which so enraged him, that he afterwards went to her bedside, and with a wood axe murdered her and three of her children. His other three children, hearing their cries, went to ascertain the cause; when he butchered them in a like manner, and afterwards two servants, to escape, as he thought,

thought, detection. This horrid scene he closed by burning the bodies in the kitchen.

The Carthage bridge, over the Genessee river (New York), is of one entire arch, 713 feet long, 30 wide, and 196 feet above the surface of the water! Loaded teams of more than 13 tons have passed over it.

Montezuma bridge, between the village of that name and the town of Menz, over the Seneca river and marshes, Onondago county, New York, extends about three miles. It is said to be the longest bridge in the world.

Newfoundland has been again visited by a dreadful conflagration. On the 18th of July, a fire broke out in a house in the upper part of the town of St. John's, which raged with unabated fury for three hours, and deprived 170 families of shelter.

Intelligence from Rio de Janeiro announces the baptism of the infant princess, daughter of the prince and princess royal of Portugal and the Brazils, who is to take the title of princess of Beira, and who received at the font the following long list of names:—Maria da Gloria Joanna Carlotta Leopoldina Isidora da Cruz Francisca Xavier de Paula Michaela Gabriella Raphaela Louisa Gonzaga.

On Monday, the 16th of August, a meeting, pursuant to public notice, took place at Manchester, for the ostensible object of parliamentary reform. For some time previous, considerable anxiety had been excited in the public mind as to the result. To prevent the alarming consequences that were generally apprehended, the local authorities had taken every precaution that human foresight could devise. Notwithstanding, we lament to state, that some lives were lost in the affray that subsequently ensued; and we cannot reflect on the lamentable circumstance without expressing our strongest disapprobation of the conduct of those unprincipled individuals, whose only object, under the specious name of *patriotism*, is to effect a revolution, and aggrandize themselves on the ruins of their country.

The place appointed for the meeting was a large vacant piece of ground on the north side of St. Peter's church, which is well known in Manchester by the name of St. Peter's place. At half past 10 o'clock about 250 idle individuals might be collected within it. About half past eleven, the first body of radical reformers arrived on the ground, bearing two banners, each of which was surmounted by a cap of liberty. The first bore, upon a white ground, the inscription of "Annual parliaments and Universal suffrage;" on the reverse side, "No corn laws." The other bore, upon a blue ground, the same inscription, with the addition of "Vote by ballot."—After these flags had been paraded over the field for some time, it was thought fit, by the leaders of the party which had brought them, that they should remain stationary. A post was accordingly assigned to the bearers of them; to which, shortly afterwards, a cart was brought, upon which the standard-bearers were ordered to mount, and from which all the standards arriving afterwards were displayed. Numerous large bodies of reformers continued to arrive, from this time

time to one o'clock, from the different towns in the neighbourhood of Manchester; all with flags, and many of them drawn up five deep, in regular marching order. A club of *female* reformers, amounting in number, according to the calculation, to 156, came from Oldham; and another, not quite so numerous, from Royston. The first bore a white silk banner, by far the most elegant displayed during the day, inscribed, "Major Cartwright's Bill, Annual parliaments, Universal suffrage, and Vote by ballot." In one compartment of it was Justice, holding the scales in one hand and a sword in the other: in another, a large eye, impiously intended to represent the eye of Providence. On the reverse of this flag was another inscription; there were upon it two hands, both decorated in *shirt-ruffles*; clasped in each other, and underneath them an inscription, "Oldham Union." The latter (*i. e.* the *females* of Royston) bore two red flags, the one inscribed, "Let us (*i. e. women*) die like men, and not be sold like slaves;" the other, "Annual parliaments and Universal suffrage." The radicals of Saddleworth brought with them a black flag to the field; on one side of which was inscribed, "Taxation without representation is unjust and tyrannical; equal representation or death;" on the other side, "Union is strength; Unite, and be free; Saddleworth and Moseley Union." —The reformers from Rochdale and Middleton marched to the sound of the bugle, and in very regular time, closing and expanding their ranks, and marching in ordinary and double-quick time, according as it pleased the fancy of their leaders to direct them. They had two green banners; between which they had hoisted, on a red pole, a cap of liberty crowned with leaves of laurel, and bearing the inscription, "Hunt and Liberty." Another band bore a banner, in which Britannia was represented with her trident, leaning on a shield, upon which was inscribed the motto borne by sir William Wallace, "God armeth the patriot."—In this manner the business of the day proceeded till one o'clock, by which time about 80,000 people were assembled on the ground.

Between one and two, the orator (Hunt) passed by the exchange to the place of meeting; the people cheering most loudly, and Hunt and Johnson joining in the cheers. They were seated in an open landau, along with Carlile, Knight, and others, and had moved in grand procession from Smedley Cottage, past New Cross, and Shude Hill, preceded by a large body of male, and followed by a scarcely less numerous body of female, Manchester reformers. Before them were carried two boards, on which were inscribed, "Order, order;" these were followed by two flags for annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and also by Hunt's old flag and cap of liberty, of Westminster notoriety, "Hunt, and Universal suffrage." This latter was held by a female reformer, seated on the dickey of the landau, which had the honour of carrying the band of *patriots* whose *names* we have just mentioned.

After the different persons who intended to address the multitude had taken their position upon them,

them, and silence had been obtained, Henry Hunt was declared chairman, amid cheers of three times three. He commenced his address by calling the assembly "Gentlemen," but afterwards changed the term to "Fellow countrymen."

At this stage of the business the yeomanry cavalry were seen advancing in a rapid trot to the area: their ranks were in disorder; and on arriving within it, they halted, to breathe their horses, and to recover their ranks. A panic seemed to strike the persons at the outskirts of the meeting, who immediately began to scamper in every direction. After a moment's pause, the cavalry drew their swords; upon which Hunt and Johnson desired the multitude to give three cheers. This they did; upon which Mr. Hunt again proceeded: "This was a mere trick, to interrupt the proceedings of the meeting; but he trusted that they all would stand firm." He had scarcely said these words, before the Manchester yeomanry cavalry rode into the mob, which gave way before them, and directed their course to the cart from which Hunt was speaking. A bugle-man went at their head, then an officer, and then came the whole troop. They wheeled round the waggons till they came in front of them; the people drawing back in every direction on their approach. After they had surrounded them in such a manner as to prevent all escape, the officer who commanded the detachment went up to Mr. Hunt, and said, "Sir, I have a warrant against you, and arrest you as my prisoner." Hunt, after exhorting the people to tranquillity in a few words, turned round to the officer, and said, "I will willingly surrender myself to any civil officer who will show me his warant." Mr. Nadin, the chief police-officer at Manchester, then came forward and said, "I will arrest you; I have information upon oath against you," or something to that effect. The military officer then proceeded to say, that he had a warrant against Johnson. Johnson also asked for a civil officer; upon which a Mr. Andrew came forward, and Hunt and Johnson then leaped from off the waggon, and surrendered themselves to the civil power. They were taken to a house close by, where the magistrates were assembled. Shortly after this had occurred, a magistrate came into the room, and bade the prisoners prepare to march off to the New Bailey. Hunt was consigned to the custody of colonel l'Estrange, of the 31st foot, and a detachment of the 15th hussars; and under his care, he and all the other prisoners (who were each placed between two constables) reached the New Bailey in perfect safety. The staffs of two of Hunt's banners were carried in mock procession before him.

John Tyas *, Geo. Swift, John Thacker Saxton, Robert Wild, Thomas Taylor, Mary Waterworth, Sarah Hargreaves, and Eliza Grant, were also arrested, and lodged in the New Bailey prison.

After these individuals had been committed

* This gentleman was on the hustings merely as a reporter attached to *The Times* newspaper; and, on this explanation being made the next morning, he was discharged by the magistrates, with a polite apology for the mistake.

committed to the custody of the governor, they were turned into one common yard, where the events of the day formed the subject of conversation. Knight and Moorhouse, who had been taken a short time after them, were added to their company. About 5 o'clock the magistrates directed the governor of the prison to lock each of them up in a solitary cell, and to see that they had no communication with each other. This was accordingly done.

In carrying the above measures into effect, we are concerned to state, that four persons were killed, and forty-four wounded, one by a sabre of the cavalry, and others by the trampling of the horses. At the moment of surrounding the hustings, a shower of brick-bats and paving-stones were hurled at the yeomanry, several of whom were struck; one (Mr. Hulme) so severely, that he dropped the reins, and his horse fell, by which he was pitched off, and his skull was fractured. He was carried to the infirmary.

In the course of the afternoon, several persons were taken into custody, in addition to those taken up in the field; and a great number of rioters, from various parts of the town, were escorted in the evening by the cavalry to the New Bailey.

On Wednesday morning every symptom of disorder had disappeared from Manchester, and the town bore the appearance of perfect tranquillity.

On Thursday, Hunt and others were brought up for examination at the New Bailey Court House. Hunt was placed at the bar: he looked boldly round. Mr. Norris addressed him to this effect: "Henry Hunt, the prosecutors are perfectly prepared to go into evidence in support of the charges upon which you were apprehended; but other evidence has come before the magistrates of the highest importance; and they have deemed it their duty to lay the whole body of it before the law officers of the crown, to advise upon it. The magistrates, whose organ I am, have therefore unanimously deemed it their duty to remand you upon a charge of HIGH TREASON."

Hunt—"I presume I am not allowed to say any thing?"

The bench—"No."

Hunt—"I beg to state one word. I am perfectly innocent of the charge, and ready to meet it."

Hunt then bowed to the bench, and went down.

Joseph Johnson was brought up. He appeared much agitated.

Mr. Norris addressed him in the same words as to Hunt.—Johnson said nothing, but bowed and retired.

J. Thacker Saxton was brought up. He bowed slightly.—After Mr. Norris had addressed him as he did the others, Saxton said, "Am I to consider myself committed on that charge?"—Mr. Norris: "You are detained on that charge; not finally committed."

John Knight was the next. He said nothing, but was addressed as the others.

James Moorhouse smiled very contemptuously. After Mr. Norris had remanded him on the charge of high treason, Moorhouse took up his *white hat* *, which was close

* Most of the leaders wore white hats.

to

to him, and said, "I presume my hat you mean, and not me. I am ready to meet the charge."

Elizabeth Gaunt, a tall, thin, pale woman, about 45; Sarah Hargreaves, about 26, dressed in black; Robert Jones, a rag-dealer from Manchester, about 25; Robert Wilde, jun. about 23, from Stayley Bridge; and George Swift, late of Doncaster, were all brought up separately, and addressed by Mr. Norris as the others had been, and then remanded on the same charge as *all* the others, that of HIGH TREASON.

Warrants have been issued out against Healy and Harrison also, on a charge of high treason; and it is believed that some of their associates now in the metropolis are implicated in the same weighty accusation.

We have to regret that at Macclesfield, Stockport, and Coventry, some efforts at disturbance have been hazarded by the disaffected; they were all however upon a very diminutive scale, and were suppressed without difficulty.

It appears that great parties have assembled at Middleton, Royston, and all the adjacent parts, committing the most outrageous depredations on every well-dressed individual that passes them. A portion of the Cheshire cavalry have been sent to disperse them.

28.—The magistrates came to their final decision this day; and committed Hunt, Saxton, Knight, Healey, Bamford, Jones, Swift, and Wilde, to Lancaster castle, on the charge "of having conspired to alter the laws by force and threats." Johnson and Moorhouse were bailed, to answer the same charge at the assizes. The more serious charge of treason is thus abandoned.

William Birch (who is assistant-deputy constable of Stockport, and who has made himself obnoxious to the reformers by having taken sir Charles Wolseley into custody, and also for being the person sent to London with the bench-warrant against parson Harrison) having brought Harrison to Stockport, the circumstance soon became known, and a considerable crowd assembled round Birch's house, where his prisoner was secured. Several threats having been made by the mob that they would pull Birch's house down, and liberate Harrison, Birch felt it prudent to consult the rev. Mr. Prescott, a magistrate, what course he should adopt with regard to his prisoner under the circumstances. On his way to Mr. Prescott's, and within a few yards from that gentleman's house, Birch was accosted by a man who calls himself Joseph George Bruce. This man entered into conversation with Birch, and two other persons in Bruce's company joined them. Bruce kept Birch engaged in conversation, and breasted him so as to prevent his going on, while the other two were passing towards Birch's rear, who then began to feel himself unsafe, and meditated a retreat; particularly so, as a considerable crowd were very near them: however, before he had time to decide on any step, one of the two men fired a small pistol, the bullet from which passed into Birch's breast about the pit of the stomach, and took a sloping direction towards the right side. Birch screamed, and leaped over the garden wall of a Mr. Lloyd, and reached the house of doctor Killer

Killer before he fell; the three men then fled. He is now in a fair way of recovery. Government has conferred on him a pension of 100*l.* a year; and if he dies, to be continued to his wife.

Mrs. Siddons paid a visit to the university of Cambridge, in consequence of an invitation from the master of Downing college and Mrs. Frere. Monday morning, viewing Trinity college, she was invited to the lodge of the bishop of Bristol, where a small party of friends had the gratification of hearing her read the opening of the fourth book of Milton's Paradise Lost, and a part of the tragedy of Macbeth. On the following morning Mrs. Siddons visited the public library, and was conducted by the librarian to the chief objects of curiosity in that collection.

Owing, it is reported, to some neglect or mismanagement regarding the safety-lamps in the Sheriff-hill pit, at Gateshead, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, a dreadful explosion took place; by which nearly 40 persons have lost their lives. Had the accident happened an hour later, it is said about 100 persons would have perished.

11.—Henry Swann, esq. was tried, and found guilty, at Bodmin assizes, of bribing Peter Jenkin, a venal elector of Penryn, at the late election for that borough.

Sir Masseh Lopes, prosecuted by order of the house of commons at Exeter assizes for bribery and corruption at Barnstaple, has been acquitted from defect of proof.

A curate in the north of England has recently been deprived of his curacy (which he held above 40 years) by the consistory court of York, for his profligate life and conversation, drunkenness, and neglect of his ministerial duties.

The grand jury of the county of Warwick has returned a true bill of indictment against Edmonds and Maddocks, of Birmingham; major Cartwright; Mr. Wooler, proprietor of The Black Dwarf; and Lewis, of Coventry, for a misdemeanor committed on the 12th of July last, by electing sir Charles Wolseley as a representative for Birmingham in parliament.

A second bottle cast overboard by captain Ross, in Baffin's Bay, has been thrown on the Irish shore.

In the peachery, at lord Selsey's seat near Chichester, there is a peach-tree which this season bore 840 peaches to perfection. His lordship has also grapes of the enormous weight of seven lbs. the bunch.

A YEW TREE.

Dimensions of the yew tree which is growing in the area of Skipton Castle, the property of the earl of Thanet, and which is considered by travellers a wonderful production:—

	ft.	in.
Height of bole from the ground	18	7
Girth at 2 feet 5 inches high	6	8
Girth at 7 feet 5 inches high	5	10
Height of the first bough	17	5
Diameter of the branches (which form a circle)	34	0
Height from base to summit	38	4

The above tree is supposed to have been planted at the time the castle was repaired by lady Ann Clifford, countess dowager of Pembroke (after being destroyed in the civil wars), anno 1657.

SAVANNAH STEAM PACKET.

This fine vessel sailed from Tranmere, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, on Friday week. The whole

whole strength of her steam was applied, (between seventy and eighty horse power,) but she was completely beat round the Rock Perch by the Waterloo steam packet, between Liverpool and Belfast. The latter vessel has two engines of thirty horse power each, is completely rigged with sails, and calculated to carry nearly 150 tons of goods.—We had an opportunity last week of viewing the Savannah, and we may safely take upon ourselves to say, that a more handsome specimen of naval architecture never entered a British port.

She is calculated to carry about 340 tons, of which nearly 200 tons are occupied by her machinery. The paddle wheels on each side are about fourteen feet in diameter: each wheel has eight paddles of wood, nearly three inches thick, and four feet in length, by two feet in breadth, connected by strong double chains, working in the midway between stem and stern. The state cabin, which is entirely wainscotted with mahogany, tastefully inlaid, is 24 feet long, and perhaps 12 in width; on the sides are the cots, 20 in number, and admirably calculated for comfort and accommodation. The floor is painted to imitate a tesselated pavement; looking glasses are let into the mast which divides the cabin; and this arrangement gives a pleasing effect to the *tout ensemble*. The approach to the cabin from the deck is by a convenient staircase. There are a great number of other accommodations for passengers, and the whole is highly creditable to American mechanism and ingenuity.

We had some conversation with the captain (Rogers) who is not remarkable for being communicative; and, from the purport of his answers, we are inclined to believe that the rumour of the vessel being a present to the emperor Alexander is totally groundless; but we are nevertheless of opinion that the czar may purchase it—if he likes it. The fact is, the Savannah is sent to Europe, merely as a specimen of trans-atlantic ship architecture, and will become the property of the "highest bidder." A silent civility pervades the whole of the crew, from the captain to the black cook, for which the whole inclusive may have private reasons, which it is no business of ours to inquire into.

"*Windsor Castle, Aug.* 8.—His majesty has passed the last month in a good state of general health, and in a quiet state of mind; but his majesty's disorder still remains unchanged."

At a court of common council, the lord mayor read a letter from lord Sidmouth, thanking him, by order of the prince regent, for his able and efficient arrangements to preserve the peace of the city during the Smithfield meeting on Wednesday se'nnight. He had received information upon oath, that the disaffected had hoped in this great city to have found abettors to have assisted in their project, which comprised a plot to an extent no less monstrous than that of *firing this great city, and murdering all its peaceable inhabitants.*

A most disgraceful and daring scene of riot and plunder took place at West-End fair. The number of the ruffians had been estimated as high as 200. Many of them were armed with bludgeons; and those who were not,

tore

tore up the tressels of the stands for weapons to defend themselves against the police officers and constables, whom they overpowered. The conduct of these ruffians towards the females was most brutal, and compelled them to utter the most distressing shrieks and screams. Their arms were held up, their clothes cut, and every article of wearing apparel torn from them.

IRISH DISTILLERIES.

On a late very minute and accurate inquiry into the nature and proceeds of the spirit trade in Ireland, it appeared that the average annual duty paid by the public distilleries amounted to 1,300,000*l.* —the gallons of whiskey taxed 5,200,000,—and the barrels of grain distilled 740,000. It would require 82,222 acres of land, well cultivated, to produce this quantity of grain, at nine barrels to the acre.

6.—Yesterday evening, about six o'clock, the neighbourhood of Snow-hill was thrown into the greatest consternation, from the circumstance of a man having made a most atrocious attempt to assassinate his wife in the parlour of the Saracen's-head inn. The particulars of this dreadful case, as far as we have been able to collect them, are as follow:—About six months ago, the wife of Mr. Henry Stent, butcher, at Pimlico, absconded from her home with another man, leaving a family of small children on her husband's hands. She was traced with her paramour to Liverpool, where they took their passage for America, and nothing was heard of them for some time. Mr. Stent's neighbours observed, that the circumstance seemed to prey heavily on his mind, but still he paid the greatest attention to the children. His faithless wife embarked with her seducer on board the William, about the month of March; but before they had been many days at sea, the vessel met with an accident, and after vainly endeavouring to steer for America, they were driven to the necessity of making the best of their way to Liverpool, which they gained with much difficulty and in great distress, after being tossed about a long time upon the ocean. At Liverpool a quarrel arose between Mrs. Stent and her paramour, on account of which he quitted her. She was then left destitute, a prey to the keenest remorse; but after many struggles with conscience, she determined on seeking her wronged husband, throwing herself on her knees before him, and imploring his mercy. For this purpose she obtained a conveyance, and arrived in London yesterday morning at the Saracen's-head, Snow-hill. About one o'clock, she wrote a note to her husband, expressing great contrition for her errors, and imploring him to call on her at the inn at six o'clock. Accordingly, about that hour, Mr. Stent came; the moment he entered the room he drew out a large shoemaker's knife, and, springing on his wife with the greatest fury, plunged it several times in her left side, and stabbed her in the neck. Several men who were in the parlour, and beheld the dreadful act, seized the assassin, and with difficulty wrested the murderous weapon from his hand, while the unfortunate object of his vengeance fell senseless on the floor. The consternation that followed is inde-

scribable; hundreds of persons flocked in on the first alarm, and it would have been easy for the criminal to have escaped, if he chose, but he seemed careless, and fearless of consequences. At length the officers from Giltspur-street compter were sent for, who handcuffed Stent, and took possession of the knife. It had, seemingly, been sharpened for the purpose, and the point seems to have come in violent contact with the breast bone, for it was bent. The woman was covered with a table cloth, and carried on a shutter to St. Bartholomew's hospital, where she was immediately attended by the house surgeon, who staunched the wounds and put her to bed, but could give no hopes of her recovery. Stent is in close confinement in Giltspur-street compter.

7.—The Drury-lane subscribers met; when the subscription of 25,000*l.* to clear the immediate debts was declared full; the theatre was lett to Mr. Elliston at 10,200*l.* per ann. (exclusively of fruit offices) for 14 years; during that time 15,000*l.* to be expended in repairs.

9.—A dreadful instance of canine madness occurred in Owen's court, Goswell-street road. Harriet Locke, from Gloucestershire, a young woman in service in a gentleman's house near Highbury, was bitten in the foot by her master's dog 11 weeks ago; at which time another female servant and the footman were each bitten by the same dog. Caustics had been applied to the bite, but apparently to no effect. The Friday following she was very much indisposed, and told the woman with whom she lodged, that she thought she was about to be attacked with rheumatic fever. On Sunday she was seized with symptoms of madness; which increased in the evening to such a degree, that during the paroxysms the exertions of six men were required to prevent her tearing herself to pieces. Her shrieks were most appalling; they resembled rather the shrill note of the hound than any thing human, and could be distinctly heard at the New River. The paroxysms would often return, which were repeated with visitations too dreadful to describe, till four o'clock on Monday morning, when she expired.

21.—The lord mayor was occupied from an early hour this morning, until nearly two o'clock, in his private room, upon inquiries relative to the circulation of hand-bills and placards of a seditious tendency. Among other results from these deliberations, was the issuing of a summons for the attendance of Mr. Wooler, and a warrant for the apprehension of Mr. Carlile. The latter proceeding, we understand, is to be ascribed to a letter addressed by Mr. Carlile to Mr. Sherwin, in his *Register*.—Thomas Farrell, a bill-sticker, who had been apprehended while fixing up a placard of a political nature, was then examined, and ordered to attend again at a future period.—Edward James Blandford, secretary to the committee of two hundred, was afterwards put to the bar: he was taken by the officers at his apartments in Hackney; and in the same room were also found his wretched wife and five naked children, lying on the floor! On the prisoner Blandford were found a number of printed papers, including

cluding copies of a bill deferring the projected meeting at Kennington till Wednesday, and then to be held in Smithfield.

From Blandford was also taken an instrument capable of being used either as the head of a pike or a dagger. It was composed of wrought iron, and consisted of a blade about six inches in length, and three quarters of an inch in width, extremely sharp and pointed. At the bottom of the blade was a semicircular guard; within this was a spiral handle like the hilt of a sword, and this handle was terminated by a strong screw, calculated, on occasion, to affix it into a pole. Thus the weapon appeared to be admirably calculated for use, either as a dagger or a pike. Being asked how he became possessed of it, Blandford, after some hesitation, admitted he had it of a person named Harland, in Shoreditch; in which district the lord mayor, from prior information, knew these pikes had been manufactured.—At the end of the examination Blandford was remanded till Monday; with an intimation that every thing should be done for his comfort, and for the relief of his family, whose deplorable situation had been described.

By an act of last session, newspapers, duly stamped, may in future be conveyed to the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, the Mauritius, and the East Indies, for one penny each packet, not exceeding one ounce, and one penny per ounce above that weight.

Mr. Rotch has published a statement of the money collected for erecting a monument to the memory of the late princess Charlotte; by which it appears, that the total amount is 12,346*l.* 19*s.* 6½*d.*

The lord chancellor has determined that children of Jewish parents are not entitled to admission to the privileges of the Bedford charity.

It was decided on the 9th inst. at Bow-street office, that where property is pledged with a pawnbroker against the consent of the owner (even though no felony is committed), such pawnbroker is bound to return the property to the owner free of costs.

By an act passed during the late session, the proprietors of salt works are authorized to send out salt for the use of agriculture, *duty free.* The act requires, that the salt shall be mixed in the proportion of one bushel of soot or ashes, to three bushels of salt. The penalty for applying it to any other purpose than agriculture is 100*l.* Twenty-four hours' notice is required before salt can be loaded for this purpose.

A LIST OF FAIRS WITHIN TEN MILES OF LONDON.

When holden.		Days.
Easter	Greenwich	3
——	Stepney	3
——	Battersea	3
——	Tothill-fields	3
Whitsuntide	Greenwich	3
——	Stepney	3

(FAIRS CONTINUED.)

When holden.		Days.
Whitsuntide	Tothill-fields	3
——	Bow	3
Week after	Deptford	1
May 1	Brook-green, Hammersmith	3
——	Yorkshire Stingo	1
2d or 3d	Walthamstow	1
——	Brentford	3
——	Ham-common	3
Holy Thursday	Twickenham	2
June 24	Ealing-green	3
July 1	Wandsworth	2
Monday after	Isleworth	3
July 15	Chiswick	3
26	West-end, Hampstead	3
August 5	Bromley	2
12	Mitcham	3
17	Parson's-green	3
18	Camberwell	3
21	Peckham	3
September 3	Bartholomew	4
14	Edmonton	3
—	Black-horse fair, near Shoreditch	3
23	Enfield	2
25	Walthamstow	2
27	Northall	1
29	Twickenham	2
October 18	Charlton, Horn-fair	3

In all thirty-three.—Number of days eighty-six.

SEPTEMBER.

FRANCE.

The cardinals, archbishops, and bishops of France have addressed a letter to the holy see, filled with reflections of a melancholy nature on their own lot, on that of the Gallican church, and of religion generally within the French empire. The letter complains that the clerical function has been weakened, and brought into disrepute; and that impious books spread abroad derision, satire, calumnies, and the most pernicious doctrine, against all religion.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Letters from Holland are most gloomy, representing the trade of that once flourishing republic as rapidly declining; and stating, that things must inevitably become worse as long as the government so obstinately persists in its anti-commercial regulations.

SPAIN.

Spain has refused to ratify the cession of the Floridas to America. O'Donnel has been removed from the command of the Cadiz expedition, and appointed captain-general of Andalusia instead. The guerillas are said to be making head in Spain. Ferdinand has officially declared his intention

tion of marrying a Saxon princess, in compliance with the "ardent prayers" of various religious and public bodies in his kingdom.

ITALY.

Two very important decrees have been signed by the king of Naples; by which Sicily is at last blessed with a free trade in corn, so long the object of her wishes, and so obviously beneficial to her best interests.

A mathematician at Naples has invented an admirable method of lighting the stage. The contrivance consists of a large glass globe, which gives the brightest light to the stage, however large it may be. The light, like the sun, rises on that side of the stage which is considered as the east; ascends gradually to the meridian elevation, and then descends to set on the west side. This light has the closest resemblance to that of the natural day. The inventor proposes, by another contrivance, to produce a perfect imitation of night (we presume of moonlight). By this very simple contrivance, the foreground and interior of the theatre are sufficiently lighted, and the inconvenience of having the light come from below is avoided. The unpleasant effect of the usual mode of lighting the stage is generally acknowledged. Besides that so strong a glare hurts the eyes of the spectators, it gives the countenances of the actors a very strange and unnatural appearance. This new invention, therefore, if it fulfils its promise and description, is certainly very valuable, and deserves to be generally introduced.

GERMANY.

The persecutions of the unfortunate Jews still go on in Germany, the country which, of all others, now *pretends* to give the tone of *liberal opinions*, and *hatred of persecution*, to the rest of the world! Disgraceful scenes of outrage and violence against this unfortunate race have broken out at Pforzheim and Buhl, between Rastadt and Offenburg. Troops were obliged to be sent to Buhl before order could be restored. Similar scenes of violence have taken place at Grombach, near Bruchsal.

The *Hep! Hep!* which was the watchword of the rioters in the late attacks on the Jews, according to old chronicles had the following origin:—In the year 1097, a party of crusaders, headed by Peter Gansfleish and Conrad von Leiningen, went about recruiting for followers with colours, on which were inscribed the first letters of the words, *Hierosolyma est perdita* (Jerusalem is lost), H. E. P. This swarm, however, never proceeded to the Holy Land, but remained in Germany, where they every where persecuted and murdered the Jews, and more particularly along the Rhine. Wherever this band came up with their colours, the people exclaimed *Hep! Hep!* and fell upon the Jews.

A letter from Copenhagen, dated September 11, says—"The severe measures adopted by our government have not wholly suppressed the signs of public hatred against the Jews. The military were compelled on Tuesday last to fire upon the mob, but no person was wounded. Nearly all the windows of the houses inhabited by Jews have been broken. One of that sect, well known as a mo-

ney lender, in his attempt to leave the city, was taken out of his carriage in open day, and so cruelly attacked with stones, that he is said to have died shortly afterwards. On the other hand, the punishment of the persons who have been detected in these tumults has been extremely severe. A lawyer's clerk, convicted of having headed a party which entered the house of a Jewish merchant, and cast all his furniture and merchandize into the street, has been condemned for life to imprisonment and hard labour—a sentence worse than death itself. Scarcely a day passes that revolutionary placards are not posted at the corners of the streets, exciting the people to acts of hostility against the government. One of them contained these words—'*Don't leave off: first the Jews; then the king.*' Messrs. Meyer and Trier, bankers to the royal family, have resigned that employ, in consequence of the late events."

Professor Meinicke, of the university of Halle, has succeeded in producing a beautiful illumination, by means of electricity and a factitious air, which does not burn but only shines, inclosed in glass tubes. As electricity may be propagated *ad infinitum*, it will in future be possible, by means of a single electrical machine, and application of the proper apparatus, to light up a whole city.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

The Hamburgh papers notice the signature of the treaty between Sweden and Denmark on the 1st instant. By the treaty thus spoken of, Sweden stands engaged to pay three millions of dollars (Hamburg banco), in ten yearly instalments, to Denmark, with an annual interest of four per cent. quarterly: the bonds to be deposited in lord Strangford's hands, who, amidst circumstances of great difficulty, brought this long-pending negotiation to an auspicious close.

RUSSIA.

The port of Odessa, which in 1817 was declared free by an ukase of the emperor of Russia, was opened on the 15th inst. to trading ships of all nations.

Baron Sutherland possessed a very handsome pug dog, which Catherine the Great was perpetually admiring. The baron could do no less than present it to the empress, who graciously received it; and poor pug being continually crammed with luxuries he had never before tasted, actually died of repletion. The empress, truly grieved at this event, said to one of her officers—"Go, take Sutherland, and let him be *flayed and stuffed.*" In obedience to the despotic and imperial dame, away went the officer to the baron's house; and with a face full of horror, repeated the commands of Catherine The baron felt rather awkward, for he knew if she was determined to flay and stuff him, there was no appeal. He prevailed on the officer to let him go to the empress in a whole skin; and when the trembling baron was announced and admitted to an audience, the empress, on hearing of the ludicrous mistake, was ready to expire with laughter. She soon, however, dispelled the fears of the baron, by telling him it was the *dead pug*, to whom she had given his name of Sutherland, and that she had

had ordered him to be flayed and stuffed, and not himself.

TURKEY.

Twenty-two heads were cut off in Constantinople last July, after quelling a tumult among the Janissaries.

There is an Englishman now resident at a village of Radam, on the Nile, a considerable distance from Cairo, who has engaged in a concern with the pacha, for the purpose of refining Egyptian sugar, and distilling rum from the molasses obtained. A recent traveller asserts that he has completely succeeded; that the sugar is equal to any loaf-sugar we see in Europe; and the rum so excellent, that all the great Turks are forgetting the sober and salutary precepts of the Koran.

ASIA.

Calcutta papers, to the 24th March, contain the details of the establishment of a British port at Sincapore, the ancient maritime capital of the Malays, in the Straits of Malacca, by sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. This station, which is secured to us by treaty with the sultan of Johore, gives us the entire command of the Straits of Malacca, and secures a free and uninterrupted communication with China. In short, it is observed, that this spot cannot fail to become in a very few years one of the most flourishing and interesting settlements ever formed by Europeans among the eastern islands.

A German paper contains the following extract from a report made by the Russian envoy in Persia:—

"His majesty, when I was introduced, was sitting in the hall of the mirrors, in the third court of the palace. After three salutations, Mahmud Khan announced who I was, and by whom I was sent; upon which the king said, '*Oskh akhmedes*,' (welcome); and after repeating these words, invited me into his apartment. I wore, as in Tauris, silk stockings and shoes, and boots over them. I was desired to pull them off, for the etiquette respecting the feet is here so strict, that of all the embassies that come to Persia, the Russian alone is permitted to appear before the king without red stockings. This is an indispensable formality for all other persons who are presented to his majesty. I personally delivered the letter I had for the king, a distinction usually granted to ambassadors only.

"His majesty had a shawl thrown over his shoulder, and the breast and sleeves of his dress were adorned with pearls, as were also the tapestry and cushion on which he sat. He wore a sheepskin cap, with diamond aigrettes. His left hand rested on a poniard set with diamonds and pearls. This position is common; and those who have no dagger lay the left hand on their girdle. A large carpet of shawls with scarlet borders was spread on the ground, for in Persia there are no parquets or inlaid floors, perhaps on account of the scorpions and other poisonous insects which might conceal themselves therein; the roof and the sides of the room were covered with mirrors. On the walls of other rooms we observed portraits, flowers, and inscriptions from the Koran; all of which appeared to be of English workmanship.

"In the centre of the apartment into which we were introduced,

stood the elegant toilette which her majesty the empress sent as a present to the queen; also the chandelier and other articles included in the present made to the schah, by M. Jemolow, on the part of his majesty the emperor.

"The king held a long conversation with me respecting the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the journeys of his majesty the emperor. On terminating the audience, he said he expected me and all my suite at the Nuvruz (New Year). We were present at this fete, as well as other two given annually at this period by the schah."

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

The Americans are unremitting in their exertions to put afloat a respectable naval force.

By the Quebec papers it appears, that on the 20th July a public meeting was convened, for the purpose of establishing a society, under the title of the Quebec Emigrant Society, for the purpose of affording employment, information, and assistance, to destitute settlers in Quebec and its neighbourhood.

The commercial distress in the United States is still very severe. The scarcity of specie excites considerable alarm.

Letters from Margaretta, dated July 12, communicate the intelligence of the fall of the city of Barcelona, which was taken by the division of the patriot army under the command of generals Marino and Sedeno.

Christophe has issued a proclamation, dated Sans Souci, declaring that no asylum shall be granted in the empire of Hayti to the disaffected or run-away negroes from any of the West India islands; and especially from those belonging to his Britannic majesty.

Exports from Buenos-Ayres, in the year 1818, extracted from the books of the custom-house:—

726,026 ox and cow hides
232,934 horse hides
49,977 arroves tallow
38,165 ditto sheeps' wool
13,254 ditto horse hair
4,075 doz. Nutria skins
4,124 sheep skins
2,524 deer do.
654 doz. swan skins
4,456 lb. white feathers
1,753 doz. ostrich feathers
634 tiger and lion skins
9,076 seal skins
5,698 fanegas wheat and Indian corn
494 mules
420,126 horns, tips, and plates.

The actual value of which amounted to 3,343,459 Spanish dollars; but it is to be observed, that the custom-house regulations are frequently evaded, and that the real exportation may safely be assumed to be one-fourth or one-third more. No account is given of the exportation of bullion, but it is estimated at 2,500,000 dollars.

Letter from a captain of one of the lost vessels at Davis's Straits, published in an Edinburgh newspaper:—

"Edinburgh, Sept. 10.

"The destruction of so many ships in Davis's Straits in one season, I believe, is unprecedented. No person who has not visited these northern regions can form (even from the most correct description) a just idea of those immense masses of ice called icebergs, and of those heavy sheets of ice called flaws, which, when

when set in motion by a gale of wind, spread destruction wherever they are wafted.

"As I am lately returned from the Straits of Davis, my mind is still pregnant with the tragic scenes which were there presented to my view.

"On the morning of the 7th of July, the Mary Ann of Dundee, and the Raith of Leith, were seen totally wrecked, their masts were level with the ice. On the evening of the same day I visited the wreck of the Mary Ann, and found a number of their crew, along with those of other ships, assiduously engaged in getting hold of provisions, or any article of value. The crews of both ships were saved. We had on board our ship eight men belonging to the Raith. As our situation was critical, our only safety was placed in being in dock. Docks are spaces cut out in the fast ice, by means of saws constructed for this purpose, in which the ships are placed, forming a safeguard to the pressure of floating ice. Our dependence was placed upon our docks, but, alas! our trust proved of no effect.—On the morning of the 14th, two other sail were seen destroyed, not far distant from our ship; we sent a boat's crew for information, and they reported them to be the Equestris of Hull, and the Sisters of Kirkcaldy; their docks gave way from the excessive pressure of an ingress of ice. On the morning of the 16th July, a strong gale arose from the south-west, and we observed at an early hour, from the top-mast, that a quantity of heavy flaws were put in motion, and were setting in fast upon us. There were four ships all placed in docks (to one of which I belonged), namely, the Majestic of London, Tay of Dundee, and the Royal Bounty and Thomas and Ann of Leith. At three P. M. the inevitable fate of our feeble barks appeared certain, although now and then a feeble ray of hope gladdened our hearts with the idea that our docks would stand the squeeze. All our hopes were delusive, for at four P. M. the space of water between the destructive masses of ice and our docks was little broader than a canal; at five they were near at hand, and the collision of one piece against another conveyed a sound similar to a peal of distant thunder: at twenty minutes past five the ice, which was running at the rate of three knots an hour, first came in contact with the most windward dock, where the Tay and Majestic were stationed; in a moment our ears resounded with the destructive crash; in a few seconds afterwards the Royal Bounty and Thomas and Ann shared the same fate. No language can picture a state more truly alarming. The appalling cry of Leave the ship, leave the ship, sounded from every quarter. The majority of the men saved their luggage, although a great number sustained serious loss. We next made tents upon the ice with spars and sail-cloth, and spent the night in a most shipwrecked state, amidst a thick fog and showers of snow. Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at four degrees below the freezing point of water. By the end of the third day the fog cleared away, and a number of ships, to the joy of all, were seen to the southward, and a signal of distress

tress was hoisted; their distance from us was about twelve miles, and men were soon seen coming across the ice to learn the extent of the losses, and reported that the captains severally would be happy to take their share of the cast away men, and would proceed instantly for Great Britain. Among the first was the Dexterity of Leith, which set sail on Wednesday afternoon, the 21st July, with a large share of the wrecked men.—At six P. M. she passed a number of casks, heaps of ashes and lumber, lying upon the ice. The master ordered a boat to be lowered, and ascertained them to be the remains of the Ocean and Samuels of Hull, that were likewise crushed to pieces on the 14th or 16th July.

"Notwithstanding ten ships have suffered, only two men lost their lives; they belonged to the Equestris of Hull; the one was drowned, and the other died on the ice after a fit of intoxication. No blame whatever can be attached to the different captains, as they used every effort to save the ships committed to their charge: in fact, the general destruction is proof sufficient of this."

The following curious advertisements from various Botany Bay newspapers present a lively and interesting picture of the state of that colony:—

"On Friday, Mr. James Squires, settler and brewer, waited on his excellency at Government-house with 2 vines of hops taken from his own grounds, &c. As a public recompense for the unremitted attention shown by the grower in bringing this valuable plant to such a high degree of perfection, his excellency has directed a cow to be given to Mr. Squires from the Government herd."—*O'Hara*, p. 255.

"*To parents and guardians.*—A person who flatters herself her character will bear the strictest scrutiny, being desirous of receiving into her charge a proposed number of children of her own sex, as boarders, respectfully acquaints parents and guardians, that she is about to situate herself either in Sydney or Paramatta, of which notice will be shortly given. She doubts not, at the same time, that her assiduity in the inculcation of moral principles in the youthful mind, joined to an unremitting attention and polite diction, will ensure to her the much desired confidence of those who may think proper to favour her with such a charge. Inquiries on the above subject will be answered by G. Howe, at Sydney, who will make known the name of the advertiser."—P. 270.

"*To the public.*—As we have no certainty of an immediate supply of paper, we cannot promise a publication next week."—P. 290.

"*To be sold by private contract by Mr. Bevan.*—An elegant 4-wheeled chariot, with plated mounted harness for 4 horses, complete; and a handsome lady's side-saddle and bridle. May be viewed on application to Mr. Bevan."—P. 347.

"*A card.*—The subscribers to the Sydney race-course are informed, that the stewards have made arrangements for two balls during the race week, viz. on Tuesday and Thursday. Tickets at 7*s.* 6*d.* each, to be had at Mr. E. Wills's, George-street. An ordinary for the subscribers and their

their friends each day of the races, at Mr. Wills's. Dinner on table at 5 o'clock."—P. 356.

"*The ladies' cup.*—The ladies' cup, which was of very superior workmanship, won by *Chase*, was presented to captain Richie by Mrs. M'Quarie, who, accompanied by his excellency, honoured each day's races with her presence, and who, with her usual affability, was pleased to preface the donation with the following short address: 'In the name of the ladies of New South Wales I have the pleasure to present you with this cup. Give me leave to congratulate you on being the successful candidate for it; and to hope that it is a prelude to future success, and lasting prosperity.'"—P. 357.

"*Painting.*—*A card.*—Mr. J. W. Lewin begs leave to inform his friends and the public in general, that he intends opening an academy for painting on the days of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from the hours of 10 to 12 in the forenoon: terms, 5*s.* a lesson: entrance, 20*s.* N. B. The evening academy for drawing continued as usual."—P. 384.

"*Mrs. Jones's vacation ball, December 12th.*—Mrs. Jones, with great respect, informs the parents and guardians of the young ladies intrusted to her tuition, that the vacation ball is fixed for Tuesday the 22d instant, at the seminary, No. 45, Castlereagh-street, Sydney. Tickets 7*s.* 6*d.* each."—P. 388.

"*Sporting intelligence.*—A fine hunt took place the 8th instant at the Nepean, of which the following is the account given by a gentleman present:—'Having cast off by the Government hut on the Nepean, and drawn the cover in that neighbourhood for a native dog unsuccessfully, we tried the forest-ground for a kangaroo, which we soon found. It went off in excellent style along the sands by the river side, and crossed to the cow-pasture plains, running a circle of about two miles; then re-crossed, taking a direction for Mr. Campbell's stock-yard, and from thence at the back of Badge Allenhill to the head of Boorroobaham Creek, where he was headed; from thence he took the main range of hills between the Badge Allen and Badge Allenabinjee, in a straight direction for Mr. Throshey's farm, where the hounds ran in to him; and he was killed, after a good run of about two hours.' The weight of the animal was upwards of 120lb."—P. 380.

2.—The business of Lancaster assizes commenced. The court was crowded to excess; and the object of curiosity was, the appearance of Mr. Henry Hunt, accompanied by Messrs. Harmer and Pearson, the solicitors.—On the names of the grand jury being called over, and before the judge's charge, Mr. Hunt addressed baron Wood, and represented that he intended to prefer indictments for murder, maiming, cutting, and stabbing, against certain magistrates and other persons who were relatives of some of the grand jury; he instanced Mr. B. Wilbraham as in this predicament; and he therefore protested against such gentlemen acting as grand jurors when these indictments were preferred.—Baron Wood suggested that Mr. Wilbraham could retire when these bills were inquired into; and Mr. Wilbraham

ham stated to the court that he had already informed lord Stanley, the foreman, that he should take no part in inquiries connected with these transactions. The usual proclamation being then read, baron Wood shortly charged the jury. The calendar contains 75 prisoners; among whom is John Adamson, indicted for sedition at Burnley; and Robert Jones, aged 32, Joseph Healey, 38, George Swift, 30, John Thacker Saxton, 42, Samuel Bamford, 31, and Robert Wild, 22, committed, "for that they, being persons of a wicked and turbulent disposition, did, at Manchester, in the said county, on the 16th of August instant combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together, to excite tumult and insurrection within this realm, and by force and violence to alter the government and constitution thereof as by law established."—Mr. Hunt and those who have been bailed, are of course not entered among the prisoners in the calendar.

3.—Bills were sent before the grand jury against the following persons, in reference to the late disturbances at Manchester:—Mr. Edward Tebbutt, Mr. Thomas Platt, and Mr. Robert Derbyshire, members of the Manchester corps of yeomanry cavalry, for malicious cutting and stabbing, under lord Ellenborough's act; and against Mr. Richard Owen, a pawnbroker, of Manchester, for perjury, committed by him in some depositions sworn by him before the magistrates; upon which they were supposed to have acted in the late dispersion of the reform meeting at that place by military force. In the evening the grand jury returned a true bill against Mr. R. Owen. The bills against the yeomanry cavalry have all been thrown out.

6.—This evening, being the 50th year from Garrick's Jubilee, a lecture (from the pen of H. Neele, esq.) upon the peculiar and characteristic merits of Shakspeare, was read at the town hall, in Stratford, by John Britton, esq. F.A.S., whose architectural taste and skill are so well known. While the enthusiasm of Mr. Britton in the cause of Shakspeare, and his exertions to keep alive the memory of the "Bard of Avon" in his native town, do honour to his head; his benevolence, in appropriating the whole profits of his lecture to a charitable institution in Stratford, is equally creditable to his heart.

10.—This evening the town of Warwick was illuminated in honour of his royal highness the prince regent's visit to the castle; and on the next evening, Warwick was again more splendidly illuminated than on the preceding night. The Warwick arms hotel, the Swan, the Woolpack, and the Globe, displayed allegorical and emblematic devices on the occasion. Many of the distinguished visitors, and most of the principal inhabitants, paraded the streets to a late hour, and brilliant fireworks were displayed in all the open spaces. The principal inhabitants, land-owners, and visitors of Leamington, were convened to a public meeting by the master of the ceremonies, at the royal pump-room, and an appropriate address was unanimously drawn up and agreed to, expressive of their thanks for the prince regent's paying them a visit.—A deputation was appointed to wait on his royal highness to present the address.

11.—An

11.—An address has been presented from the city of Oxford, thanking the prince regent for the measures taken to prevent the evil consequences which might have arisen from tumultuous and unlawful assemblies of the people; and also for the prosecution and punishment of the publishers and venders of profane and blasphemous publications.

19.—The accounts from the North state, that at Glasgow and Paisley reform meetings had been held; and disorders have taken place, under circumstances at once criminal and disgraceful. We fear they were not sudden ebullitions of popular excesses, provoked by real or imaginary injustice, but a determined and preconcerted spirit of attack upon the public peace and private property.

20.—A reform meeting was held this day at Hunslet Moor, near Leeds. The men walked six a-breast, as at Manchester. After about 1000 men had passed, near 400 or 500 women followed in black dresses, or white with black ribbands. Then followed several thousand men. Numerous banners, bearing inscriptions, were displayed. Mr. Chapman was called to the chair. The chief speakers were Mr. Mason, Mrs. Blackburne (president of the female reformers), Mr. Willan, Mr. John Blackburne, and Mr. Smithson. Several violent resolutions were carried, as was a proposition for abstaining from spirits, tea, and other exciseable articles. The meeting quietly dispersed.

A meeting was held at the Guildhall, in the city of York, the lord mayor in the chair. Between 4 and 5000 people marched in regular procession, six a-breast, preceded by flags bearing inscriptions. S. W. Nicoll, esq. one of the city counsel, and recorder of Doncaster, proposed a series of resolutions, asserting that the conduct of the Manchester magistrates and yeomanry was illegal and unconstitutional, &c. Mr. alderman Dunslay seconded the resolutions. Hon. L. Dundas, M.P. next addressed the meeting. Colonel Wheatley, and Mr. Walker, and several speakers, followed; after which the resolutions, and an address to the regent, were agreed to; and votes of thanks having been passed to Mr. Dundas and the lord mayor, the multitude dispersed without the least tumult.

The inhabitants of Birmingham assembled at Newhall Hill, in immense numbers, to take into consideration the late unhappy disturbances at Manchester. Mr. Edmonds was called to the chair, and moved a string of resolutions. Sir Charles Wolseley then addressed the meeting; and was succeeded by Messrs. Russell, Lewis, and Lykens. All the speakers were in deep mourning; and on the show of hands, some were blacked, some smeared with soot, and others in mourning gloves. The utmost regularity and order were preserved.

TITHES.

At Appleby assizes was tried a tithe cause, Robinson v. Williamson (clerk), before Mr. baron Wood, and a special jury; when, after a long trial, a modus for hay, *which was held to cover agistment*, was fully established. Mr. baron Wood (who is admitted to be the highest authority on tithe-law in Westminster Hall), in summing up,

up, said, "he doubted very much *whether tithes could be claimed for improvements from waste lands, when there was a modus.*"

The church of Newtown Butler, county of Fermanagh, was lately destroyed by fire. A man who was employed to shoot rooks which infested the church-yard very much, fired at some of them on the roof of the building, on which the burnt wadding lodged; and having been composed of shingles, they immediately took fire, and consumed the building before assistance could be procured.

When his royal highness prince Leopold, in his tour through Scotland, reached Dalwhinnie, he was received by the marquis of Huntley, who had advanced thus far to give him the meeting. On sabbath day his royal highness and his noble host attended divine worship in the parish church of Laglan, and on Monday they advanced to Kinrara-lodge, the delightful hunting seat of the marquis of Huntley. The weather has since proved admirable, and the time of the distinguished party has been pleasantly divided, between the moors of Badenoch and the elegant hospitalities of Kinrara. His royal highness is said to have often expressed himself in glowing terms of admiration, in the course of his journey through the endless diversity of sublime, picturesque, and romantic scenery, which enriches the route by which he approached the Highlands; but by nothing did he appear so much struck and delighted, as by a scene conjured by the imagination of his noble host at Kinrara, and which almost realized the apparition of Roderick Dhu's mountain ambuscade. Prince Leopold, conducted by his host, ascended Tor Alvie, where the marchioness of Huntley and a small party of Highland ladies and gentlemen waited to receive him. In the middle of this ceremonial, and amidst comparative stillness and solitude, the piper suddenly sounded the rallying note:—

"Wild as the scream of the curlew,
From crag to crag the signal flew.
Instant, through copse and heath arose
Bonnets and spears and bended bows;
On right, on left, above, below,
Sprung up at once the lurking foe:
From shingles gray their lances start,
The bracken bush sends forth the dart,
The rushes and the willow wand
Are bristling into axe and brand,
And every tuft of broom gives life
To plaided warrior arm'd for strife:
That whistle garrison'd the glen
At once with full five hundred men."

In an instant the height was transformed into something like a beleaguered station, where the marquis and his guest stood pre-eminent, encircled by several hundred of hardy Highlanders equipped in their native warlike garb—each pouring forth the "wild greeting of the mountaineer" to this illustrious stranger. If Scots folk scan the spirit of this young prince aright, he must have been more truly gratified with this show of Highland chivalry, than if his noble host had, in honour of the visit, covered every moor in Badenoch with cloth of gold, and twined with variegated lamps every birch in Strathspey.

The

The following is the gross revenue collected in each county of Scotland, on distillation, from 10th November 1816 to 9th November 1817, and from 10th November 1817 to 9th November 1818:—

	1817.	1818.
Aberdeen	£800	£3,262
Ayr	1,123	1,124
Argyll	4,859	10,144
Banff	346	——
Bute	425	654
Caithness	371	1,018
Clackmannan	118,763	119,242
Cromarty	2,812	916
Dumbarton	6,131	4,908
Dumfries	——	731
Edinburgh	76,636	54,127
Fife	38,924	39,201
Forfar	97	770
Haddington	125,881	122,861
Inverness	1,866	1,777
Lanark	64,562	71,246
Linlithgow	42,220	47,166
Moray	610	937
Nairn	706	2,612
Orkney	412	624
Perth	59,087	102,241
Renfrew	32,539	40,677
Ross	672	4,889
Stirling	19,310	30,801
Wigton	——	1,525
	£599,168	£663,464

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S PALACE, &c.

The intended plan for an edifice at Strathfieldsay, lately the seat of lord Rivers, still occupies the attention of his grace. Various plans have been submitted to his inspection. Ancient and modern Greece have been ransacked for models, but nothing has yet been determined on; in fact, the duke has observed, that as he was not in a hurry, a further delay might take place, even till the next spring, before the foundation stone was laid. One thing is certain, namely, that Blenheim-house will not be the model. The illustrious hero himself feels disposed to adopt a style of architecture at once bold and noble, but blended with great simplicity. One design for a structure, a specimen of superb ancient magnificence, has been much admired by the few who have seen it. The pope's treasurer, who is a great *virtuoso*, brought over a ship-load of rare specimens of the arts from Herculaneum and Pompeii, some more presents to his grace from his holiness. With this Italian the duke of Wellington has lately passed much time, in holding frequent consultations respecting the stately pile. The front will occupy

occupy a space of at least 1,800 feet. In the interim, no time has been lost in other respects: the grounds have been all broken up, and buildings removed; a great number of men are employed, and the land has assumed a new feature. During the whole of the preceding winter, hedges and ditches were removed, and new plantations formed; the whole of which are now in a thriving state.

"*Windsor Castle, Sept.* 4, 1819.

His majesty continues in good general health, but without any diminution of his disorder."

The fair Circassian has left the residence of the Persian ambassador, to return home *viâ* Constantinople. His excellency remains in England till April or May next: he is going on a tour through England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Elizabeth Dunham, an unfortunate maniac, was examined at the Mansion-house, upon a charge of stealing some keys from the porter's lodge at the bank of England.—In consequence of a declaration she made on a former occasion, the officers brought from her apartment another chest of keys, which were most of them ticketed. Amongst them were the keys of the houses of lords and commons, Carlton-house, and the treasury. The number of keys was about 3000. Her son-in-law attended. He said, she was a woman of good education, and had married to great advantage. About five years ago her husband died, and left her a competency. She took a house and had lodgers; amongst whom was one man, who by a series of villainies deprived her of the means of livelihood for herself and children, three of whom are now helpless and almost unprotected. She endeavoured to recover by the law; but she fell into the hands of persons in that profession who made her opinion of men still worse. The lord mayor said, the poor creature must not be set at large. She was remanded for a week, that some provision might be made for her, and a security provided to prevent any more frantic depredations.—It was afterwards judged proper to put her on her trial; which took place at the late Old Bailey sessions; when she was convicted, and ordered to be taken care of.

9.—A court of common council was held at the council chamber, Guildhall, in pursuance of a requisition, signed by several members of the court, for taking into consideration the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry cavalry of Manchester, in the recent melancholy proceedings at that place.—The court was crowded, and the avenues to it filled with persons anxious to hear the debate; the greater part of whom, however, could not obtain admission. The lord mayor took the chair at 12, and opened the business by stating that he held the court with great reluctance; because, whenever crimes were alleged to be committed, they ought to be referred to the proper tribunal before whom the necessary evidence would be laid, instead of discussing them elsewhere.

The requisition being then read, alderman Waithman addressed the court at great length; and, carefully avoiding extraneous topics, he discussed the question in all its various bearings; urging the necessity of calling for a full inquiry into the atrocities committed, which he considered not only unequalled

unequalled in our history, but a great public outrage committed on the constitution.—He concluded by moving a series of resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Hurcombe; but were opposed by alderman Rothwell, Mr. Browne, Mr. Jacks, Mr. S. Dixon, Mr. James, and sir Wm. Curtis; chiefly on the grounds of its being unjust and premature to pass a censure on men so highly respectable as the Manchester magistrates, when the whole of the case did not appear; when the charges against them rested on imperfect newspaper accounts; and when the transactions complained of were to undergo the investigation of juries.—The supporters of the resolutions, exclusive of the mover and seconder, were, Messrs. Bumstead, Patten, Southgate, Crook, Eicke, Pearsall, and Taylor.—In reply to the argument of prejudging the question, Mr. Pearsall observed that the prince regent's letter of thanks to the magistrates and yeomanry was given within three days after the knowledge of the transaction; whereas the corporation of London had waited 20 days, for all the circumstances to transpire. Alderman Waithman replied to the arguments of the opposing speakers; and upon the question being put by the common serjeant, the difference of numbers was so great, that the lord mayor declared the resolutions carried.

[Many other city, town, and borough meetings have been held on the same subject, and with similar results.]

13.—Mr. Hunt this day entered the metropolis, amidst a procession of flags, &c. got up by Messrs. Watson, Thistlewood, Preston, and others of his friends, among whom there had been some squabbling on the subject. The procession consisted of horsemen with flags, reformers in hackney chariots, and the hero of the day, Henry Hunt, esq. seated in a landaulet, drawn by six horses decorated with scarlet ribbands, and preceded by a flag, having inscribed on it, "*Hunt, the heroic champion of liberty.*" The procession commenced at Islington, and proceeded to Finsbury-square, Sun-street, Bishopsgate-street, Cheapside, round St. Paul's, Ludgate-hill, Fleet-street, to the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, where a dinner was provided at seven o'clock, at 7*s.* 6*d.* a ticket. The procession was closed by a crowd of pedestrians, extending back as far as the eye could reach. The crowds through which Hunt passed, and those by whom he was accompanied, were not less than 200,000. As soon as Mr. Hunt had got out of his carriage, he addressed the assembled multitude. After thanking them for the high and distinguished honour which they had this day conferred on him; he declared he should at all times be ready to sacrifice his life, if required to do so, in defence of *his* principles and *their* liberty; he then advised them, as they valued the cause for which they were contending, to disperse quietly, and not by any ebullition of feeling to give their enemies any advantage over them. This speech was received with repeated plaudits. Hunt retired, and in a few minutes the crowd had nearly dispersed.

17.—The prince regent held a court at Carlton House, attended by lord Sidmouth, lord Liverpool, the duke of Wellington, &c.

The lord mayor, in state, the recorder, the sheriffs, Mr. alderman Waithman, and about 50 of the common council, preceded by the two city marshals, &c. on horseback, arrived at Carlton House a little before 12 o'clock (the hour appointed by the regent), with an address lately voted to his royal highness at the court of common council, deprecating the late events at Manchester, and praying the prince regent "to institute an immediate and effectual inquiry into the outrages that have been committed, and cause the guilty perpetrators thereof to be brought to signal and condign punishment." They were conducted into the royal presence; when the prince, surrounded by several of his cabinet ministers, officers of state, &c. received the same, and was pleased to return the following answer:

"I receive with feelings of deep regret this address and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

"At a time when ill-designing and turbulent men are actively engaged in inflaming the minds of their fellow-subjects, and endeavouring by means the most daring and insidious to alienate them from their allegiance to his majesty and the established constitution of the realm, it is on the vigilance and conduct of the magistrates that the preservation of the public tranquillity must in a great degree depend; and a firm, faithful, and active discharge of their duty cannot but give them the strongest claim to the support and approbation of their sovereign and their country.

"With the circumstances which preceded the late meeting at Manchester, you must be unacquainted; and of those which attended it, you appear to have been incorrectly informed.

"If, however, the laws were really violated on that occasion, by those to whom it immediately belonged to assist in the execution of them, the tribunals of this country are open to afford redress: but to institute an extrajudicial inquiry, under such circumstances as the present, would be manifestly inconsistent with the clearest principles of public justice."

His royal highness having delivered his answer, the deputation took their leave of the royal presence at about half-past 12, and returned in the same order of procession. A guard of honour was in attendance in the court-yard of Carlton House.

18.—At the Old Bailey, Henry Stent was put to the bar. The court was crowded with females. The prisoner was arraigned upon an indictment, charging him, in the usual form, with having inflicted divers wounds upon the person of his wife, Maria, on the 5th of August last, with intent to kill and murder her, or to do her some grievous bodily harm. He pleaded Not Guilty. There was no counsel for the prosecution, and Mr. justice Best called Maria Stent, the wife of the prisoner, who was sworn. His lordship then put various questions to her; in the course of which it appeared, that she had left her husband above twelve months; and that on the day of meeting him at the Saracen's Head, her feelings were so overpowered by his appear-

ance,

ance, that she had no recollection of what happened, till she found herself in Bartholomew's hospital. The waiters at the inn were next examined; and their evidence established the charge against the prisoner; one of them deposed, that after he had wounded Mrs. Stent, the prisoner said, "I have accomplished my purpose; I wish for nothing more; I shall suffer for it, I know I shall." She directly exclaimed, "You have! you have, Henry! but I freely forgive you, and I hope the law will take no hold of you, and that no harm will come to you. I freely forgive you." She then asked him to kiss her. He kneeled down, and kissed her twice; which she returned. She said he was the best of husbands, and she was the worst of wives. The number of wounds inflicted were five, one of which in the windpipe, and a second in the right lung, were of a dangerous nature. This was the whole of the case for the prosecution. Mr. justice Best now called on the prisoner for his defence; he said, he would leave his case entirely in the hands of his counsel. A number of respectable witnesses were then called on behalf of the prisoner. Mr. justice Best proceeded to sum up the evidence, and stated that Mrs. Stent, the unhappy woman who appeared before them on that day, had forsaken her husband, and, by proving unfaithful to his bed, had inflicted upon him the most poignant anguish, the most acute sufferings that a man devoted to a wife could possibly endure. This, however, could by no means be admitted as a justification of his crime. The jury then retired, and after consulting for about half an hour, returned a verdict of Guilty, but recommended the prisoner strongly to mercy, on account of his good character.

24.—Mrs. Mary Ridding (aged 20), the wife of captain William Ridding, was tried at the Old Bailey, for stealing the infant child of John Schrier, 14 months old, on the 28th of August. The situation of life in which this lady moved, as well as the circumstances attending her crime, excited a considerable degree of interest. She was attended by her nurse, and was much affected. It appeared she had taken the child from his brother, a boy aged 7, by sending him to buy some cakes. The child was taken for the purpose of imposing it on her husband as his own offspring; and would most probably have been maintained in a comparative state of affluence to that in which it would have been placed if left with its own parents. The jury found her guilty, but recommended her to mercy. In consequence of this recommendation, instead of transportation for seven years (the usual punishment for this offence), she was sentenced to pay a fine of one shilling to the king, and to be confined for twelve months in Cold Bath Fields prison.

ASSESSED TAXES.

By an act passed in the late session of parliament, 59th Geo. III. cap. 13. sec. 8. it is enacted, "That any tenant coming into the occupation of his or her farm, at or after Midsummer, in any year, may appeal to the commissioners for executing this act, and, on proof to their satisfaction, that

he or she shall not have kept or used any horses, mares, or geldings by him or her used in the cultivation of the said farm, prior to his or her coming into the occupation of such farm, shall be entitled to be released and discharged from one moiety of the annual assessment paying in respect of the said horses, mares, or geldings."

STATE OF NEWGATE.

The following is a summary of the convicts and other prisoners in this gaol:—

	Males.	Females.
Convicts under sentence of death	—	—
Convicts upon whom the judgement of the court has been respited	3	—
Convicts under sentence of transportation for life	6	23
Convicts under sentence of transportation for fourteen years	1	9
Convicts under sentence of transportation for seven years	26	42
Prisoners under sentence of imprisonment for felony and misdemeanours	27	4
Prisoners for trial, &c.	258	71
Total	321	149

The following table exhibits a classification of the offences with which the prisoners for trial stand charged:—

	London.	Middlesex.	Total.
For trial at the admiralty sessions	2	—	2
Burglary	2	4	6
Housebreaking	—	3	3
Unnatural offences	2	—	2
Forgery	—	2	2
Uttering forged notes	2	15	17
Highway robbery	—	18	18
Sheep stealing	—	1	1
Stealing in a dwelling-house	3	10	13
Stealing on the river Thames	—	1	1
Ditto, privately in a shop	1	—	1
Child stealing	—	1	1
Cutting and stabbing	1	—	1
Manslaughter	—	1	1
Receiving stolen goods	—	2	2
Larcenies	28	172	200
Stealing from the person	11	28	39
Embezzlement	1	5	6
Fraud	5	—	5
Carried forward	58	263	321

Brought

	London.	Middlesex.	Total.
Brought forward . .	58	263	321
Uttering counterfeit coin . .	—	2	2
Misdemeanour . . .	2	—	2
County assizes	—	2	2
Rescuing a felon	—	2	2
Total . .	60	269	329

ON POPULATION.

Supposing the earth to be peopled with 1,000,000,000 of inhabitants, and allowing 33 years for a generation, the deaths of each year amount to 30 millions—of each day to 82,000, and of each hour to 3416. But as the number of deaths is to the number of births as 10 to 12, there are born yearly 36,000,000—daily 98,630, and hourly 4,109.

Reckoning only three generations to a century, and supposing the world has existed 5700 years, (but the modern Jews count the present year 1819, to be A. M. 5579) there have been only 172 generations from the creation, 125 since the deluge, and 55 since the christian æra.

Out of every 1000, there die annually 30; and the number of inhabitants of every city and country is renewed every 30 years.

OCTOBER.

FRANCE.

The *Journal des Débats* gives a summary of the late elections; according to which the deputies returned consist of 87 liberaux, five ultra, five ministerialists, one doctrinaire, and one uncertain.

General Donadieu having published a pamphlet, relative to his conduct at Grenoble, in which he inserts a letter from count de Cazes, approving of the severities which he exercised, the count has published, in the *Moniteur*, the whole of the correspondence which took place on the occasion. It appears, that when the count became acquainted with the real state of the facts, he revoked his praises, and censured the general; whom he reminds, that, under a free government like France, to repress illegal acts illegally, is a greater crime than the commission of the acts; the duty of public officers being to reduce all to the obedience of the laws, and not to infringe them themselves.—The above transaction of count de Cazes not only indicates a highly rational degree of liberty at present existing in France, but redounds much to the honour of the count himself.

The noted Sebastiani has been elected a deputy for Corsica, as well as M. Ramolino, cousin-german of Bonaparte's mother. The latter election has excited great notice. Corsica is a sort of rotten borough to France: the voters were only 35 in number.

The numbers of the English in France are said to be wonderfully on the increase. It is reckoned, that at present there are not less than 15,000 of our countrymen in Paris. It is asserted, that upwards of 500 English families settled in Verdun and the vicinity of that town, and that they are per-

sons possessed of considerable property.

Letters from Paris of the 6th instant, mention a fatal duel on Montmartre, between captain Pellew, of the 1st regiment of life guards, and captain Theodore Walsh, of the same regiment. At the first fire captain Pellew was shot through the temple, and expired without a groan. The cause of this affair was the elopement of Mrs. Walsh with captain Pellew, and who was with him at Paris; to which place the injured husband followed them. Captain Pellew was the only child of his now distressed parents.

A vessel from Havre, bound to St. Petersburg, has been wrecked near Boulogne: twelve passengers perished with the ship; and all the baggage of count Capo d'Istria, the Russian minister, has been lost.

It has been stated in the French papers, that the port of St. Valery has sent out 22 vessels, manned with about 600 seamen, to fish upon the coast of Scotland.

NETHERLANDS.

A British charitable fund has been established at Brussels, the subscriptions to which are appropriated to distressed and deserving subjects of the united kingdom, by affording temporary assistance, or enabling them to return to their native country. Augustin Sayer, esq. M. D. is appointed treasurer.

It appears by a Brussels paragraph in the foreign papers, which gives some particulars respecting madame Montholon, that Bonaparte is incessantly occupied with the composition of his memoirs; of which many copies are prepared, to obviate the chances of their destruction.

SPAIN.

Letters from Madrid state, that the yellow fever had not only reached Cadiz, but also Seville, Cordova, Grenada, and other cities.

The duke de San Fernando has been made prime minister by the king of Spain.

Famine, as well as pestilence, it is said, now ravages Cadiz, the Isle of Leon, and Seville.

The accounts from Spain assume a calamitous aspect. The fever is advancing upon Madrid. Seville is infested. The gates of Madrid are closed; and the young queen will, it is supposed, not go beyond the city of Burgos. In the Isle de Leon the disease was supposed to have attained its height, and to be on the decrease; the number of sick which had been 1086, was reduced on the 24 ult. to 495. Cadiz, however, was in a very melancholy state; the number of sick on the 29th ult. amounting to 4075. This is not all of evil which the Almighty permits in that afflicted kingdom. Murcia rings with the groans of wretches on the rack. Two persons of distinction, of whom one was a colonel of artillery, perished under the torture in that city. No confession could be torn from them; and the executioners, who are stated to be attendant devils of the inquisition, screwed the instrument to a tension beyond the life of a man to endure. The crime with which they are charged is freemasonry.

GERMANY.

A late supplement to the *Journal de Paris*, contains a proposition

tion of the Austrian minister to the German diet, founded, as it appears, upon the agreement entered into at the conferences at Carlsbad. In the introduction it is stated, that "his imperial majesty (the emperor of Austria) is persuaded, that all the members of the confederation participate with him in the wish, that the diet, before it adjourns, should direct their particular attention to that spirit of disquietude and fermentation, which has been for some years, and is now from day to day more distinctly manifested in Germany; and which has been evinced by publications openly seditious, by criminal conspiracies, embracing more than one part of Germany, by individual offences and atrocious attempts. His majesty desires that this assembly should seriously investigate the causes which have given birth to these disorders; and the proper means of securing for the future the public tranquillity, respect for the laws, confidence in governments, general calm and contentment, and the tranquil possession of all those benefits which the German princes, under the protection of a peace solidly guarantied to Europe, have conferred upon, or prepared for the enjoyment of, their people. The sources of the evil, to the progress of which the governments of Germany are loudly called upon to put an end, may be traced in part, it is true, to temporary embarrassments and derangements, caused by circumstances over which no government can directly or immediately have any controul; but they are also to be attributed to defects, to vices, or to positive abuses, which it is doubtless possible to remedy by measures well concerted and maturely combined."

It is positively stated from Frankfort, as well as in the French accounts, that all the cabinet ministers assembled at the diet have acceded without reserve to the propositions of the Austrian minister.

Another congress of ministers takes place immediately, or is already assembled, at Vienna.

Mr. Rothschild, the Jew banker in London, indignant at the persecution of his Jewish brethren in several cities in Germany, has, it is said in the foreign journals, refused to take bills upon any of the German cities in which the Jews have experienced ill-treatment.

The elector of Hesse-Cassel has published a proclamation, stating, that in order to restrain the secret intrigues and treasonable associations formed in Germany, the German confederation have, by a resolution of the diet of the 20th of September, established a central committee at Mentz, to inquire into those illegal and dangerous plans, with authority to demand the arrest of the persons suspected, who are to be conveyed to Mentz, there to remain in arrest until the law has decided their fate. The proclamation concludes with stating that any of his subjects who shall be found guilty of such seditious combinations shall be excluded from the number of the Hessian people, and deprived of the rights of citizenship.

The army of Austria has been increased 80,000 men by the last levy; and a second levy, equally numerous, is already talked of!

JEW TAX.

The following circumstance,

which took place at Mayence in 1802, led to the abolition of the Jew tax in Germany:—Some Jews went to the opposite side of the Rhine from Mayence, and were compelled to pay the Jew tax. On their making a representation to the prefect, Jean Bon St. Andre, he retaliated by arresting all the Christians who arrived from the other bank of the Rhine, saying, "Your government arrests French citizens, and makes them pay a tax because they do not believe in Jesus Christ; I now arrest you, and make you pay a tax, because you do not adhere to the law of Moses. The French government protects all her subjects, whether Christians, Jews, or Mahometans." In consequence of this affair, the Jew tax was abolished in every part of Germany.

RUSSIA.

The emperor of Russia is lately returned to St. Petersburg from a journey through all Finland, which was undertaken for the sole purpose of a personal observation of the distant provinces of this extended empire, for the benefit of the people so far from the imperial residence.

The ship Kamtschatka, which was sent two years ago by the Russian government, under the command of captain Golownin, to Kamtschatka, and the Kurile and Aleutian islands, arrived safe at Cronstadt on the 17th, from its voyage. The ship Kutusow, captain Hagemeister, belonging to the American company, also arrived at Cronstadt on the 19th, with a rich cargo, after an absence of three years. This ship visited the Spanish ports on the coast of America, Callao, Acapulco, &c., and comes last from Batavia. In the course of a month, the company will send two other ships to its settlement on the north-west coast of America.

ASIA.

Advices from Batavia of the beginning of May state, that the English expedition from Bengal, under sir T. Raffles, consisting of several of the East India company's cruizers, with troops on board, had arrived on the coast of Sumatra, to take possession of all the ports on the west side of the island, which were ceded to the British by the king of Acheen.

AMERICA.

New York papers announce the capture of Barcelona, Cumana, and the whole royal squadron, by the Spanish patriots. This intelligence is not derived from a single source; it is corroborated by the concurrent testimony of several advices from various quarters, all to the same effect.

Papers and letters from Philadelphia give the most deplorable accounts of the commercial distress which pervades the United States from one end of the union to another; and of the termination of which they have at present no prospect whatever.

The duke of Sussex and suite arrived at York house, Bath; and accompanied by many of the chief officers of the lodges of freemasons, and between 100 and 200 of the brethren, went in procession, and dedicated the new grand masonic hall. The ceremony was performed by the royal grand master with most impressive effect. The brethren afterwards dined at the Kingston rooms, the duke of Sussex in the chair, supported by the duke of Leinster on his left. His royal

royal highness was presented with the freedom of the city,

Earl Temple has been chosen mayor of Winchester for the year ensuing.

Among the premiums distributed at the Carnarvonshire agricultural meeting, three were given to farmers for ploughing with two horses abreast, and to their ploughmen; also two premiums to tenants for clearing rough land of stones, and by hand-digging, &c, making it productive. A new premium is proposed for next year, viz. to the acting surveyor of parish roads, who shall make the greatest improvements in the same.

The Eau brink drainage cut, which extends nearly in a straight line of about three miles in length from St. Germain's bridge to Lynn, goes on rapidly, several thousand persons having been employed. It will be opened next summer.

A Sussex experimentalist gives us the following very curious detail:—In October, 1818, he planted eighteen grains of wheat at six inches distance from each other. They all vegetated, but one-third was afterwards destroyed by the worms. The remaining crop having flourished, was reaped in the beginning of August, the eight grains producing 213 fine ears, or nearly 27 ears, 39 grains to the ear, from each grain sown. The crop being threshed and cleaned, amounted to 12¼ ounces of corn. To calculate this as acreable produce, twelve grains at six inches asunder, occupied a space of 18 inches by 12, or 1½ superficial feet; but it is necessary to allow three inches more all round, which make 24 by 18 inches, or three superficial feet. Now the superficial feet of an acre are 43,560, which divided by 3 gives 14,520 times the space on which the above experiment was grown: this multiplied by 12¼, the number of ounces produced, will give 177,870 ounces, which divided by 960, the number of ounces in a bushel of wheat of 60lbs. weight, will give 135¼ bushels, or 2$ quarters 1¼ bushels per acre, from single grains set over an acre at six inches distance from each other. For the accuracy of the above we cannot be answerable; but it is well known that many such experiments have been made at different periods, with nearly similar results; and no judge of cultivation doubts the possibility of obtaining far larger produce than we customarily do in this country by a more accurate culture, and that under such there would be no necessity for foreign import.

WASP EATER.

A few days since, a fellow in the neighbourhood of Frimley, named Fisher, whose gluttonous propensities have long since acquired him the by-name of the Cormorant, undertook, for a trifling wager, to eat a dozen of live wasps, with their stings in them, and demolish two pounds of raw salmon, in the short space of ten minutes! This he achieved with comparative expedition, notwithstanding he was sorely perplexed over his *first course*. He afterwards offered to eat wasps by wholesale, at the rate of sixpence per dozen; this he continued doing till he had consumed nearly two dozen of these creatures; when his throat and mouth became

became so dreadfully swollen and inflamed, that he was obliged to desist, in a state almost bordering on madness and suffocation.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

That patriotic nobleman, the earl of Sheffield, published, last spring, a very able and spirited tract, called "Remarks on the bill for the amendment of the poor laws." In adverting to the impossibility of providing a sufficiency of grain from foreign countries, if tillage should be neglected at home, his lordship says, "The public is, perhaps, not fully aware of the calamity that may arise from a decrease of tillage, and increase of population; but it is most true, that if, through a deficient harvest, an increased demand for grain on our part should take place, all the world would not be able to supply two months' consumption. It has been supposed that Europe must depend for subsistence on America; but that country never, in one year, sent to Europe sufficient for one day's supply."

Liverpool, Oct. 2.

No certain intelligence having reached the town of the fate of the intrepid äëronauts as late as Thursday evening, the public were beginning to be somewhat uneasy; but their anxiety was soon relieved by the receipt of several letters from Stockton-upon-Tees, in the county of Durham, near to which place Messrs. Livingston and Sadler alighted on the day of their departure from hence. Yesterday, at half-past twelve, the public were delighted to see them drive into the town in a chaise and four; the postillions decorated with white ribbons, and the car tied to the top of the chaise. They drove through Church-street, Lord-street, Castle-street, and Dale-street, to the office of the gas-light company, where they met several gentlemen of the committee appointed to conduct the ascent, to whom they gave a short account of their long and perilous voyage. At three o'clock they came in the same chaise to the exchange, where they alighted and went into the exchange news room, amidst an immense crowd of the merchants and gentlemen there assembled, by whom they were received with three cheers. They here gave a short account of their expedition and adventures, after which they ascended into the underwriters'-room, where they were greeted with the same cordiality. A collection was immediately made, which soon amounted to a considerable sum.

This is the longest äërial voyage ever made in Great Britain. The balloon ascended from Liverpool at a quarter past two o'clock, and alighted at five minutes past five, at the distance of about a mile and a half from the town of Stockton. In a space of two hours and fifty minutes, therefore, they traversed a distance of nearly 100 miles in a lineal direction, and, if the undulations and aberrations of the machine are allowed for, it would make at least 170 miles. In the course of this voyage, they traversed some of the finest parts of the counties of York and Durham, the views of which both gentlemen describe as sublime and enchanting beyond all description. At a height of nearly two miles from the

the earth, they took their refreshment, and drank the health of the sovereign, and prosperity to the town and trade of Liverpool, in that awful *symposium*. They frequently, on approaching a town or village, descended so low as to be able to converse with the people, by whom they were often invited to make a call and take some refreshment; but such morning visits being rather inconvenient, they were obliged to decline the honour. The noble waving line made by the balloon in these descendings and ascendings, must have been the finest sights which occurred in the whole exhibition, and accordingly they seemed to excite the highest rapture in the rural spectators. They did not suffer much from cold; the mercury in the thermometer generally ranging about 38. Unfortunately they had no barometer with them; but Mr. Livingston conjectures that their utmost elevation might be about four miles and a quarter. Near the town of Stockton, they approached a range of hills, and on surmounting these, were somewhat startled at perceiving themselves within a few miles of the sea. They immediately drew the valve, and alighted with all possible expedition. On reaching the ground, they threw out the grappling iron, the hook of which broke at the first pull, and on throwing it out again, another hook was bent straight, and the anchor again dragged. The balloon now forced itself through a thick hedge, the sudden jerk occasioned by which unfortunately pitched Mr. Livingston against the side of the car, by which his head and shoulder were so severely bruised, that it was thought advisable to have him let blood; but he is now nearly recovered. At length, by continually keeping open the valve, the balloon gradually subsided in a stubble field, and was finally secured without having sustained the least damage.

We understand that the aërial travellers undertook this long voyage with the view of trying the power of the balloon, and its capability of crossing the channel from hence, the practicability of which is now ascertained.

Whilst the balloon was majestically sweeping over the fever hospital, Brownlow-hill, &c. on Tuesday, Mr. Livingston was observed standing on the outer edge of the frail car that sustained him, and holding only with one of his hands on the netting. This instance of gratuitous daring excited the greatest astonishment, and some terror; like many other brilliant achievements, however, it was thought more worthy of admiration than imitation.

12.—It is with painful feelings we record the following tragical story, the scene of which was in the neighbourhood of Wortley:—Early on Sunday morning, as two of the gamekeepers belonging to J. A. S. Wortley, esq., were going their usual rounds, they perceived four men approaching on the high road, who they immediately suspected were bent on unlawful sport. They would have concealed themselves in a contiguous quarry to watch their motions, but, believing themselves already seen, they proceeded on till they met, when one of them familiarly accosted the first of the company (whom he knew) by saying, "Well, my lad, thou hast

hast got thy gun with thee this morning and (stroking him on his waistcoat,) plenty of snicles too!" The fellow, immediately replying, "What, do you want to rob me?" presented his piece and fired, the contents passing completely through the body of the keeper. He had no sooner fallen, than they all instantly attacked his companion, and knocked him down with the butt end of his gun; while they were beating him with sticks, a cry of "Stick him, stick him," was overheard by the unfortunate man who was already wounded: the sound suddenly rousing him to a vigorous effort, he managed to seize his gun, and to level it at the group as they were engaged in the barbarous attack upon his comrade. The shot took effect upon one of them, and brought him down, when the other three immediately fled. The gamekeeper, being released, though dreadfully bruised, crawled to a cottage not far distant, and spread an alarm. Warrants were immediately procured, and search made. The man who had been shot by the first keeper was found in bed at his own house, and is likely to recover; another (the man who shot the keeper) was apprehended, and brought yesterday to Sheffield gaol, and the remaining two have absconded. They all resided in the neighbouring village of Grenoside.—The keeper who fell under the attack of the whole gang was not dangerously hurt, but his wounded colleague, died yesterday.

13.—The inquest that had been held on the body of John Lees, at Oldham, and subsequently at Manchester, who had died, it was supposed, in consequence of bruises received on the 16th of August, was adjourned to the 1st of December next. The coroner stated that this was done in consideration of the extreme fatigue and inconvenience experienced by the jurors.

20.—Meagher, the trumpeter to the Manchester yeomanry cavalry, was brought up for examination at the New Bailey court. The charge against him, for which he had undergone some previous examinations, was firing two pistols from the garret-window of his house in Deansgate, and wounding J. Jones in the thigh, and R. Robinson in the leg. He underwent a long examination before Mr. Wright the magistrate. The excuse he offered was, that his house had been beset by a riotous mob, and his windows broken. Several witnesses gave their testimony, that the prisoner was not threatened, nor even molested, at the time he fired the pistols from the window; and that there was no assemblage of people opposite the house to cause alarm. On the contrary John Davis, druggist and apothecary, who resided nearly over against the prisoner's residence in Deansgate, deposed, that at half-past twelve he heard, while in his bed-room, stones thrown, glass broken, and most opprobrious language, such as "rascal, murderer, massacrer, butcher, trumpeter!" Soon after, he heard the report of a pistol: he then went to the front of his house, and saw three different parties, who used very gross language; the prisoner was in the garret window, facing Queen-street: he was in his shirt-sleeves: he cried out, "What do you there

there? Begone, get away, or I'll fire upon you." He then fired again. Sarah Kennedy also deposed to hearing the windows broken, before there was any firing. The magistrate then declared he should adjourn the court to that day fortnight. He also stated, that in consequence of the evidence of Mr. Davis, who was a most respectable witness, he should take bail for the prisoner's appearance on that day, himself in 200*l.* and two sureties in 100*l.* each. Mr. Davis was one of the bail. Meagher was then liberated.

WEYHILL FAIR.

This great mart for horses, hops, and sheep, commenced on Saturday se'nnight. Early in the morning the Down exhibited a scene of the most lively interest; 140,000 sheep were to be seen at one view, concentrated in one spot. The fineness of the weather rendered the sight more engaging, and contributed not only to the good appearance of the sheep, but encouraged a brisk sale. The prices in general may be quoted as follows:—Ewes from 34*s.* to 52*s.*, lambs from 25*s.* to 36*s.*, wethers 34*s.* to 50*s.*—Some lots fetched higher prices; in one or two instances, remarkably fine lambs were sold as high as 42*s.* Early in the afternoon the hill was nearly cleared of sheep, and none but indifferent lots remained unsold. There was an unusually fine show of horses of all descriptions; hunters and nags were numerous and good, and fetched good prices. Many drifts of yearling and two-year old cart colts were exhibited; they had a quick sale, with high prices, and, as usual, were taken up by the London dealers.—Horses of a middling class sold very low.

The sale of hops did not commence till Tuesday morning.—Many purchasers were then assembled, and a large choice of hops was presented to view. The rows were filled, besides which many stacks were under sail-cloths; but on this day little business was effected. The number of pockets in the country rows this year was 7,352, exceeding by 300 pockets the groundage of last year. The number of Farnham pockets in the Farnham acre was 3,000, exceeding last year's groundage about 400 pockets. The weather being fine, and purchasers being of opinion that the prices demanded by the planters were too high, induced the former to decline buying until Wednesday, when hops took a general start, and many large purchases were then made. The prices were various, according to the condition and quality; they may, however, be quoted in the country rows from 4*l.* to 5*l.* 12*s.*; but where there was one sample sold above 5*l.* 12*s.* twenty may be said to be sold under 5*l.* Farnham hops fetched from 4*l.* 4*s.* to 6*l.* 12*s.*

Very little was done this year by Kent sample, as is usually the case by hop-merchants from the Borough. Worcester, Sussex, Essex, and Kent, had not so many pockets this year as heretofore.

The cheese fair was large, and the sale rather dull. Prices may be stated as follows:—Best old Somerset from 74*s.* to 78*s.*; second, 58*s.* to 66*s.*; North Wiltshire, 54*s.* to 62*s.*; half-coward,

ard, 45*s.* to 50*s.*; skim, 30*s.* to 38*s.*

ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENON.

About eight o'clock on the evening of Sunday last, was witnessed at Carlisle a very beautiful appearance in the heavens—a broad zone of light, which extended across the whole visible horizon, nearly west and east. As it does not appear to have been visible on the east side of the island, (at least none of the papers in that district which have come to hand notice it,) we may presume that its altitude was not very considerable. That this zone, or belt, was of electrical origin, is obvious from all the phenomena accompanying it, though all the papers we have seen describing it, do not particularly notice the appearances that immediately preceded it. A little before eight in the evening, a radiant appearance was observed in the heavens, a little above the northern hemisphere, which, so far as we could calculate without the assistance of instruments, was not many miles distant. It emitted vivid rays of light, as if from an immense furnace, from behind a dense and black cloud, which were successively followed by others, that expanded across the whole northern part of the firmament until they nearly reached the zenith. After having for some time formed most brilliant streamers, the electric matter was accumulated into one large, beautiful, and condensed arch of stationary light; and as the sky was fortunately very clear, it was beheld for more than an hour.

A fiery meteor was seen darting from west to east, at Bishopton, in the north-riding of Yorkshire, on Monday, the 18th instant, between the hours of six and seven in the evening. It passed the horizon in about half a minute, and lost itself in a dark cloud. The colour of this phenomenon was of a dark red, and it displayed a long illuminated tail.

It was said of a York county-meeting, held in the time of sir George Savile, that there were in one room persons who enjoyed an aggregate income from landed property of 800,000*l.* a year; and it might be asserted with equal truth, that the income of the nobility and gentry on the hustings at the late county-meeting exceeded 1,000,000*l.* sterling; and yet this, say the ministerial papers, was a rádical reform meeting! the persons constituting which, of course, according to the loyal declaration, wish for a division of property, and "hold out the property of others as their inevitable prey." What absurdities these people involve themselves in! On the subject of numbers, we have one word to say: the area of the castle-yard contains 6,400 square yards; these multiplied by 7, the number that may easily stand within that compass, gives 44,800; the area, it will not be denied, was at least three-quarters full, making 33,400, which number certainly attended the meeting, exclusive of the crowds that were continually passing in Castlegate, and which, if added to the numbers at the meeting, would have filled the yard.

Earl Fitzwilliam has been removed from the office of lord lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the west riding of York, in consequence of his lordship having

ing attended at the York county meeting.

21.—At a meeting at Maidenhead, of the subscribers to the fund for guarantying the expenses of the prosecution, &c. of Thomas Mitchell (who has been executed) for attempting to murder Miss Rowles, of Burnham, it was proposed and unanimously carried "that the thanks of the meeting be most cordially given to the rev. H. Raikes, for his kind and exemplary conduct in this atrocious affair, and for his two admirably-adapted sermons delivered on the occasion, and now published."

30.—Many strong resolutions have been entered into in various parts of the country, in reprobation of the transactions at Manchester. On the contrary, numerous loyal declarations have been signed in defence of religion, of government, and social order, against the inroads of blasphemy and sedition.

"*Windsor Castle, Oct.* 2, 1819.

"His majesty continues in good general health, but without any diminution of his disorder."

Parliament is summoned to meet on the 23d day of November next; when the late events at Manchester, and the state of the country, will no doubt be the first and chief objects of consideration.

The board of admiralty have proposed, and an order in council has been obtained, that pensions shall be granted to the widows of the officers and clerks in all the civil departments of the navy; adequate stoppages are accordingly to be made in the several salaries, in order to form a fund for that purpose.

Whilst a fine coach horse, belonging to major-general Strutt, was drinking a few days ago out of a pail, in which, by accident, was a piece of sponge, nearly six inches long, three inches wide, and two inches thick, the animal took it to his mouth, and swallowed it. Veterinary assistance was called in; but it was sixty-nine hours before the horse was relieved by the most powerful medicines; yet though still extremely weak, it is likely to recover.

The two most interesting and beautiful objects in the planetary system, Jupiter and Saturn, may now be seen every clear evening. Jupiter is very conspicuous in the south, about 25 degrees above the horizon, and Saturn about 10 degrees higher, but more to the eastward.

The will of the late W. Smith, esq. the once celebrated actor, was proved lately in the prerogative court at Doctors' Commons. His property, real and personal, was sworn under 18,000*l.*

It is reported, that Mr. sheriff Parkins refuses to pay his quota of the expenses of the entertainment at Guildhall on lord mayor's day; and that the lord mayor elect and Mr. sheriff Rothwell have, in consequence, handsomely resolved to defray the whole charge.

The

BANK NOTES.

The following is an account of the average amount of bank of England notes in circulation during the quarter ending the 10th of October, 1819:

Bank notes of	1*l.* & 2*l.*	£7,249,613	15	3
of	5*l.*	3,097,812	11	2
of	10*l.*	3,590,294	17	11
of	15*l.*	156,641	17	8
of	20*l.*	1,563,997	9	4
of	25*l.*	175,300	16	6
of	30*l.*	400,881	15	5
of	40*l.*	316,645	5	6
of	50*l.*	1,322,557	19	5
of	100*l.*	1,159,413	13	9
of	200*l.*	455,820	6	9
of	300*l.*	399,966	12	7
of	500*l.*	417,596	8	7
of	1000*l.*	3,555,792	11	5
Bank post bills	.. .. ..	1,474,539	7	2
		£25,326,875	8	5

24.—A meeting of the inhabitants of the ward of Cheap was held, under the presidency of their alderman (Mr. sheriff Rothwell), to discuss the late proceedings at Manchester; when, after several hours' debate, the resolutions, condemning the Lancashire magistracy, were *rejected* by a majority of 11 out of 83 individuals (the whole number present); and other resolutions, in substance approving of the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry, were agreed to.—One of the speakers asserted, that of the 60 yeomanry who acted on the occasion, 32 were wounded.

The livery of London, previous to the regular business of the election of a chief magistrate, entered into some violent resolutions respecting the late melancholy events at Manchester; after which the names of the several aldermen eligible to the high office being formally proposed, aldermen Wood and Thorp were elected by the almost unanimous show of tumultuous hands. But a poll was instantly demanded by the friends of Mr. Bridges, the first alderman eligible in the usual rotation.

On the recorder passing sentence of transportation *for life* on John Moore, at the Old Bailey, the prisoner, in the most hardened manner, said, "I wish to ask your lordship a favour;" and on being desired to state it, said, "I'd thank you, my lord, to give me *another year*."

1.—A meeting of respectable individuals, merchants, bankers, traders, and others, was held at the London Tavern, John Whitmore, esq. in the chair; when a declaration against the progress of sedition and infidelity was unanimously agreed to. It has since received the signatures of nearly

nearly five thousand individuals of great respectability.

5.—The lord mayor held a court of aldermen; at which sir W. Curtis moved a loyal address, to be signed by the members; and observed, that at a time when the disaffected were raising the standard of sedition and rebellion in the country, it became the duty of the sober-minded and loyal part of the community to declare their abhorrence of the libellous and blasphemous publications with which the country was inundated. The resolutions were then put and carried, with the dissent of the aldermen sir W. Domville, Wood, Thorp, and Waithman.

7.—On Wednesday last the poll for the high office of lord mayor was finally closed by a triumphant majority of 1037, in favour of Mr. alderman Bridges, whose election was this day confirmed by the court of aldermen. This speaks strongly in favour of what feelings and principles public opinion preponderates.

14.—The trial of Richard Carlile, bookseller, in Fleet-street, came on this day, in the court of King's Bench, for republishing Paine's Age of Reason, being a blasphemous attack on the holy scriptures. The trial occupied a period of three days; much the greater part of the time was consumed in the defence, the chief object of which was to give currency to the calumnies against the christian religion, which he had brought forward in his various publications. The jury, after retiring half an hour, pronounced the defendant guilty.—This result was anticipated almost with certainty, from the moment that the nature of Mr. Carlile's justification was disclosed: that defence (an undisguised impeachment of the divine authority of the holy scriptures, and a direct charge of falsehood and immorality against them,) was such, as to engage him in an almost uninterrupted altercation with the bench; and on more than three or four occasions excited the marked indignation of the jury. It was gratifying to observe also, that the feeling of disgust excited by this offensive justification was not confined to the judge and jury. From the first day the interest which the public appeared to take in this trial, declined with a rapidity which can be accounted for only by supposing that the defendant's avowal of gross infidelity, effected a general change in the kind disposition, which in this country is rarely withheld from any one who is the object of a state prosecution.

At nine o'clock on the evening of the 14th Carlile was arrested at his house in Fleet-street. The officers remained with him all night.

15.—This morning the second trial of Carlile came on at Guildhall, on an indictment preferred by the society for the suppression of vice, for publishing a profane libel, entitled Palmer's Principles of Nature. Mr. Gurney stated the case, and described the work (which is written by an American) in many parts to exceed for impiety, profaneness, and blasphemy, &c. the writings of Paine, on which the defendant had been already found guilty. Mr. Carlile took the same line of defence as before, which consisted in showing the diversity of opinions that prevailed on the doctrines of

christianity, and the true interpretation of the bible. The judge shortly summed up; and the jury, without retiring, found a verdict of Guilty. Mr. Gurney abandoned the other indictments.

16.—Carlile's third trial for publishing a seditious libel in Sherwin's Register, was postponed to the sittings after term, agreeably to his own request.

21.—The sixth annual meeting of the North Eastern Auxiliary Bible Society was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street. His royal highness the duke of Kent was in the chair. Several gentlemen condemned the false and infamous doctrines lately attempted to be promulgated, to the prejudice of society, and called upon the meeting to unite in their efforts to frustrate such attempts. A liberal subscription was then made.

SNOW IN OCTOBER!

21.—In the course of the night the fall was so great, that the streets this morning were nearly ancle deep: there had been likewise a violent gale from the N.W. visitations very fatal to the trees and shrubs, the branches of which, still abounding in foliage, are in many instances broken down by the wind, and the snow with which they were encumbered. Similar accounts have been received this morning from different parts of the country. In the vale of Aylesbury the snow lies above three feet high. Between Biggleswade and Stevenage the snow fell so thick, as entirely to impede the horses in the different coaches. At Walthamstow, a number of trees were blown up by the roots, and lay across the highway, compelling travellers to go a circuit of several miles. The outside passengers, together with the guards and coachmen, suffered much from the inclemency of the weather.

INGENIOUS THEFT.

A few days back, Mr. Kidder, silversmith, in the Strand, sent a parcel of silver spoons, forks, and other articles, together weighing 108 ounces, to Messrs. Trimlet and Leslie, of Oxendon-street, Haymarket, for the purpose of having them engraved with the crest of a gentleman by whose order they had been manufactured. By some means or other one of those adventurers who are constantly on the look-out in this great metropolis for the means of "raising the wind," discovered this circumstance, and by a well managed trick contrived to get possession of and clear off with the whole of this valuable property. It appears that on the day subsequent to the articles being sent to Messrs. Trimlet and Leslie, a man called at their house, saying he came from Mr. Kidder for the spoons he left there the day before. He was informed that they were not done, but that they would be ready by the next morning. On the following morning, at an early hour, the same person called again, and the servant having conveyed an intimation to her master of the object of his call, a message was sent down that they should be sent home in half an hour. Thus foiled, but not dismayed, the fellow waited about the premises till he saw a boy come out with a bag in which the plate was deposited, and proceed towards Mr. Kidder's. He instantly set off,

off, and taking a circuitous route, met the boy in his course. He stopped him, and, as if in a great hurry, asked him if he was coming from Messrs. Trimlet and Leslie to Mr. Kidder's? The boy answered in the affirmative, when this self-constituted messenger pettishly exclaimed, 'Give me the bag; what are you crawling here for? Don't you know we are in a hurry?' and then seizing the bag, he ran off with the utmost speed. The boy, supposing all was right, returned home, and told his employers that he had delivered the goods to Mr. Kidder's young man. A few hours discovered the cheat; the messenger proved to be a thief, and has not since been discovered.

FATALITY ATTENDING THE HOUSE OF STUART.

The year 88 has been for several centuries fatal to the royal house of Stuart:—James III. on June 11th 1488, lost a battle to his subjects, by whom he was pursued and assassinated. Mary, queen of Scots, was beheaded the 8th February 1588. James II. of England abdicated the throne of Great Britain on the 12th December 1688; and, in the year 1788, the last legitimate male of the house of the Stuart family expired.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Among the prophecies long familiar among the Scottish people, and popularly attributed to *Thomas the Rhymer*, was one—"That when a thistle should be seen to grow from the top of the Fountain-well, in Edinburgh (a stone building after the old fashion), salt would become dearer than meal." In the course of time a thistle was seen to grow from the top of this building, and ere the season of its appearance had elapsed, Mr. Pitt introduced his famous tax on salt, by which the prophecy was even more than realized. Swift has a prophecy somewhat of the same description respecting the *annus mirabilis*, and which to all appearance is as near about its fulfilment:—"When the dragon on the top of Bow-church shall visit the grasshopper on the Royal Exchange, it will show that tremendous transmutations are to be expected." These two ancient emblems are now actually lying in social contact in a builder's yard behind Broad-street.

NOVEMBER.

FRANCE.

The *Moniteur* of the 20th instant announces the following changes in the French ministry:

The baron Pasquier, to be minister of foreign affairs.

The marquis de Latour Maubourg (minister at the court of London), to be minister at war.

M. Roy, to be minister of the finances.

And comte de Cazes, minister of the interior, to be president of the ministry.

The marshal St. Cyr, general Desolles, and M. Louis quit their places.

The *Gazette de France* gives the measure some slight praise, which it introduces by saying—

"Three ministers have fallen; the fact is certain. They have fallen because, although long agreed with M. de Cazes, as to making war upon the royalists, they persisted in going forward; while he, frightened at his own

scheme, appears to have seen a necessity for stopping."

A French jury has convicted two individuals concerned in circulating a translation of Mr. Hobhouse's work, entitled, "The History of the Hundred Days," of thereby publishing an atrocios libel against the French government. M. Regnault Warin, the translator of it, was condemned to twelve months' imprisonment, and a fine of 1000 francs; M. Domerc, a bookseller, aged only nineteen, was sentenced to pay the same fine, and to be imprisoned for half the period.

NETHERLANDS.

The editor of The Journal General of the Netherlands, who has been condemned by the tribunal at Brussels, at the instance of the Spanish minister there, to pay a fine of 500 florins, for having inserted in his Journal the proclamation of the insurgent Spanish colonel Melchior, has determined to appeal from the sentence, as well as from the still more heavy consequence of it, which is by the law a prohibition from printing or publishing any work for the space of three years. The proclamation was copied from the English papers.

SPAIN.

The king of Spain, since his marriage, has granted a partial amnesty for offenders against the laws; but there are too many exceptions from it, to make it be considered as a magnificent act.

Accounts from Irun, however, say, that Ferdinand has at last determined to recall all the civil and military functionaries now in banishment, all voluntary exiles, and even all members of the cortes, called *Liberales*, who were sent to the dungeons of Ceuta; but those Spaniards who have continued to write against his government are not to be suffered to return. Estremadura is represented as perfectly free from freebooters since Melchior, as it is said, has fled into Portugal; and Valencia, Catalonia, and the whole north of Spain, are perfectly tranquil.

The Lancasterian system of education is going on successfully at Madrid.

ITALY.

It appears by accounts from Rome, that the Jesuits have set up a curious, but very earnest claim to the inheritance of the late king of Sardinia. They contend, that, as he died a member of their order, they should inherit his property. The Sardinian minister at Rome is indignant at their audacity.

The papal government lately destroyed Sonine, one of its own towns, which contained before this demolition about 3000 inhabitants, on account of its being a receptacle for banditti.

GERMANY.

Foreign papers state that prince Napoleon, duke of Reichstadt (son of Bonaparte), has been nominated by the emperor Francis coadjutor to the archbishop of Olmutz; and that he leaves Vienna for Olmutz, to reside with his uncle, the cardinal Rudolphus, where three priests of the order of Jesus will take charge of his theological studies.

A valuable present to the duke of Wellington is coming from the king of Saxony, in a magnificent dessert service of Dresden china, on which are painted the duke's victories,

victories, &c.; each plate cost forty dollars.

The following edict of censorship has been published at Hamburg:—

"George, prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, &c. king of Great Britain and Ireland, king of Hanover, &c. We have, in consequence of the resolution adopted with our consent by the German diet, in the sitting of the 20th of September, with reference to the liberty of the press, agreed to the following edict of censorship, published on the 31st of May, 1731." Then follows the edict of 1731, under the reign of George II., which confirms one passed in 1705, under the reign of George, elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. of England. By the former, no work is allowed to be published in the Hanoverian dominions, or sold by Hanoverian booksellers, which has not previously undergone the revision of a censor appointed by government. The publisher's name, and the editor's, if a periodical work, must likewise be mentioned.

"This decree," says the edict, "is hereby renewed and declared binding for the whole of our royal German territories;

"And besides further to order and decree, that no writing shall be either printed, or (if printed out of the country) circulated in our kingdom of Hanover, which does not bear on it the name of the publisher, and in so far as it belongs to the class of newspapers and periodical publications, also the name of the editors. Printed works, in which this regulation is not observed, shall be seized as soon as discovered, and the circulators punished by fine or imprisonment, according to the circumstances of the case.

"It is commanded, that all the authorities of the kingdom of Hanover, whom it may concern, shall pay due regard to this ordinance; and in order that it may be generally known, it shall be inserted in the first division of the collection of the laws."

RUSSIA.

Russia is said to be making rapid strides toward the establishment of a naval power. The number of her ships of war is continually increasing.

TURKEY.

A revolution has occurred in the administration of the Ottoman Porte. The sultan held a grand levee of ministers; and then announced, *sans ceremonie*, that four of them were to be deposed, and a fifth, the grand admiral, strangled!

ASIA.

An earthquake, scarcely to be paralleled in its awful nature and extent, occurred in a part of the world where similar calamities have hitherto been extremely rare. The whole district and territory of Kutch, a country situate to the N. W. of Bombay, including several towns and villages, has been destroyed. The entire city of Bhooj, the capital, has become a heap of ruins, and 2,000 of the inhabitants buried beneath them. Its walls being composed of a stone of a sandy nature, the whole, from the effect of the severe concussion of the earth, crumbled in a mass, obliterating and confounding the site of several of the narrow streets; so that the wretched survivors knew not where to dig,

in order to search for the bodies of their buried friends and relatives. This overwhelming calamity happened on the 16th of June last. The British troops, under the command of sir W. Keir, were encamped in the midst of this terrible convulsion of nature, and saw the city of Bhooj on one side of them, and the fortress of Boojia on the other, wholly destroyed, but escaped, fortunately, without material injury. Among the towns that have suffered, Mandavie, Moondar, Anjar, and Baroda, are more particularly mentioned. The earthquake extended to the northward as far as the city of Armedabad, where its ravages were considerable: two large minarets, one of the gates, and 300 of its houses, were thrown down. It was slightly felt at Poonah, which is nearly 400 miles from Armedabad, the devastation extending widely on each side of the direct line between those cities. The shocks occurred for several days in succession. The first shock, which took place at Baroda, lasted between two and three minutes without intermission: one more happened on the following day, the 17th of June; two on the 18th, and two on the 20th.

According to advices lately received from China, through Mr. Milne, of the London Missionary Society, a general agitation throughout that vast empire threatens to destroy the most ancient government in the world. Secret societies are said to be established throughout China, which a formidable severity has been unable to suppress. In the single province of Canton, 130 persons per month have for some time past perished under the hands of the executioner. Some of the societies bear extraordinary designations; as the White Jackets, Red Beards, and Short Swords.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS.

Extract of a letter from the rev. Mr. Campbell to the secretary.

"Bethelsdorp, July 5.

"We left Caledon Institute on Thursday, the 27th of May, and arrived on the evening of June 2, at Hoogte-Kraal, now called Pacalt's-dorp.

"We were prepared to expect to see great improvements, but what we witnessed greatly surpassed our expectation. Six years ago, when the late Mr. Pacalt arrived at this Kraal of Hottentots, not a field or garden was to be seen, nothing but a few miserable huts, and the inhabitants clothed in tattered sheep-skins. Every thing wore the aspect of extreme wretchedness. Now it is surrounded by a strong wall six feet high, five feet thick at bottom, and two at top, and measures 6,767 feet round. Their inclosures for holding horses, oxen, sheep, &c. measure 938 feet; and those inclosing the gardens 3,396 feet. They have two large artificial pools of water, formed on a declivity with great labour, for affording drink to their cattle; a church capable of containing 200 persons, which is used as a school during the week; with excellent gardens for every family in the settlement, and extensive fields beyond the outer wall, which they purpose inclosing with a wall after the ploughing season is over.

These

These are literally public works, for they are made by the people in a body; men, women, and children assemble, and work together, the missionary judging of the most convenient time for calling them out. All ages working together, makes it not a toil but a pleasure. We saw them build 330 feet in one day.

"When the mission commenced, there was not a yard of cotton cloth to be seen in the kraal; now, on the Lord's day, almost every female in the place of worship is as neatly attired as those of any country congregation in England. They behave with uncommon decorum during the whole time of worship, and retire with stillness and in an orderly manner, the women first, then the men and the boys. Seventy children regularly attend the school; 64 persons, old and young, can read. The employments by which the people support themselves are, wood cutting, needle work, washing at the Drosdy of George, cultivating their gardens, driving waggons to Cape-town for farmers and others: the boys gain much by being ox-leaders in journies to Cape. Five waggons are the property of the people; also about 150 oxen, 100 cows, and 53 calves. There is land cultivated for receiving about 100 sacks of wheat-seed.

"We are likely to remain here for some time, as the roads around are infested with infuriated Caffres, with whom the colony is at war. Besides this obstruction, no men can be obtained to go with us, being absent on commandoes against the Caffres. Several thousand men are in arms for that purpose. Many lives have already been lost, and many more are likely to fall, as they mean in a few days to cross the great fish-river, and enter Caffraria. If the Caffres meet them in the open field, the contest is not likely to continue long; but if they resolve upon bush-fighting, the termination may be distant."

AMERICA, &c.

We copy the following from an American paper lately received. —"It is estimated that there are 20,000 persons daily seeking employment in Philadelphia. In New York 10,000 able-bodied men are said to be wandering the streets daily looking for it; and if we add to them the women who desire something to do, the amount cannot be less than 20,000. In Baltimore there may be about 10,000 persons in unsteady employment, or actually suffering because they cannot get into business. We know several decent men, lately 'good livers,' who now subsist on such victuals as two years ago they would not have given to their servants in the kitchen. Here are 50,000 persons in three cities wholly or partially idle."

The fever has become considerably less violent at Baltimore, and appears to be at an end at New York. At Charleston, for the week ending the 16th ult. there were twenty-three deaths, twelve of which were by the yellow fever.

Extract of a letter from Mr. W. P. Cook, missionary at Otaheite:—"The whole of this group of islands is now perfectly christian; and if we are to judge of their conduct by that of nominal Christians in general, they have vastly the advantage. Theft is

unknown among them; family prayer is set up in every house. The missionaries, sixteen in number, have held their annual meeting. A missionary society has been established, of which the king is president. Three thousand copies of Luke have been published; and ten gallons of cocoa-nut oil is given as the price of each.

Accounts from Panama state, that colonel Rafter, and twelve of the officers taken prisoners at Porto-Bello, have been shot there by orders from the viceroy of Santa Fe.

A document of some singularity, and of considerable interest at the present moment, is in the Orinoco Gazette. It is a proposition from the natives of Ireland, in behalf of themselves and others, and seconded by colonel English, whose name is affixed, to form a colony in the interior of Venezuela, to be called *New Erin*, and its capital *New Dublin*. The boundaries of the settlement are stated in the following terms:—

The boundary on the western bank of the Orinoco will be the river Manamo, from its junction with the Orinoco to the junction of the river Caroni with the Orinoco, including all the islands on the Orinoco between the rivers Manamo and Caroni, and be from the most westerly branch of the same river to the most southerly point of the sound of Barceloneta, and thence running from the said point due west until it meets with the Portuguese Guyana, which will form a southern boundary. The French, Dutch, and English Guyana and the ocean, between the English Guyana and the mouth of Manamo river, or western branch of the Orinoco, will be the north-east boundary.

It appears that this proposal has been laid before the legislature of Venezuela; but with the determination of that body respecting it we are not yet informed.

Advices have been received from Vera Cruz, of the 7th of August, at which time it appears that the whole of the nine millions of specie contracted by Spain to be furnished to Great Britain, had been removed from thence in various ships of war belonging to this country. A small part of it, it is known, has reached London, and has been deposited in the bank of England; while the remainder has been carried to various West India islands, but principally to Jamaica, where it is placed in situations of safety. We do not find that it is ultimately settled, that the offer of the British government, to take ten millions more on the same terms, has been accepted; but the general impression is, that the cabinet of Madrid will acquiesce at a future time, provided the delivery of the specie be not required until the end of 1820. A great many dollars, to the amount, perhaps, of more than a million, were collected at Vera Cruz at the time when these advices came away; they were to be shipped for Spain, on board a Spanish man of war, which was daily expected to arrive.

The St. Thomas's Times of September 28, which has come to hand, brings a confirmation of the capture of Santa Fe and its Spanish treasury, containing half a million of money, by the Venezuelian

guelian army under the command of the president Bolivar. Previous to this important event, three desperate battles were fought: the first on the 1st of July, at Gumza, in the province of Tunja; the second on the 25th of July, at Patano de Barg, near the capital of the same province; and the third on the 7th of August, at Venta Guameda, about 25 leagues from Santa Fe; in which the president totally annihilated the Spanish army under general Barasino. The viceroy fled from Santa Fe on the 9th, leaving all the magazines and the treasury behind him, and Bolivar entered soon after, and dispatched a division to Pampeluna.

We greatly regret to learn, by the Danish vessel Harriet, from St, Thomas's, in 42 days, destined to Hamburg, with tobacco, the melancholy intelligence, that the town of St. Thomas's has been totally destroyed by a hurricane; numbers of the inhabitants killed and wounded by the falling of the houses; and 72 ships, including two Danish men of war, driven ashore, or foundered. The violence of the storm surpassed any thing ever known in that quarter, and extended to Tortola, where also it did considerable damage.

A private letter from St. Thomas's, of the 28th of September, says:—Accounts from the windward state, that the town of Gustavia, in St. Bartholomew's, has been almost completely destroyed by the late hurricane. St. Martin's and St. Eustatia have also suffered severely. At Martinique, we understand, the sea was very high, and in consequence several vessels were driven on shore; but the wind being moderate, the island did not suffer any material injury.

As three of the young gentlemen from the grammar school, in Broad-street, Bath, were amusing themselves on the brow of Lansdown, with flying a paper kite, made in imitation of a huge bird, a large hawk was perceived to approach it gradually, with much apparent caution. After having made a few circles round it at some distance, the bird suddenly elevated itself to a considerable height, and when perpendicularly over the kite, pounced down upon it with great rapidity. The flight of the paper kite was immediately stopped, and falling to the ground with the bird, it was perceived that the latter had entangled its claws in the string which crossed the body of the kite, and not being able to disengage itself, they ran to take it prisoner. This, however, was found to be more difficult than expected, as the bird defended itself with so much courage and resolution, that their hands were severely lacerated; and it was only with the assistance of a labourer who was at work in an adjacent field, that it was secured. It proved to be a large sparrow hawk, and is now alive and well, in a garden in Sion Hill.

REMARKABLE INSTANCE OF CANINE SAGACITY.

The wind blowing strong occasioned a heavy swell on Yarmouth Beach, by which a boat moored to the jetty, with one man on board, was upset; at this instant a dog (belonging to Mr. W. H. Smith) leaped into the sea and after a considerable struggle, succeeded in drawing the man from

from under the boat, and supported him till a fortuitous wave actually threw him on its bottom, whence he was taken by a rope from the jetty. The dog then swam after the oars and the man's hat, which he severally brought to the shore. This is the third time of this dog performing the same act; having before rescued a child, six years old, from the river.

At a general meeting of the subscribers to the deaf and dumb institution, Birmingham, Mr. T. Braidwood, the master of the asylum, having respectfully signified his intention to retire, in order to superintend his sister's establishment at Edgbaston, and to devote his whole time to private pupils; but having at the same time (with a liberality which reflected on him the highest honour) professed his readiness to remain until he should have imparted to his successor a knowledge of the mode of instruction sufficient to enable the latter to undertake the arduous office:—in testimony of their full approbation of Mr. Braidwood's conscientious and zealous services, the governors unanimously voted to that gentleman a piece of plate of the value of 20*l.* to be adorned with a suitable inscription.

A melancholy accident happened in Kell's-pit, near Whitehaven, by an explosion of firedamp, in which twenty persons were unfortunately killed.—This dreadful occurrence was owing to neglecting to use the Davy lamp.

The Kentish Gazette observes, that much damage has been done by the late high tides at the ancient station of Reculver. The stone pavement has, in many intervals along the whole extent, been displaced, and has sunk into large holes in the sand; so that this venerable work of defence is in great danger. Considerable portions of the ground on the edge of the cliffs, along the coast in that vicinity, have also given way, from the high tides having penetrated into their bases; and should the spring tides of the approaching winter be attended with strong northerly winds, it is feared much land will be lost on that part of the Kentish coast.

The judges lately decided that Margate pier ought to be rated to the poor.

There have been lately found, by some workmen employed in lowering and repairing an elevated part of the Roman Watling-street road, within a mile of Wibtoft, county of Leicester, near the surface of a bed of clay, about 50 human skeletons, one of them of an extraordinary size, together with several weapons, nearly half a yard long, double-edged, and terminating in a point, which appear to have been fastened to stakes: also some gauntlets, and a woman's earrings.

The net receipts of the late grand musical festival at Edinburgh, which are to be appropriated to charitable purposes, amount to full thirteen thousand pounds.

RE-INTERMENT OF THE BODY OF KING ROBERT BRUCE,

Dunfermline, Nov. 5.

This day the grave of Robert Bruce was re-opened, and inspected in the presence of the right honourable the lord chief baron, the honourable baron Clerk Rattray, Henry Jardine, Esq., king's remembrancer, and other gentlemen of distinction, attracted by

by curiosity to the scene, together with the provost and magistrates of the burgh, many of the heritors and ministers of the parish, and a numerous assemblage of inhabitants of town and country. Considerable alterations were observed to have taken place since the first inspection in February 1818; the ribs of the body, which were then in their natural position, having collapsed, and most of the shroud with which the body was enwrapped being consumed. A point, on which much diversity of opinion had been entertained since the first opening of the grave, was now settled—that the shroud was above, not under the lead; sanctioning the supposition that the body may have lain in state previous to interment, when this rich covering, consisting of fine damask cloth, interwoven with gold, would be exhibited; as also, that it had been inclosed in a wooden coffin, when laid in the tomb, of which some vestiges, as formerly noticed, remained. It was clearly ascertained that the body had been embalmed, agreeably to historical record, for part of the sternum, or breast bone, was found, that had been separated to facilitate the removal of the heart, which was further confirmed by the discovery near the grave of an oblong leaden box, which, in all likelihood, contained the entrails. The lead that inclosed the body was laid open, so as to expose to full view the whole skeleton, of the length of which, as well as of the several parts, exact measurements were taken. The body was five feet ten inches in length, which, when in life, might have been upwards of six. The head attracted particular notice. It was disjoined from the body, and held up to the admiring gaze of the spectators, during which it was pleasing to observe a solemn stillness reign, betokening the feelings of reverential awe, awakened by the recollection of the noble spirit that once animated it, contrasted with the present humiliation of its mortal tenement. The scull was quite entire, and perfectly firm The teeth on the under jaw were all remaining, but a few on the upper jaw were wanting. It was properly cleaned, and two excellent casts taken from it, which will afford materials for the craniological inquirer, as well as gratify the curiosity of thousands who had not an opportunity of seeing the lifeless original. The medical gentlemen were particularly struck with finding the angles of the lower maxillary or chaft bones remarkably acute. They also noticed with surprise the small and delicate bone, *hyoides*, which supports the tongue, in a state of great preservation. The cartilages, too, belonging to the *larynx*, on the top of the wind-pipe, as well as some of those of the *sternum*, still existed. Every necessary inspection being made, and the head replaced, the body was raised from the spot on which it had reposed undisturbed for near five centuries, and together with the box before alluded to, and some of the newspapers and coins of the day, inclosed in lead, put into a new leaden coffin, prepared for the purpose, which was returned to its original position. The coffin was then completely filled with hot pitch, to exclude the air, and to more effectually promote the preservation of the bones. This precaution, however, was considered

sidered by many unnecessary, while it was abhorrent to the feelings of almost all. On the lid of the coffin was this simple inscription:—"ROBERT BRUCE, 1329, 1819."

LONGEVITY.

There is at present living in Biggar, an old man of the name of David Loch, a dealer in horses for the food of hounds, who in 1745 entered into the service of prince Charles, having accompanied Mr. Murray, of Broughton, then acting as secretary to the prince. He was present at most of the battles wherein the rebels were engaged, and at the battle of Prestonpans lost the thumb of his left hand. He received four wounds at the battle of Culloden, and was left for dead by the king's troops, but found means to get off, and made the best of his way home, having passed through the middle of the royal army, concealed in a cart-load of straw. He has still in his possession an iron pistol of curious workmanship, which was presented to him by Mr. Murray, and which he takes great delight in exhibiting, as well as recounting his martial achievements, and is still warmly attached to the Stuart family. Although he is now 99 years of age, he reads the smallest print without the assistance of glasses, and his memory is so retentive, that he is often resorted to as a witness in disputes about old events. About five months ago, he buried his third wife, and declares he will not marry again, lest he should not live to see his children settled in the world.

A WHALE IN THE RIVER SEVERN.

The Gloucester paper says—"This extraordinary phenomenon was witnessed on Monday morning (Nov. 8) in our river, where a whale was left by the ebb-tide, on the sands between Awre and Frampton. It was first discovered by some men, whose notice was attracted by the force and velocity with which it was lashing and throwing up the water with its tail, on finding itself hampered by the receding of the tide. So singular an object attracted a great concourse of people; and as soon as it could be approached with safety, a general scramble took place; and this immense carcase was severed into such portions as could be effected by the use of those implements most readily obtained, and carried away; by the next morning parts of the flesh of this hapless animal were distributed all over the country. This fish had proceeded about twenty-five miles from the mouth of the river in one tide, and we believe, is the first that has been found so far from its native element. Its dimensions were—in length 60 feet, breadth 10 feet, width of the tail 12 feet, the upper jaw 9 feet, and the lower 10 feet long, and the carcase supposed to be nearly 50 tons weight. C. Clifford, esq. of Frampton, the lord of the manor, has secured the jaw-bones for the purpose of forming a gateway on his estate."

Waterford, Nov. 6.

On Sunday evening, the 31st ult. Henry St. George, esq. brother of sir Richard St. George, was most inhumanly murdered and cut to pieces by a banditti, near his own house, within a few miles of Athlone. He had been lately active in putting down riband men. His cousin, Mansergh

sergh St. George, was murdered in 1798.

Ireland, Nov. 10.

The clerkship of the pleas, &c. which has long engaged general attention, was finally disposed of; letters patent having passed the great seal, nominating Joseph Farran, esq. to the situation, who for many years filled the office of deputy.

A proclamation has been issued by the lord lieutenant of Ireland, declaring the county of Roscommon to be in a state of disturbance, and requiring an extraordinary establishment of police.

Windsor Castle, Nov. 6, 1819.

"His majesty has passed the last month in great tranquillity, but without any diminution of his disorder. His majesty's bodily health continues to be good, under the circumstances of his advanced age."

It will doubtless be noticed, that the preceding bulletin differs materially from the series of medical reports for a considerable time past. We see now, with all the regret that the memory of the virtues and goodness of our venerable king must excite in every heart and mind, that his constitution at length begins to yield to the pressure of age. His majesty is in the 82nd year of his age, and has entered upon the sixtieth year of his reign,—a reign now longer in its duration, by nearly four years, than that of any former sovereign on the English throne; that of Henry III. being barely 56 years.

1.—This morning, between one and two o'clock, as a patrole was going the rounds in Whitechapel, he saw smoke issuing from the windows of the house of a Mr. Aaron Oram, linendraper, opposite the London Hospital. He sprung his rattle for assistance; but before any one arrived, the lower part of the house was enveloped in flames. Mr. Oram, Mrs. Oram, and their son (a youth of 17 years of age,) threw themselves out of a two pair of stairs window. Mrs. Oram was caught by the watchman, and received but trifling injury; Mr. Oram escaped most miraculously without any fracture of his limbs; the son unfortunately had his leg broken. The servants and seven of the children were taken out of the windows of the upper stories. When the seventh child was taken from the window, the flame and smoke rushed in volumes from the upper part of the premises; and the servant man, who was on the ladder for the purpose of assisting the three remaining children from the burning pile, was compelled, to save his own life, to slide down the ladder, leaving the little unfortunate creatures at the window crying for relief, which no human power could render them. One boy, six years, another seven years, and a third, nine years of age, perished in the flames. The house of Mrs. Ross was also destroyed, and no property saved. The body of one of Mrs. Oram's children was dug out of the ruins on Monday morning, burnt to a cinder. —A singular circumstance occurred during the above fire. A young Essex farmer who had a peculiar dread of a London fire, arrived the preceding day at a friend's house opposite (being his first visit to London), awakened from a sound sleep by the cry of "Fire, fire! Save the children!"

He,

He, in his alarm, supposing the house he was in to be on fire, rushed into the adjoining room, where he fancied his friend's children might be, seized on the first person he met, which happened to be the maid-servant, and actually hurried her into the street before he came to his recollection.

6.—A court of aldermen resolved to prosecute alderman Waithman, sheriff Parkins, and Messrs. Thompson, Bumstead, Hunt, and others, for a conspiracy to obstruct the election of a lord mayor, at Guildhall, on Michaelmas-day last.

9.—Being lord mayor's day, the pageant of the civic procession to Westminster-hall, to swear in the new lord mayor, was observed with all its customary grandeur. At a quarter before twelve o'clock, his lordship set out from the Mansion-house in his state coach, drawn by six horses, splendidly caparisoned; the liveries of the postillions and footmen richly embroidered with gold lace. The lord mayor's coach was preceded by a troop of the horse guards in full uniform, and by bearers carrying the richly-ornamented flags of the barges of the several civic companies. The first coach in order after the new lord mayor's, was that of the late chief magistrate, Mr. alderman Atkins. We are concerned to notice the uncourteous reception which the late lord mayor received from the populace. Hisses and cries resounded on all sides, and some miscreant threw a brickbat into his coach as he passed along Bridge-street. The worthy alderman, we are happy to state, received no injury.—The party, having taken water at Blackfriars-bridge, proceeded in the barges to Westminster. The usual ceremonies being gone through, the procession returned to Guildhall, where the dinner was in the most sumptuous style. The tables were laid in the usual way. The cross table elevated at the eastern end of the hall, made a brilliant display of royal and ministerial grandeur, including his royal highness the duke of York, the cabinet ministers, viz. the duke of Wellington, lords Sidmouth, Harrowby, Westmoreland, Castlereagh, Bathurst, Mr. W. Pole, &c.; the French and Spanish ambassadors; the judges Abbott, Richards, Best, &c. The ball was opened with a minuet, by the Spanish ambassador and Miss Atkins, daughter of the late lord mayor. The hall was crowded to excess. Tables were laid for the surplus guests in the adjoining apartments. Upwards of 1000 sat down to dinner; and the supply of champaign, claret, and Madeira, was unlimited.

10.—This morning, about four o'clock, a fire was discovered to have broken out on the premises of Messrs. Severn, King, and co., sugar-brokers, Church-lane, White-chapel. It broke out in the sugar-refinery; the amount of injury sustained is, we are assured from competent authority, estimated at 80,000*l.*, and the amount ensured at the different fire-offices is about 65,000*l.* There was a ten horse steam-engine on the premises; but it has been clearly ascertained that the mischief was not occasioned by it, as it remains in a perfect state.

THE

THE NAVY.

The following is a correct return of ships building, and ordered to be built, in the several dock-yards, with the number of guns they are intended to carry :—

PLYMOUTH.		DEPTFORD.		WOOLWICH.	
2	of 20 guns	1	of 84 guns	2	of 60 guns
1	104	1	74	4	46
1	74	1	60	2	28
1	60	6	46	4	10 slps.
1	50	2	28	PORTSMOUTH.	
3	46	3	10 slps.	1	of 104 guns
2	28	2 bombs.		2	74
3	10 slps.	PEMBROKE.		1	60
2 bombs		2	of 84 guns	4	46
1 cutter.		6	48	2	28
CHATHAM.		2	28	1	20
1	of 120 guns	4	10 slps.	3	10 slps.
1	106	1 bomb		SHEERNESS.	
2	84	1 cutter.		2 sloops of 10 guns.	
5	46	WOOLWICH.		BOMBAY.	
3	28	1	of 84 guns	2	of 84 guns
3	10 slps.	1	80	1	74
1 bomb.		1	74	1	46

Total.—3 of 120 guns, 1 of 106, 2 of 104, 8 of 84, 1 of 80, 6 of 74, 5 of 60, 1 of 50, 29 of 46, 13 of 28, 1 of 20, 22 sloops of 10, 6 bombs, 2 cutters.—Grand total 100.

DECEMBER.

FRANCE.

The French king opened the session of parliament, Nov. 29, with the customary imposing ceremonies. Being seated on the throne, surrounded by the princes of his house, the ministers, marshals, peers, and deputies, with a brilliant assembly of ladies in the galleries, his majesty delivered the speech, which is of a domestic, and in general of a satisfactory character. Plenty, he states, reigns throughout France. Agriculture and the arts, both elegant and useful, flourish. The laws are executed without difficulty. The finances are equal to the public wants. His majesty nevertheless, from a certain uneasiness which seems to prevail throughout the nation, suggests such a change in the constitution of the chamber of deputies, as shall exempt it from yearly tumult and agitation, and infuse more consistency into the conduct of the state. (It is intended to make the elections septennial, and to double the present number of deputies.) The king adds, that when he has done all this, his great work of the charter will have been completed.—The king received a warm and affectionate

tionate reception from all ranks of his subjects during his passage from the Thuilleries, and on his entrance to and departure from the hall. Some cries, it is reported, of *Vive la charte* were mingled with those of *Vive le roi.* Several new-made peers and deputies took the oaths after his majesty had ceased to speak; but the abbé Gregoire was not among them, nor did he appear in his sovereign's presence.

Journals announce, that the committee of the chamber of deputies, to whom was referred the consideration of the election of the notorious regicide, the abbé Gregoire, have decided that he is not duly elected; the department which chose him not having complied with the 42d article of the charter, which requires that a certain portion of the members returned by every department, shall have their political domicile therein.—The chamber confirmed this report, and the abbé is therefore excluded.—The affair produced much confusion in the chamber.

M. Ravez has been appointed president of the chamber of deputies. Party spirit, out of doors, runs, if possible, higher than ever since the rejection of M. Gregoire. The present royalists have not all come with clean hands out of the revolution, any more than their adversaries; and hence private history is raked up on both sides with malignant industry. M. Laine, for instance, now an ardent royalist, is charged with having been the courtier and flatterer of the notorious Cambaceres in 1808, and with having paraded the streets of Bourdeaux in a red jacobin cap in 1793.

A circular has been addressed by the marquis de Latour Maubourg, the minister of war, to the lieutenant-generals, &c. commanding divisions, and to colonels of regiments, complaining of the circulation of seditious publications amongst the soldiers in several garrisons, and directing the utmost vigilance to be used to prevent this evil, and to maintain discipline and subordination.

On Dec. 20, M. Roy, the minister of finance, submitted to the chamber of deputies a projet for authorising the provisional collection of six-twelfths of the direct taxes for the ensuing year, which was ordered to be referred to the bureaux. The minister afterwards went into a detailed explanation of certain heads of the finances, beginning with the subject of arrears still unliquidated.—He announced, that the total expense under the budget of 1818, ending 1st of Sept. 1819, was 1,415,688,762 fs.; and the deficit of ways and means, 35,854,351f. to be borrowed from the resources of the present year. Next, that during the four years, 1815, 16, 17, 18, the expenditure which France had to bear, was 4,144,000,000 francs (upwards of 43,000,000*l.* sterling per annum); of which only about 120,000*l.* is wanting to complete the means of discharging every part of her engagements; and this sum is already provided for from collateral sources. This highly favourable declaration produced a lively movement of satisfaction among the deputies. Of the above sum, more than three-fourths were furnished by taxation; the remainder only by credit. The sole trace of the past misfortunes of France will be the debt which she has contracted;

tracted; and of that above 14,000,000 have already been paid off; besides which, there is an unimpaired and accumulating sinking fund. M. Roy finished by pledging his word to the chamber, that there is nothing in the present situation of the finances, or in the prospects connected with them, which leads to anticipate any obstacles toward realizing all the blessings of which the harmony that he recommends to them ought to be productive.

The most recent French journals bring the result of an important discussion in the chamber of deputies on the projet of the ministers for a provisional grant of one half of the taxes for the current year.—It appears, that, the projet being referred to a committee, they recommend that only four-twelfths be granted instead of six-twelfths. This suggestion was supported by M. la Bourdonnaye, who opened the debate, and who argued that the ministry were deserving of no confidence, and were therefore to be trusted as little as possible. M. Froc de la Boulaye, who followed, confined his speech entirely to the question; contending, that the finances of France were in a situation to excite the envy of their enemies, and to exalt them in the estimation of their friends; he voted for the six-twelfths. M. Mechin, on the other hand, maintained, that when constitutional rights were called in question, it was not a moment to give new arms to power. M. Roy, the minister of finance, argued, that this measure was rendered absolutely necessary by the rejection last session of the financial project proposed by the ministers. M. Demarcay was so ill disposed to place any confidence whatever in the ministers, that he proposed to reduce the grant to two-twelfths. The count de Cazes, in explanation, in allusion to those who, as he said, pretended to be the exclusive defenders of liberty, observed, that liberty could only exist by means of the throne, and with it. M. Manuel, admitting that a constitutional throne was the true support of liberty, advised the ministers not to forget, that, without liberty, there would no longer be any solid support for the throne. The discussion having been closed, there appeared in favour of the projet, 137; against it, 79; majority, 58. The projet was therefore adopted.

The Paris papers of the 29th and 30th have been received. On the 28th, the chamber of peers agreed to the projet de loi for the provisional collection of six-twelfths of the taxes, according to the assessments of 1819.

After this business had been dispatched, a report was made by the committee of petitions. One of the petitions, from a sieur de Vincens, praying that the law of the 16th January 1816, which banished the regicides, might be repealed as unconstitutional, incurred the high indignation of the peers; which they manifested by ordering the petition to be taken out of the chamber and torn to pieces: and it was further resolved, on the motion of marshal the prince of Eckmuhl (Davoust), that the committee should, for the future, take no notice whatever of any petitions of a similar character.

NETHERLANDS.

A warm and interesting debate has taken place in the states general upon the budget. The great

principle contended for by the leading members of what is called the popular party was, to bring the expenditure within the income of the country.—"If," says a member, "we are not able to cover our expenses in a time of profound peace, what shall we do in time of war?" It appears, that out of the five projets proposed by the government, four were rejected.

ITALY.

Accounts from Naples state, that Vesuvius is now in full eruption. The direction of the lava is, fortunately, such as to allay all apprehensions for the neighbouring country.

GERMANY.

The emperor of Austria has subscribed 2000f. towards the erection of a monument to M. Malesherbes.

The once-noted general Mack has been reinstated by the emperor in all his offices and dignities, and has been received at court.

RUSSIA.

Letters from St. Petersburg to the 30th of November (N.S.) state, that the emperor Alexander, apprehensive that the morals of his people would be injured by reading the account of Carlisle's trial, had given directions to the police to prevent the introduction of all the English newspapers which contain it.

The Russian government prohibits any of the circulating medium going out of the country; whether paper money of the empire, or specie.

SWEDEN.

The king of Sweden has ordered 100 medals to be struck in gold, silver, and copper, in honour of 100 individuals of all nations who have contributed to the civilization and improvement of mankind.

ASIA.

An American journal says, "The emperor of China, it appears, has been very much alarmed and annoyed by the appearance of a hurricane. In his royal Gazette, he has thought proper to censure the astrologers belonging to his court, for not having foretold this event in their almanacks. His astrologers, in reply to some queries propounded by his majesty, declared that this hurricane was occasioned by the dismissal of his favourite minister. The explanation was rejected by his majesty, as an interference with his royal prerogative; and they received his majesty's commands to try their hands at another interpretation of the phenomenon. The mathematical board presented their solutions, and stated, that if the whirlwind was accompanied with dust, it showed that there were dissentions between the sovereign and his ministers. This explanation was intended, we presume, to make a whirlwind of his majesty, and dust of his ministers. This is the nation whose example has been so often cited by visionary theorists, as furnishing a proper mode for American adoption."

The Calcutta Journal says, "Several months ago, in the vicinity of Chandernagore, a female victim was immolated on the funeral pile, under circumstances peculiarly affecting. She was a young woman, who had been recently betrothed to a young man of the same town. Every thing was prepared for the celebration of the nuptials, which had been fixed

fixed for the next day; the relations of both parties had arrived from a distance to honour the marriage with their presence; and the circle of their friends already enjoyed in anticipation the festivities which the approaching day would usher in. On the preceding evening, however, the bridegroom was taken ill of the *cholera morbus*, and in a few hours was a lifeless corpse. Information being conveyed of the melancholy event to the bride, she instantly declared her determination to ascend the funeral pile of her betrothed lord: a long debate was thereon held between the relations of the bride and the priests, respecting the legality of the act; the result of which was, that in such case the Shasters, considering the bride as bound to her husband by the vow she had taken, permitted a voluntary immolation on the funeral pile. The next day, therefore, instead of the music and joy which had been anticipated, the bride was led to the banks of the Ganges, amid the silent grief of her friends and relatives, and burnt with the dead body of her intended husband."

A new island has been lately formed in the upper part of the Bay of Bengal, by a rapid accretion of the alluvion or soil, made along the shores of the large rivers of the Indian continent. The island is nothing at present but a sand-bank; but it is continually receiving such additions as will gradually render it a spacious tract. It was not visible four or five years ago, and it was only discovered, together with the canal, by vessels trading to Saugur, about the latter end of 1816. The situation is 21° 35′ of latitude, and 88° 20′ of longitude east of Greenwich: this position is precisely that which has been indicated in the maps as the bank of Saugur, at the eastern extremity of the upper part of the island of that name. Its formation between the mouths of the Houghly and the canal of the bay, may well enough account for its origin. There being two considerable mouths of rivers, with rapid currents rushing into the sea, both east and west, there must have long been a submarine agglomeration, which has now risen above the surface of the ocean, and must increase under the protection of the continental lands that lie between those two arms of the Ganges.—In some parts the island is covered with the dung of birds, which becomes a kind of manure for the soil. Myriads of small crabs cover the northern coast, and their visits are productive of some utility. The central part of the island looks at a distance like a green lawn, dazzling to the view: herbage has taken root here, and there are a number of tufts of long cass (*saccharum spontaneum*) that thrive very well."

The prime minister of the late king of Candy is now a prisoner in the fort of Colombo, at Ceylon; his name is Ellepoley, a fine intelligent-looking man, and possessed of considerable talents: his title is that of an adjar. Others of the Candian chief people have been sent to the Isle of France, in the Liverpool frigate; and many inferior ones are in prison in different parts of the island of Ceylon. The king of Candy has been a prisoner at Vellore, on the continent of India, some time.

Accounts from Mauritius de-

scribe the slave trade as carried on there to a very great extent; and that quite in defiance of public authorities.

Madras Gazettes to the 21st of August have been received. The principal inhabitants of this presidency held a public meeting; at which it was resolved, among other marks of their high estimation of the services of the governor-general, to present him with a diamond star. The noble marquis, however, with a rare spirit of disinterestedness, has declined this splendid testimonial of their regard, and expressed himself contented with the intention of thus manifesting it. The noble marquis had been slightly indisposed. —Sir T. Hislop arrived at Madras on the 29th of June.—The marchioness of Hastings arrived at Calcutta on the 19th of June, in the company's ship Waterloo; having sailed from England on the 2d of last March.

AFRICA.

By the Hottentot, captain Taylor, arrived in 59 days from the Cape of Good Hope, intelligence has been received of the total defeat of the Caffre forces, and of the capture and defeat of the principal leaders. The Hottentot landed dispatches for government at Dover. On the day before she sailed, the governor (lord Charles Somerset) and suite embarked on board his majesty's brig Redwing, for Algoa Bay; for the purpose, as is supposed, of making terms of peace with the savages, and fixing the future boundary of their country in the direction of the colony.

By the Dutch ship Governor, Bille, which arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 10th of September, from Batavia, advices are received that an insurrection among the natives of Palemban (or the south-east coast of Sumatra) had taken place, and that they had murdered all the Dutch settlers except Mr. Muntinghe, the superintendant, who fortunately escaped.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

Intelligence has been received of a hurricane at Barbadoes, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of October, more dreadful than any that has occurred in the island since 1780.—The town was deluged, and bridges and buildings carried away by the resistless torrents.—On the plantations, the storm of wind tore up the canes by the roots; many houses were also blown down, and other considerable damage was done.—At Foster-hall estate, near Joe's-river, some singular and awful phenomena occurred. Several of the buildings sunk under the earth, and were totally destroyed; and a house, where a flock of sheep and some cattle were lodged, was swallowed up, and entirely lost. A wood adjoining, suddenly moved down to the spot where Foster-hall buildings stood, and a field of canes took possession of a spot where a field of potatoes had been, and which slid into the sea. A sinking of the earth occurred in other parts of the island. The damage among the shipping was considerable; several of the vessels rode out the gale. Some lives were lost, but not so many as might have been expected.

A letter from Nevis dated Oct. 20, arrived from a most respectable quarter, states, that the whole of the kingdom of New Granada is in the hands of the Patriots. On the

the 11th of September a general insurrection of the Creoles took place at Santa Fe, the capital. All the Spaniards were murdered, the governor and a few officers of the government excepted; and they were compelled to fly in such haste as to leave every thing behind them, both public and private property. This occurred previous to the entry of Bolivar into the city, which took place about seven days afterwards. He found in the city a treasure amounting to two millions and a half of dollars. In the Oronoco Gazettes, the details of Bolivar's military career, in his advance on the capital of New Granada, are contained. The most important battle was fought at a place called Baucha; the action, though not on so large a scale as that of Maipo, fought last year in Chili, bears some resemblance to it in its results, and was equally decisive in favour of the patriots. The force of the royalists consisted of 3000 men, and of this number only fifty are said to have escaped. Beraida, the Spanish general, together with the second in command, were killed; and 1600 were taken prisoners.

By a letter from St. Vincent's of the 23d of October it appears that St. Lucia had also suffered very severely by the hurricane that did so much mischief at Barbadoes.

On the 4th ult. a fire broke out at Wilmington, North Carolina, which destroyed about 300 houses, and occasioned a loss of property to the amount of 1,000,000 of dollars. Only one life was lost, that of a captain Farquhar M'Rae, who was crushed to atoms by the fall of a house, into which he had ventured, to save the property of a neighbour. The fire was strongly suspected to have been the work of an incendiary.

A fire had also broken out in the forests of the Dismal Swamp, in New Jersey, in the latter end of October, and continued burning at the date of the latest accounts from that quarter. It had already destroyed about 3,000 acres of timber.

The St. Louis Gazette, after giving some account of the testimonies existing in support of the opinion that there is now inhabiting the southern branches of the Missouri, a race of men descended from the Welch emigrants, who embarked, to the number of 327 persons, in ten vessels, under prince Madoc, in A. D. 1170, from North Wales, mentions, that an expedition is now on foot for a thorough investigation of the fact. The persons engaged in the undertaking are Messrs. Roberts and Parry, Welchmen, who speak the language of North and South Wales: it is said, they are industrious, persevering men, and that they will pursue the search as long as the probability of a discovery exists.

Advices from Halifax, of the 18th of November, state, that on the 11th of that month the naval hospital in that town was consumed by fire, owing to the carelessness of one of the nurses, who unhappily fell a victim to the flames. Fortunately, there was but one patient in the hospital, and he escaped. The loss is estimated at 48,000 dollars.

Halifax papers to the 5th inst. inform us, that the earl of Dalhousie had received his appointment to be governor-general of his majesty's dominions in North

America, in the room of the late duke of Richmond. Lieutant-general sir James Kempt succeeds the earl of Dalhousie as governor of Nova Scotia.

Letters from New Orleans to the 25th November state, that the fever of that place, although somewhat mitigated in its malignity, still raged; making the town, as it were, a grave-yard. The sextons of that city, in a report to the mayor, state, that upwards of 1,200 bodies were deposited in the grave-yards in the course 60 days.

Letters from St. Thomas, of the 27th, with inclosures from Margarita, of the 9th October mention that great disease prevailed in Margarita; where general English had died, as well as several other British.

AWFUL STORM AT MONTREAL.

The dark and thick weather which was experienced in this city some time back, it appears from the papers, extended throughout the United States, as well as the neighbouring provinces. In the district of Maine, the darkness was very great at times, during which period there were occasional peals of thunder and very vivid lightning. The appearance of the firmament was awfully grand and terrific, which excited unpleasant sensations, and gave rise to the most fearful apprehensions in the minds of many persons. In Montreal also, the darkness was very great, particularly on a Sabbath morning, the whole atmosphere appeared as covered with a thick haze of a dingy orange colour, during which, rain fell of a dark inky appearance, and apparently impregnated with some black substance, resembling soot. At this period many conjectures were afloat, among which, that a volcano had broken out in some distant quarter. The weather after this became pleasant, until the Tuesday following, when, at 12 o'clock, a heavy damp vapour enveloped the whole city, when it became necessary to light candles in all the houses; the stalls of the butchers were also lighted. The appearance was awful and grand in the extreme. A little before three o'clock, a slight shock of an earthquake was felt, accompanied with a noise resembling the distant discharge of artillery. It was now that the increasing gloom engrossed universal attention; at twenty minutes past three, when the darkness seemed to have reached its greatest depth, the whole city was instantaneously illuminated by the most vivid flash of lightning ever witnessed in Montreal, immediately followed by a peal of thunder, so loud and near, as to shake the strongest buildings to their foundations, which was followed by other peals, and accompanied by a heavy shower of rain of the colour above described.—After four P. M. the heavens began to assume a brighter appearance, and fear gradually to subside. Between four and five, it was discovered that the steeple of the French church in Notre Dame-street was on fire; the flames were seen issuing from the top of the spire, which, through the haze, had the appearance of a light-house seen far at sea. A small engine was taken up the steeple, and the fire extinguished after great exertions, between eight and nine at night. At eight o'clock the iron crucifix fell with a most tremendous crash, and broke in several pieces.

In "Warden's account of the United

United States," under the head of "New Hampshire," is the following passage in reference to the constitution of that state:—"As all political institutions are liable to injury from gradual changes and encroachments, it is provided, that the constitution of this state shall, every seven years, be submitted to the revision of the whole qualified voters, that it may be purged of any abuses that have crept in, and brought back to its first principles." It thus appears, that our American brethren have a septennial reform: but Mr. Warden does not state how this purgation has hitherto operated.

Accounts have been received from Valparaiso of the 15th August. An express had just reached that place from Buenos Ayres, with news that a Spanish squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and three frigates, had been discovered off the Cape de Verd islands, on the 30th of June, destined for Lima. This information had created a considerable sensation at Valparaiso; and it was then determined, that the expedition under lord Cochrane, having on board 4,000 Congreve rockets, should put to sea as soon as possible, in order to make a second attack on Lima, previous to the arrival of the squadron above mentioned; and it was expected that it would get under weigh by the 2d of September. His lordship had shown himself extremely well inclined to the British interest in those seas; and, by his advice, the government of Chili had allowed all British vessels to go in and out of the ports on the south-west coast, under blockade, while those of other nations were not allowed to have any intercourse whatever with them. Trade, it is said, was improving at Valparaiso, where there was a pretty considerable quantity of specie collected; a portion of which was destined for this country, but was detained from the want of proper conveyances.

Some of the American papers are full of complaints and menaces against lord Cochrane, for having confiscated a large sum in dollars (142,000) being the proceeds of the cargo of the American brig Macedonian, which had been sold, as is alleged, at Lima, to the Spanish Phillippine company. The American captain, on getting away from lord Cochrane, asserts, that his lordship kept him a prisoner until he had signed a certificate that the money was Spanish property; although he (the captain) had repeatedly assured his lordship that it belonged to American citizens.—Documents, it is said, substantiating this statement, had been transmitted to the American vice-consul at Valparaiso.

Accounts from Rio Janeiro, of the 6th of October, state, that the inhabitants of Monde Video, under the apprehension of Spain dispatching an expedition to the river Plate, sent a deputation to the king of the Brazils, to know if they were to be given up to Spain. The king, in return, assured them of their perfect security under the Portuguese government.

The Jamaica papers contain a narrative of another expedition by M'Gregor, which failed, no less disgracefully than that of Porto Bello. The present relation is signed by a few of the surviving victims of an ill-judged attack upon Rio de la Hache, a town of

New Granada, to the westward of the Gulf of Maracaybo. With 200 men, the remnant of more than 1,200 brave English soldiers, who had mostly perished through hunger or disease, M'Gregor sailed from Aux Cayes for the abovementioned Spanish town. The place was gained, though with the loss of nearly one-third of our unfortunate countrymen; and lost after a very few days; when hardly one of them escaped the edge of the sword. The commander-in-chief remained on board his ship until after the first action ended, and betook himself to sea again before the second began; never having seen blood drawn, nor heard a shot fired throughout the whole expedition. Eight officers, including colonel Norcott, who had hitherto bravely headed the troops, abandoned their unworthy leader at Rio de la Hache, and published the statement to which we refer; as a protest against the conduct of M'Gregor, and an exposure of his character and pretensions to the world.—Killed, wounded, and missing—Major Atkinson, lieutenants Middleton and Halpin, and 20 rank and file killed.—Colonel de Lima, colonel Beridge, and captain Metosa; lieutenants West, Upton, Gahan, Moran, Lafey, Cray, Cavannah, Mitchell, Mullion, and Suter, and adjutant Smith, and 31 rank and file, wounded.—Captain Maher, lieutenant Conway, and 4 rank and file, missing.

Letters from Jamaica, Oct. 23, represent the late sickness in that island as more severe than any felt for twenty years past—troops lost, 500 rank and file, exclusive of officers.

The following address from the university of Oxford was presented

"To his royal highness the Prince Regent.

"We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university of Oxford, beg leave to approach your royal highness in this alarming and awful state of our country, with renewed assurances of our zealous attachment to his majesty's person, family, and government, and to that happy constitution in church and state, which is established in this realm.

"With these sentiments we are unalterably impressed. We have already more than once been permitted to lay them at your royal highness's feet; and we are sensible that the best mode, and the most acceptable to your royal highness, by which we can manifest the deep conviction with which they are rooted in our own minds, is by impressing them also upon the minds of others; and by inculcating the doctrines of true religion and the principles of loyalty to the throne, obedience to the laws, and attachment to the constitution, on those whom we are preparing for the discharge, in their various stations, of duties inseparably connected with the public interests.

"But we view with the deepest apprehension the continually increasing efforts which are made to undermine, throughout the country, the groundworks of every duty, both public and private; and at a time when all authority is outraged, and all public order insulted and violated; and when dangers of unusual magnitude, arising

arising out of the rapid and connected progress of blasphemy and sedition, threaten both the peace of the community and the personal security of individuals, we should be equally wanting to our feelings and our duty, if we did not, in this public manner, again express our abhorrence of such efforts, and our anxiety to maintain, unimpaired, the authority of the laws, the dignity of the crown, and the independence of the legislature. On these principles we will continue to act as we trust we have hitherto acted. We know that they are the foundations of that public happiness which our country, by the blessings of Providence, has enjoyed under the auspicious government of your royal highness's house; and we are convinced that a zealous and active support of them is required from us by every consideration both of civil and religious duty."

"Given at our house of convocation, under our common seal, this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen."

To which his royal highness the prince regent returned the following gracious answer:—

"I return you my warmest thanks for this loyal and dutiful address. I was fully persuaded that the university of Oxford, distinguished as it is for the soundest principles of loyalty and religion, could not contemplate without the utmost reprobation and alarm the means so actively employed to destroy public morals at their very source; to bring into hatred and contempt all the civil authorities of the country; and ultimately to subvert the whole fabric of our constitution, both in church and state. Such an avowal of your principles, at this most important conjuncture, is highly gratifying to me; and I am persuaded you will ever consider it to be your indispensable duty to spare no exertions in instilling them into the minds of those intrusted to your care, as the only solid foundation of private honour and happiness, as well as of public security and prosperity."

Dec. 7.—The rev. archdeacon Wollaston, rector of the parish of East Dereham, Norfolk, at his tithe-audit, in consequence of the great depression in the price of grain, returned five per cent. to the farmers—an example worthy of imitation.

Yarmouth, Dec. 9.—We lament to state, that the whole line of this coast presents a scene of devastation and ruin, occasioned by the late strong gales from the eastward. Wreck lies scattered at every step; and the melancholy conclusion is, that several ships, with their unfortunate crews, have gone down: besides these, there are many vessels stranded; some of which are so much damaged as to render them not worth repairing. Various articles have been washed ashore at this place, and a crew of fourteen men arrived in an open boat, on Wednesday, having been obliged to quit their ship, which was entangled in the sands. The vessel was plainly seen from the shore, and it is hoped she will be saved. It is reported that one of the revenue cutters is lost.—On Tuesday night, the Phœnix, from Copenhagen, with a valuable cargo, bound for St. Croix, was totally wrecked

wrecked near this town, and the crew unfortunately perished.

A novel mode of disposing of an estate has been publicly announced in Suffolk. A house, with garden and orchard, at Thorndon and Thwaite, is to be raffled for by one hundred subscribers, at five pounds each. Should the number be completed, the winner is to pay 20*l.* and the present proprietor 10*l.* for the good of the company.

A single potatoe was cut into eyes and planted in the garden of C. Moore, esq. at Woodbridge, Suffolk; and the produce was the surprising quantity of a bushel skep without being heaped, and it weighed 64 lbs. The potatoes are remarkably fine.

The presentation of a valuable living in Cheshire is supposed to have recently lapsed to the university of Cambridge, under the following circumstances:—The death of the incumbent being declared by his physicians to be fast approaching at Leamington, a person entered into a contract for the purchase of the next presentation for 6000*l.* which was executed about six hours before the decease of the incumbent. This sale is objected to on two grounds —1st, That the patron, being a catholic, could not sell the next presentation attached to the advowson; and 2dly, that, if he possessed such right, the conveyance was not executed in due time.—The probability of this lapse has occasioned considerable interest in the university, the living being estimated at 1500*l.* per ann. Should such lapse be adjudged, the presentation will become elective in the Masters of Arts: on the books of the university several candidates have already declared themselves.

The heir of the ill-fated Gustavus, and nephew to the emperor Alexander, is now in Edinburgh, where he is to reside for several months. He is about 19 or 20, and of a manly and modest address.

Some gentlemen of Edinburgh have taken the celebrated calculating boy, Bidder, under their protection, and mean to give him a college education; they also gave his father a sum of money to take home to his family.

A person named Smyth, who had been twelve years churchwarden of the parish of St. Michan, Dublin, has been tried for a robbery of the most atrocious description. After a charity sermon, while employed with others in the vestry-room, to count the contributions of the benevolent, he was seen to pass bank notes, at various times, from one hand to the other, squeeze them into a small compass, and then slily put them into his pocket. He was searched, and from 20*l.* to 30*l.* found on him. He received sentence of transportation for seven years.

20.—Nathan Broadhurst was sent off to Lancaster on a charge of high treason, committed at Burnley on the 16th of November, under the name of Walker, in company with John Knight.

The following particulars, respecting the mode of living usual with the weavers of Glasgow and the neighbourhood, are curious and interesting. They were communicated to sir John Sinclair by Mr. James Boaz, accomptant in Glasgow.

"Weavers and their families have

have long been accustomed to make potatoes the bulkiest part of their food, and in the present state of their business hundreds can get little else. Oatmeal porridge, or pease broth, with butter-milk, or *swatts*, formed their breakfast and supper; but potatoes being cheaper, many now substitute them for the former, at least for supper. Herrings, cod, or ling fish, sometimes flesh and broth, with potatoes or oat cakes, used to be their dinner; but many are now occasionally at a loss to get even potatoes and salt. This has much decreased the consumption of oatmeal, and few now ever get the luxury of wheaten bread. There are great numbers, however, who still make a tea or coffee breakfast, with bread and butter. When dinner-time comes, tea or coffee again, with red or white herrings, or other animal food if they can get it; and potatoes with salt, or porridge, or sowens and butter-milk to supper. But tea and sugar are so dear, that to make the meal at all comfortable, stretches the feeble means too much. That fare, however, having once become habitual with many, and being more exhilarating, cannot by all be given up. Oatmeal is at present about 17*d.* or 18*d.* per peck, or 2*d.* per pound avoirdupois; from six to eight ounces will make a good plateful of porridge for a working man, which, with salt, butter-milk, butter, or treacle, may cost in all, say 1½*d.* A man may live on 21 such meals for 2*s.* 8*d.* per week."

Dartmoor.—Notice has been given of the intention of the chief-justice of Chester to bring in a bill for supplying the poor of the metropolis, and a certain district round it, with employment and subsistence. The plan, we understand, is to form a joint-stock company, with an extensive capital—to procure an act of incorporation—and with provisions to settle all claims of right to pasturage, &c.—to convert Dartmoor prison into a metropolitan school, to which the London parishes may send their children, who, in addition to the common elements of education, will be employed in the several processes of preparing and manufacturing flax—and who, when they arrive at the age of manhood, may have allotments of the moor, on lease, to establish themselves in the husbandry they have been taught—the produce of their own labour while apprentices, being bestowed on them as a capital with which to set out. The forest of Dartmoor, containing more than sixty thousand acres, is parcel of the duchy of Cornwall, settled by Edward I. on the prince of Wales, and on all future eldest sons of the king, who were to have the title of dukes of Cornwall. The improvement of this tract of land has been often contemplated. It was proposed to the council of his royal highness by Mr. Robt. Fraser, nearly 30 years ago, but the project was abandoned. Mr. Fraser made a survey of the forest thirty years ago, but since that time much practical improvement has taken place in husbandry, through the application of chemical knowledge to the melioration of soils. The use of lime, in particular, has been proved to convert bogs and marshes into productive land; and, wherever lime can be procured on easy terms,

terms, its efficacy in improving peat and turfy soils is sovereign. It is, we understand, upon this manure, that the present hope of redeeming Dartmoor from sterility is founded. Experience has been made of its efficacy for the last two years, by sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, who has thereby produced a crop of valuable flax, for which he has received the thanks and the medal of the Bath agricultural society.

Windsor Castle, Dec. 4, 1819.—"His majesty's disorder has undergone no alteration. His majesty was indisposed for two days a fortnight since, but has now recovered his ordinary bodily health, which is good considering his great age."

A gentleman who has lately been in the presence of his majesty states, that the appearance of our ancient monarch is the most venerable imaginable. His hair and beard are as white as the drifted snow, and the latter flows gracefully over a breast which now feels not the pleasures or the pains of life.—When the gentleman saw him, he was dressed in a loose satin robe lined with fur, sitting in an apparently pensive mood, with his elbows on a table, his head resting on his hands, and seemingly regardless of all external objects.

About 4 o'clock in the morning the inhabitants of Crooked-lane were alarmed by a loud shriek, which was occasioned by the following dreadful circumstance:—Mrs. Matthews, about thirty years of age, wife of Mr. Thomas Matthews, wire-worker, No. 9, Crooked-lane, had of late been in a state of despondency, but was getting better. At the time above stated she was seized with that dreadful malady, and at the moment took a fine boy, four months old, from the cradle, and threw it out, from the second floor back room, into St. Martin's burial-ground. She then opened the window on the third floor, which looks into Crooked-lane, and instantly jumped out. She fell head foremost into the road, and was instantly killed. The infant was taken up alive, but no hopes are entertained of its recovery. A coroner's inquest was afterwards held on the body of Mrs. M. and a verdict of *lunacy* returned.

An alarming fire broke out at Hounslow on the premises of Mr. Fagg. It happened in the rick-yard, through Mr. Fagg firing at some sparrows; and three valuable wheat-ricks worth 800*l.* were destroyed. It is thought that some wadding had lodged in the ricks.

An inquisition was held at St. Thomas's hospital on the body of a poor man who had been engaged in digging a grave (27 feet deep) in the church-yard of the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate Without. It appeared in evidence, that the shoring boards giving way, the sides of the grave fell in, and the deceased was buried up to the chin. It was nearly an hour before the poor fellow could be extricated from his dreadful situation. The deceased repeatedly cried out, "For God's sake take me out, or I shall die." He was conveyed to St. Thomas's hospital, where he died. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of Accidental death.

The lord mayor held his first court of common council. It

was

was uncommonly numerous, and the subjects to be taken into consideration were of the utmost interest in the city. The first proceeding was upon the question of giving the usual thanks to the late lord mayor for his conduct while in office. Mr. deputy Williams moved the thanks. An amendment, expressing strong censure, was moved by Mr. Blacket, and carried.

The next topic of discussion was, the prosecution instituted by the court of aldermen against Mr. alderman Waithman and others, for riotously obstructing the election of a lord mayor at the late common hall. Resolutions, declaring that the aldermen have no controul over the livery, prohibiting the chamberlain from furnishing funds for such prosecution, and recommending the withdrawing of the legal proceedings, were moved by Mr. J. Williams, and carried without a division.

6.—A court of common council was held. A report was made from the committee which had been appointed to watch the proceedings of the court of aldermen, in the prosecution which they had directed to be carried on against alderman Waithman and others. The committee stated it to be their opinion, that such a proceeding was pregnant with great danger to the rights of the citizens of London; but they could take no step in the business until it was referred to the court of aldermen. A motion was accordingly made, that it be referred to the court of aldermen, which was carried.

8.—A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall; when the late recommendation of the court of common council was presented; upon which they immediately came to a resolution, declaring "That the court, from the earliest period, have had the right to draw, and in the exercise thereof have drawn upon the chamber, for the payment of all such sum or sums of money, as well for prosecutions directed by them as otherwise, as they, from time to time, have deemed necessary for the purposes of justice. That whilst the court is pursuing its due course of public duty, it becomes highly imperative upon them to maintain and defend their rights and privileges against all attacks or attempts that may be made thereon. That much as this court would feel gratified in acceding to the unanimous recommendation of the court of common council to withdraw their resolution against the parties implicated, could their sense of duty permit them to do so, they feel themselves bound to enter their most firm and decided protest against the resolutions of that court, and the power attempted to be exercised thereby over this court, in directing the chamberlain not to pay any expenses that have been incurred, or may be incurred, in respect of such prosecutions.

13.—An accident occurred, which originated in a false alarm of fire having been given at the house of Mr. Duff, dyer, &c. East Smithfield. It appeared that the niece of Mr. Duff awoke from a sleep very much terrified, having dreamt that the house was on fire. She shrieked very loud, the moment she was awakened, "Fire, fire!" and her cries awoke

awoke Mr. Duff, who slept in an adjoining room. He, supposing her bed-clothes were on fire, ran down stairs without satisfying himself of the truth of his apprehensions, and procured a pail of water. He ran up stairs with it; and, by some accident, his foot slipped, and he fell down from the top of the stairs to the bottom, and broke his neck.

15.—A meeting of booksellers and printers was held at the London coffee-house, to take into consideration the provisions of a bill before parliament for more effectually preventing seditious and blasphemous libels, Joseph Butterworth, esq. in the chair. Several resolutions were passed, and it was unanimously resolved, that "a petition be presented to the house of commons, praying that the same bill, so far as respects the punishment of transportation and death for vending such blasphemous or seditious libels as in the said bill are mentioned, might not pass into a law." In the 8th resolution it was justly observed, "That a very great number of historical, political, and religious works are written and composed and published in London at stated periods, and that most of such works are of temporary and immediate public interest, and that such works issue from the press and pass through the hands of several different booksellers, and many thousands thereof are delivered to the public within a very few hours after their first publication, and that a previous perusal or consideration of such works, by such venders of the same as are not the original or first publishers, is impracticable."

The clause relative to transportation on the second conviction for the same offence, was afterwards withdrawn by ministers, and mitigated to the sentence of banishment. In consequence the following remarks have been circulated by the booksellers and printers in the metropolis and its vicinity. "With respect to the clause relative to banishment, the booksellers and printers still feel insuperable objections. There is certainly a difference in the two punishments; but although the one be more ignominious and degrading than the other, yet that of banishment may have a severity of operation equal to that of transportation in most cases, and may in some cases be more severe. And while inevitable ruin attends either punishment, the sufferer is thereby placed beyond the benign influence of the British constitution, and left in a situation from whence the crown, the fountain of mercy, cannot be supplicated; or, at best, supplicated under disadvantages from which the greatest criminal is free, while permitted to remain in this country. These considerations, it is presumed, are of the highest importance with regard to crimes like libel, which are not specific and certain, and which after conviction may, from that circumstance, admit of many extenuations not immediately apparent. And as a principle of just and wise legislation has been applied in rejecting the punishment of transportation for the crimes mentioned in the bill; so the booksellers and printers venture to hope, that the punishment of banishment, hitherto unknown (as a per-

a permanent measure) in the jurisprudence of this country, will not be retained. They scarcely feel less apprehensive of the consequences of being subject to one punishment, than they were of being subject to both; and they cannot but feel great apprehension and alarm in the contemplation of a measure which involves every personal and domestic comfort."

Petitions have been presented to the house of commons from numerous bodies of booksellers of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Birmingham, and other places, against the newspaper stamp duties bill; setting forth the ruinous effects which that measure would have on the trade in general.

At Bow-street, Mr. sheriff Parkyns was held to bail, on a charge of libel preferred against him by Alexander Stewart, esq. a magistrate of the county of Down, Ireland. The matter relates to a letter which Mr. Parkyns had published in an Irish newspaper, in Nov. 1818; wherein he charges Mr. Stewart with a dereliction of his magisterial duty, in consequence of his not rendering (as Mr. Parkyns supposed) proper assistance in taking his servant, who had robbed him to a large amount, and whom Mr. Parkyns had pursued from London to Ireland. The servant was ultimately taken, and convicted.

17.—The following are the circumstances attending the arrest of Mr. Hobhouse, in consequence of the house of commons having declared him guilty of a breach of privilege, in publishing some offensive remarks on the members: Mr. Hobhouse, with his friend Mr. M. Bruce, was at No. 1, in New-street, Spring Gardens, about six o'clock this evening, when a messenger of the house of commons, acting as deputy serjeant at arms, made his appearance, and produced the speaker's warrant as his authority for taking Mr. Hobhouse into custody. Mr. Hobhouse said, he considered the warrant to be illegal; and the tribunal, which had condemned him unheard, and in his absence, to be also illegal; and that he refused to obey the warrant. The messenger replied, that he had brought a force with him to execute the warrant, and the men were in the house. Mr. Hobhouse desired him to carry back his refusal to the speaker; but the messenger said he could not quit him. "Then," replied Mr. Hobhouse, "you must use your force, for I will submit to nothing else." Two other messengers soon after made their appearance; when the first messenger, laying his hand on Mr. Hobhouse, said, "You are my prisoner." Mr. Hobhouse then replied, "I must submit to force, but I protest against this illegal seizure, and desire you to inform the speaker thereof." Mr. Hobhouse was immediately taken to Newgate, by two of the messengers, in a hackney coach.

The bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, proposed by lord Althorpe, has been printed by order of the house of commons. It prohibits officers of the court from taking gratuities. The petitioning creditors may compel the surrender of the insolvent's property, which shall vest in the provisional assignee. Examiners

are

are to be appointed by the commissioner: they are authorized to compel the attendance of witnesses, and are empowered to allow or disallow claims of creditors, subject however to an appeal to the commissioner. The assignees have a power of making compositions with creditors. In the country, examiners may be appointed by justices of the peace at quarter sessions, and the commissioner of the court in London may direct prisoners, in certain cases, to be examined before justices at the quarter sessions. Prisoners, after discharge, becoming possessed of public funds, or any other species of property, and refusing to convey such property, the court may, upon petition in a summary way, order such persons to be again arrested.

The petition in favour of Henry Stent, signed by 14,000 persons, has been laid before the prince regent by lord Sidmouth. His sentence is to be commuted to two years' imprisonment in the House of Correction.

The parish-officers of St. James's have determined to sink wells in different parts of the parish, over which are to be placed handsome pumps of an improved construction, for supplying the inhabitants with spring-water.

The London sessions were compelled to adjourn, through the non-attendance of sufficient aldermen to form a court. Recorder, jury, counsel, and witnesses, all accordingly departed; and six prisoners, to be tried for assaults, were remanded till Jan. 12, unless they could procure bail.

18.—In the Sheriff's Court, Bedford row, Compton v. Winkworth, a jury was sworn to assess damages against the defendant, who had suffered judgement to pass by default, for breach of promise of marriage. Winkworth was a linen-draper, residing at Guildford; and the plaintiff the daughter of a farmer, living with her mother, carrying on her deceased husband's farm: both parties at the time were under 21. It appeared, that matters had proceeded even to purchasing the wedding-ring; when defendant, without any cause, broke off the match. Numerous letters of defendant were read, some affording choice specimens of accurate spelling and delicate sentiment. Of the former, we give a few examples—*bas* for 'as'—*juel* for 'jewel'—*know* for 'no'—*no* for 'know'—*sole* and *soal* for 'soul'—*schocking* for 'shocking,' and *scrall* for 'scrawl.' —One letter, which was dated Guildford, October 11, 1817, concluded as follows:—

"I love you to my very heart and *soal*. I love you more and more every time I see you, my love. You are the sweetest of women, my life, my *Angle*, my lovliest Girl, and my precious Lamb. *I love you my Dear H. as true I sit by the Fire-side.* If you have no time, look your things out for the bearer, please send them by your boy. With love, and remain, your's sincerely,

"W. WINKWORTH."

"P.S. Your sweet handwriting is wanting; hope you will oblige me with it; if not, I shall be very low-spirited. My dear girl, hearken to me,

"'If you loves I, has I loves you,
"'no knife shall cut our love in two.'

"Saturday night, 12, o'clock, a few kisses."

The

The jury gave their verdict damages—300*l.*

23.—In the court of king's bench, lord Ranelagh was found guilty of having applied several offensive epithets to counsellor Adolphus, for the purpose of provoking him to fight a duel. The circumstances of this case arose out of a late trial at the Middlesex sessions.

31.—It appears by a return which has just been laid before parliament, that the number of male and female pauper children, resident and non-resident, between the ages of six and sixteen, who were on the books of the several parishes within the bills of mortality, as chargeable to each parish respectively, on the 5th day of May 1819, amounts to 13,430.—The resident pauper children are 7,087; the non-resident, 6,343.—From twenty-eight parishes no return had been made.

A GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS, *from* December 15, 1818, *to* December 14, 1819:—

Christened	Males 12,574	In all, 24,300	Buried	Males 9,671	In all, 19,228
	Females 11,726			Females 9,557	
	Decrease in burials			477	

		5 and 10 - 826		40 and 50 - 2095		80 and 90	666
Died under 2 years	4779	10 and 20 - 631		50 and 60 - 1918		90 and 100	144
Between 2 and 5	1771	20 and 30 - 1577		60 and 70 - 1600		100 0 - 102	0
		30 and 40 - 1990		70 and 80 - 1230		101 0 - 103	1

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.	
Abscess	82	Hydrophobia	2	Broken Limbs	1
Apoplexy and suddenly	178	Inflammation	1243	Burnt	27
Asthma	799	Inflammation of the Liver	71	Drowned	97
Bedridden	1	Insanity	240	Excessive Drinking	4
Cancer	81	Jaundice	87	Executed*	10
Childbed	229	Measles	695	Found Dead	10
Consumption	9839	Miscarriage	3	Fractured	2
Convulsions	3076	Mortification	399	Frightened	4
Croup	91	Old Age and Debility	1850	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	65
Diarrhœa	9	Palsy	202	Killed by Fighting	1
Dropsy	684	Venereal	14	Killed by Lightning	1
Dropsy in the brain	417	Rheumatism	10	Murdered	2
Dropsy in the chest	143	Rupture	44	Poisoned	2
Dysentery	2	Scrofula	28	Scalded	2
Epilepsy	1	Small Pox	712	Strangled	1
Eruptive diseases	4	Sore Throat and Quinsey	19	Suffocated	2
Erysipelas, or St. Anthony's fire	8	Spasms	42	Suicides	35
Fever	1093	Still-born	673		
Fever (Typhus)	57	Stone	24	Total	266
Fistula	6	Stoppage in the Stomach	18		
Flux	13	Suddenly	310		
Gout	41	Teething	502		
Hæmorrhage	57	Thrush	118		
Hooping Cough	750	Worms	8		

* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey, 28; of which number 10 only have been reported to be buried within the Bills of Mortality.

BIRTHS in the year 1819.

December 1818. At Paris, the countess de Salis, a son.

In St. James's-square, the duchess of St. Alban's, a son.

At Belvoir Castle, the duchess of Rutland, a son.

At Lenoxlove, near Haddington, lady Blantyre, a son.

January. At Exeter, the wife of the hon. C. Langdale, a daughter.

February. At Ashburnham House, Hay-hill, the countess of Ashburnham, a son.

At Westover House, Isle of Wight, the lady of sir L. T. Worsley Holmes, bart. a daughter.

In Upper Grosvenor-street, the wife of the hon. H. Grey Bennet, a son.

Lady Gardiner, a son.

In Hamilton-place, duchess of Bedford, a son.

March. At lord Bagot's, Blithfield, Staffordshire, lady Harriet Paget, a daughter.

In Thayer-street, Manchester-square, the countess of Lusi, a son and heir.

At Tonbridge Wells, marchioness of Ely, a daughter.

In Portman-square, countess of Manvers, of a daughter.

At Trimony, near Bagshot, the wife of the hon. Alex. Murray (second son of the late earl of Dunmore), a daughter.

At Hanover, the duchess of Cambridge, of a son; and the duchess of Clarence, of a daughter.—The former, we have the pleasure to say, is, with his royal mother, doing well; the latter, we regret to add, only survived a few hours. It was baptized at nine o'clock the same morning, according to the rites of the church of England, by the names of Charlotte Augusta Louisa; and expired at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The duchess of San Carlos, a daughter.

The wife of Joseph Richardson, of Cookley, at Upton Warren, near Bromsgrove, of *four girls*.

In Dublin, the duchess of Leinster, of a son; the infant takes the title of marquis of Kildare.

April. Viscountess Folkstone, a daughter.

In Nottingham-place, viscountess Newport, of a son and heir.

At Copenhagen, the wife of Augustus John Foster, esq. his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Denmark, of a son.

May. At Kensington Palace, her royal highness the duchess of Kent, of a princess.—There were present, his royal highness the duke of Sussex, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the duke of Wellington, the marquis of Lansdown, earl Bathurst, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Vansittart.

In Cleveland-row, the right hon. lady Louisa Lambton, the lady of J. G. Lambton, esq. M.P. a daughter.

Lady Charles Bentinck, a son.

In Conduit-street, the right hon. lady James Stuart, of a daughter.

At Oxford House, Grosvenor-place, lady Milton, of a daughter, her ladyship's seventh child.

Her royal highness the duchess of Cumberland, of a prince, at his royal highness's hotel in Berlin.

At St. Giles's, near Great Torrington, Devon, Elizabeth, wife of —— Folley, a journeyman carpenter, of three fine boys; who, with the mother, are doing well.

The

The boys have been christened Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

June. In Stanley-place, Shrewsbury, the wife of the rev. Richard Massey; being her twenty-second child.

At Mitcham Grove, the lady of sir Thomas D. Acland, bart. of a son.

In Park lane, viscountess Cranley, of a daughter.

In New Norfolk-street, the countess of March, of a daughter.

At Brachlin Castle (Westmeath), lady Eleanor Featherston, a son and heir.

At Verdi, in Italy, a woman was delivered of five male children; two of them are dead, but three are still living. [In the time of Adrian, a woman of Alexandria was delivered also of five sons, all of whom lived to a good age.

At Edinburgh, countess Flahaut, of a daughter.

At Florence, lady Burghersh, of a son.

July. At Stuart Hall (Tyrone), the countess of Castlestuart, of a daughter.

At Stockholm, viscountess Strangford, of a daughter.

At Yester, N. B. the marchioness of Tweedale, of a daughter.

August. The countess of Euston, of a son.

In Hertford-street, May-fair, the countess of Abingdon, of a son.

At Blackhouse, near Wigton, the wife of Mr. D. Clarke, of three sons, who are all likely to do well.

The wife of John Thelwall, police officer, of Liverpool, of one male and two female children; the male was born alive, but died soon afterwards.

At Yelvertoft, Northamptonshire, the wife of Mr. Charles Humfrey, of three fine boys, who with the mother are likely to do well.

The grand duchess Nikolajewna of Russia, a princess, who has received the name of Maria.

In Grosvenor-square, the wife of Augustus Champion de Crespigny, esq. a son.

The reigning duchess of Coburg, a prince.

At Dawlish, lady Frances Ley, a son.

In Curzon-street, lady Caroline Ann Macdonald, of Clanronald, of a son and heir.

At Clumber Park, Nottinghamshire, the duchess of Newcastle, of a daughter.

At Rosiere, near Lyndhurst, the countess of Errol, of a daughter.

September. At Hawkhill, N. B. the lady of the lord justice Clerk, of a son.

At Paris, the duchess of Berry, of a princess; since named Louise Marie Theresse Demoiselle d'Artois.

October. At Dublin, the lady countess Talbot, of a son.

The countess of Jersey, of a son.

Lady William Russell, of a son and heir.

Grand duchess of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, of a son.

The wife of a labouring man, of the name of Easton, residing at Chatham, of four children, three fine boys and one girl: they were all born alive, but died a few hours after.

Lady of sir C. Wolseley, bart. of a son.

Lately, in Hill-street, Berkeley-sq. the wife of Henry Brougham, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

November. At Hillsborough, the marchioness of Downshire, of a son.

At the South Parade, Cork, lady Audley of a son.

At Edinburgh, the lady of sir Alex. Mackenzie, of Avoch, of a son.

At Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Dundas, of Dundas, of a son and heir.

At Brahan Castle, Scotland, the hon. Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie, of Seaforth, of a daughter.

At Fulham, viscountess Ranelagh, of a daughter.

At Corsham House, Wilts, the lady of Paul Methuen, esq. of a son.

At Belton House, Lincolnshire, the right hon. the countess of Brownlow, of a daughter.

December. At the Hague, the countess of Athlone, of a daughter.

At Shugburgh, Staffordshire, viscountess Anson, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES in the year 1819.

Nov. 1818. At the duke of Athol's, Dunkeld, George Fairholm, esq. of Greenknow, county Berwick, to honourable Caroline Elizabeth, eldest daughter of lieutenant-general lord Forbes.

Richard Valpy, esq. eldest son of rev. Dr. Valpy, to Phœbe, eldest daughter of Joshua Rowe, of Torpoint, Cornwall.

Edward Bullock, esq. of the Treasury, to Letitia, youngest daughter of the late rev. T. Pearce, D.D. sub-dean of his majesty's chapel royal, and prebendary of Chester.

Honourable Peter Boyle de Blaquiere, to Eliza, second daughter of W. Roper, esq. of Rathfarnham Castle, and grand-daughter of the late honourable and rev. R. H. Roper.

Captain A. B. Valpy, R. N. third son of rev. Dr. Valpy, to Anna, daughter of Robert Harris, esq. of Reading, banker.

January 1819. Charles Ducat, esq. M. D. to Charlotte, third daughter of W. Douglas, esq. of Sloane-street.

At Chingford, Essex, the rev. Wm. Lake Baker, M. A. rector of Hargrave, Northamptonshire, son of John Baker, esq. of Hampstead, to Harriet Elizabeth, daughter of reverend Robert Lewis, rector of Chingford.

Reverend G. B. Godbold, M. A. rector of Greatham, co. Hants, to Ellen Clara, daughter of the rev. T. Cooke, and niece of the bishop of Durham, and viscount Barrington.

Joseph Delafield, esq. of Charles-street, Berkeley-square, to Charlotte, fourth daughter of the late Harvey Christian Combe, esq. of Cobham Park, Surrey.

Thomas Blair, esq. M. D. of Brighton, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late W. Tomlinson, esq. of Newark-upon-Trent.

7. Fuller Farr, esq. of Lombard-street, to miss Lacon, daughter of sir E. Lacon, bart.

John Carter, of Northwold, esq. to Mary Anne, second daughter of W. G. D. Tyssen, of Folk House, Kent, esq.

Marquis of Blandford to right hon. lady Jane Stewart, eldest daughter of the earl of Galloway.

Frederick Manning, esq. eldest son of W. Manning, esq. M. P. of Combe Bank, Kent, to Elizabeth Edmunda, eldest daughter of E. Turnor, esq. of Stoke Rochford, co. Lincoln.

At Paris, first according to the rites

rites of the Roman Catholic church, and afterwards at the English ambassador's, Henry comte de Montesquiou Fezensac, to miss Hammet, daughter of the late sir Benjamin Hammet, of Lombard-street.

At Paris, the chevalier de Fitzjames, brother to the duke de Fitzjames, to Helen Frances, daughter of Michael Carmac, esq. of Nottingham-place.

The rev. Wm. Cleaver, eldest son of the archbishop of Dublin, to Mary, second daughter of sir D. Mackworth, bart.

February. William, second son of the hon. Mat. Fortescue, to Isabel Barclay, second daughter of the late James Christie, esq. of Durie, Fifeshire.

George Forbes, esq. banker in Edinburgh, to Mary, eldest daughter of sir John Hay, bart.

Lord viscount Anson, to miss Louisa Catherine Phillips, youngest daughter of the late N. Phillips, esq. of Slebeck-hall, Pembrokeshire.

Re-married, at Portsea, the right hon. lord Greenock, deputy-quarter-master general to the southern district, to miss Mather, daughter of T. Mather, esq.—His lordship was recently married at Boulogne.

Capt. Charles Sotheby, R.N. to miss Jane Hamilton, third daughter of the late Wm. lord Belhaven and Stenton.

Capt. Lindsay, of the grenadier guards, eldest son of the hon. R. Lindsay, of Balcarras, to Mary Anne, daughter of the late Francis Grant, esq. of Kilgarston.

John Jackson, esq. of the borough, merchant, to miss Flower, a niece of sir Charles Flower, bart.

At Paris, Charles Shakerley, esq. eldest son of C. Shakerley, esq. of Shakerley, Lancashire, and of Somerford Hall, Cheshire, to mademoiselle Rosalie d'Avary, only daughter of the duke d'Avary.—The bride was given away by his royal highness the duke of Gloucester. The duke de Berry, duke de Guiche, and many other illustrious personages, honoured the ceremony with their presence.

The right hon. lord Rodney, to Charlotte Georgiana, second daughter of sir Charles Morgan, bart. of Tredegar, Monmouthshire.

March. Mr. serjeant Copley, chief justice of Chester, to the widow of the late lieutenant-col. Thomas.

Honourable James Sinclair, second son of earl of Caithness, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of G. Tritton, esq. of West-hill, Wandsworth.

Sir Jacob Astley, bart. of Melton Constable, Norfolk, to Georgiana Caroline, youngest daughter of sir Henry Dashwood, bart. of Kirtlington-park, Oxfordshire.

The earl of Dundonald, to Anne-Maria, eldest daughter of Francis Plowden, esq.

Major-general Henry Eustace, brother to dowager lady Trimlestown, to Henrietta, daughter of count d'Alton, and grand-daughter to Nicholas, late lord Trimlestown.

The count Pio Cavalli de St. Germain, to Mary-Ann, youngest daughter of the late Henry Addis, esq. formerly of London.

April. By special license, lady Frances Anne-Vane Tempest, to lord Stewart, second son of the marquis of Londonderry.

At Dublin, the hon. and rev. E. Wingfield, second son of the

late lord viscount Powerscourt, to Louisa Joan, third daughter of the late hon. Geo. Jocelyn, and niece to the earl of Roden.

At Naples, the Infant of Spain, Don Francis Paul, to Princess Charlotta Louisa of Naples.

The Infant Don Francisco, of Spain, to the princess Caroline of the two Sicilies.

May. The earl of Buckinghamshire, to miss Glover, of Keppel-street, Russell-square.

Henry Brougham, esq. M.P. of Brougham, Westmorland, to Marianne, widow of the late J. Spalding, esq. of Hill-street, Berkeley-square, and niece of the late sir John Eden, bart. of Windlestone, Durham.

At Dusseldorff, Germany, lieut. gen. baron Hompesch, of the British service, to the countess Isabella, of Nesselrode Ereshoven.

Earl Temple, M.P. eldest son of the marquis of Buckingham, to lady Mary Cambell, second daughter of the earl of Breadalbane.

The hon. Richard Neville (son of lord Braybrook) to lady Jane Cornwallis. The marquis of Buckingham was at both weddings.

Sir John Wrottesley, bart. to the hon. Mrs. John Bennett, daughter of the late J. Conyers, esq. of Copt Hall, Essex.

J. T. Tyrell, esq. eldest son of sir J. Tyrell, bart. of Boreham House, Essex, to miss Pilkington, daughter of the late sir Thomas Pilkington, bart. of Chevet, Yorkshire.

The rev. John Earle Welby, son of the late sir W. Earle Welby, bart. of Danton Hall, Lincolnshire, to Felicia Eliza, only daughter of the late rev. H. A. Holl, and grand-daughter of the late bishop Horne.

June. Capt. White Melville, of the royal lancers, to lady Catherine Osborne, only daughter of the duchess dowager of Leeds.—The bride was the favourite companion and friend of our lamented princess Charlotte of Wales.

At St. George's Hanover-square, the right hon. lord Rossmore to lady Augusta Charteries, youngest sister of the earl of Wemyss and March.

The hon. H. F. C. Cavendish, M.P. son to lord G. Cavendish, to Frances Susan, widow of the hon. F. Howard, and only daughter of the late W. H. Lambton, esq. M.P.

F. P. Robinson, esq. only son of sir F. P. Robinson, K.C.B. to Harriet F. E eldest daughter of the late J. Meares, esq. of Eastinton, Pembrokeshire.

Hon. Robert Henry Clive, M.P. of Oakley Park, second son of the earl of Powis, to lady Harriet Windsor, daughter of the late and sister of the present earl of Plymouth.

I. R. G. Graham, esq. M.P. eldest son of sir James Graham, bart. of Netherby, to Fanny Callender, youngest daughter of Jas. Campbell, esq. of Ardkinglas. His royal highness the duke of York gave the bride away, and her royal highness the duchess of York was present at the ceremony.

The hon. Wm. Cust, M.P. to Sophia, daughter of the late Thomas Newnham, esq. of Southborough, Kent.

Charles Drummond, jun. esq. to hon. Mary Dulcibella Eden, sister to lord Auckland.

At Paris (first at the church of the Assumption, rue St. Honore, and afterwards at the chapel of the English ambassador, and in presence

presence of his excellency), col. the compte de Mondreville, of the king's garde du corps, knight of the royal and military order of St. Louis, commander of the legion of honour, &c. to lady Maria Caroline Brudenel Bruce, eldest daughter of the earl and countess of Aylesbury.

William Yates Peel, esq. M.P. for Tamworth, and second son of sir Robert Peel, bart. to lady Jane Moore, second daughter of the earl of Mount Cashell.

The hon. Frederick Sylvester North Douglas, only son of lord Glenbervie, and M.P. for Banbury, to Harriet, eldest daughter of William Wrightson, esq. of Cusworth, Yorkshire.

The hon. capt. Robert Rodney, R.N. brother to lord Rodney, to Anne, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Dennett, esq. of Lock Ashurst, Sussex.

July. At Carlsruhe, the margrave Leopold of Baden, to the princess Sophia Wilhelmina, daughter of the ex-king of Sweden, Gustavus IV. and queen Frederica.

The hon. capt. Perceval, R.N. eldest son of lord Arden, to the eldest daughter of J. Hornby, esq. of Titchfield.

Thomas Tyringham Bernard, esq. to Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the late sir David Williams, bart. of Sarratt, Herts.

The rev. H. E. Graham, of Hendon, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of sir George Leeds, bart.

Sir William Leeds, bart. of Croxton Park, Cambridgeshire, to Eleanor, second daughter of Owsley Rowley, esq. of the Priory, St. Neot's.

August. Walter, eldest son of Richard Long, esq. late M.P. for Wilts, to Mary Anne, second daughter of right hon. Archibald Colquhoun, lord register of Scotland.

Sir H. R. Calder, bart. of Park House, Kent, to lady Frances Selina Pery, third daughter of the earl of Limerick.

The earl of Uxbridge, son of the marquis of Anglesea, to miss E. Campbell, second daughter of the late John Campbell, esq. of Shawfield, and niece to the duke of Argyle.

Thomas Trayton Fuller Elliott Drake, esq. of Nuttwell-court, and of Buckland-Monachorum, Devon, nephew of the late lord Heathfield, to Eleanor, only daughter of James Halford, esq. of Piccadilly, and of Laleham, in Middlesex.

James Macdonald, esq. M.P. eldest son of sir Archibald Macdonald, to the lady Sophia Keppel, eldest daughter of the earl of Albemarle.

Lieut.-col. hon. James H. Keith Stewart, M.P. (brother of the earl of Galloway), to Henrietta Anne, second daughter of the reverend Spencer Madan, D.D.

Lieut.-col. Steele, Coldstream guards, to lady Elizabeth Montague, daughter of the duke of Manchester.

The earl of Roseberry, to the hon. miss Anson, sister to the right hon. lord viscount Anson, and grand-daughter of T. W. Coke, esq. of Holkham-hall, M.P. for Norfolk.

September. Edward Stanley, esq. of Cross Hall, Lancashire, to lady Mary Maitland, second daughter of the earl of Lauderdale.

James Bradshaw, esq. to Charlotte, youngest sister to sir Tyrwhitt Jones, bart.

Colonel Thomas White, of the county of Dublin militia, (eldest son of Luke White, esq. of Woodlands, M.P.) to the hon. Juliana Vereker, daughter of lord viscount Gort.

Sir Arthur Chichester, bart. of Youlston, Devonshire, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of sir James Hamlyn Williams, bart. of Clovelly Court, Devonshire.

Sir J. Walter Pollen, bart. of Redham, Hants, to Charlotte Elizabeth, only daughter of the late rev. J. Craven, of Charlton House, Wiltshire.

T. B. Parkyns, esq. son of the late sir T. Parkyns, bart. of Bunny-park, to Charlotte Mary, eldest daughter of G. Smith, esq. of Hemshill, both in Nottinghamshire.

The marquis de Chesnel, lieut.-col. of the legion of light infantry of the Pyrennées Orientales, to Mary Louisa, eldest daughter of brigadier-gen. sir Samuel Bentham, R. S. G. of Berry-lodge, Hants.

Sir Edward Stanley Smith, bart. of Nearenham, to Elizabeth, daughter of Denis Duggin, esq. of Kinsale.

Lord viscount Belgrave, to lady Elizabeth Mary Leveson Gower, youngest daughter of the late marquis of Stafford.

Michael Stewart Nicholson, esq. of Carnock, eldest son of sir Michael Stewart, bart. to Eliza Mary, daughter of Rob. Farquhar, esq. of Portland-place.

James Robertson, eldest son of sir Henry Hervey Aston Bruce, bart. of Down-hill, to Ellen, youngest daughter of the late R. Bamford Hesketh, esq. of Gwrych-hall, and of Bamford-hall.

Major-general sir Herbert Taylor, to Charlotte Albinia, eldest daughter of the late Edw. Disbrowe, esq.

Sir Francis Brian Hill, R. T. S. to Emily Lissey, youngest daughter of late Thos. Jell Powys, esq. of Berwick-house.

October. At Ratisbon, count Charles Westerholt, eldest son of count Westerholt, to his cousin, miss Harriet Spencer, youngest daughter of the hon. W. R. Spencer, and grand-daughter of the right honourable lord Charles Spencer.

At Vienna, the prince royal of Saxony, to the archduchess Caroline of Austria.

Sir James Dalrymple Hay, bart. of Park-place, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of lieut.-gen. sir John Heron Maxwell, bart.

At St. James's church, by the bishop of London, the rev. Henry Riddell Moody, only surviving son of Robert Sadleir Moody, esq. formerly one of the commissioners for victualling his majesty's navy, to Althea Jane, second daughter of the rev. Francis J. H. Wollaston, archdeacon of Essex.

At St. Petersburg, col. le comte Gustava Magnus d'Armfelt, aid-de-camp to his majesty the emperor of Russia, to the daughter of the late Thomas Brooke, esq.

November. Sir Nicholas Cosway Colthurst, bart. of Ardrum, co. Cork, M.P. for the city of Cork, to Elizabeth, only child of George Vesey, esq. of Lucan House, co. Dublin.

Rear-admiral sir David Milne, K.C.B. to the daughter of the late G. Stephen, esq. of the island of Grenada.

DEATHS

DEATHS in the year 1819.

December 1818. At his house in St. James's-square, after having been reduced to a state of extreme debility by an excruciating disease with which he had been for several years afflicted, and from which his age precluded all chance of recovery, sir Philip Francis, K.B.

Alexander Graeme, esq. admiral of the red, who lost an arm under sir Hyde Parker at the Dogger-bank.

At Weymouth, in his 84th year, Philip Coales, esq. of Bath.

At Moyns, in the parish of Steeple Bumpstead, in his 95th year, George Gent, esq. upwards of fifty years a magistrate for the county.

Aged 77, Rabbi Alexander Barnett, chief lecturer of the Synagogue, Portsea.

At Castleacre, in her 88th year, Anne, relict of rev. L. Framingham, formerly rector of West Walton.

At Bath, in his 87th year, rev. William Maxwell, D.D. of Falkland, co. Monaghan, a gentleman of a most respectable Irish family, who for nearly fifty years had resided chiefly in that city.

At Edinburgh, aged 19, shortly after giving birth to a son and heir, the wife of hon. Charles Noel Noel, of Barham Court, and second daughter of hon. sir George Grey, bart. commissioner of Portsmouth dock-yard.

At Edinburgh, Mary, wife of rev. Dr. Brunton. As a novelist her pen was consecrated to the interests of religion and virtue. The author of "Self Control" and "Discipline" has prematurely terminated her honourable career in the flower of life.—Mrs. Brunton was a native of North Britain. Her childhood was chiefly spent in the Highlands; and it is not improbable that these early habits of seclusion conspired with native enthusiasm to give her character that romantic bias which is in general unfavourable to the tranquillity of its possessor. It is impossible without feelings of tender commiseration to advert to Mrs. Brunton's death: she expired, shortly after having given birth to a lifeless infant, the sole offspring of that harmonious conjugal union which during 20 years had been crowned with a more than ordinary portion of human felicity.

At Dublin, hon. Mrs. Jocelyn, relict of hon. G. Jocelyn, brother to the earl of Roden.

At Waterford, the rev. S. Monsell. The affairs of this extraordinary eccentric character appear to be involved in great mystery.

In his 86th year, the marquis Du Lau, a general officer in the French army, and a knight of St. Louis. He served under marshal Saxe, and when only fifteen years of age was wounded at the siege of Bergen op Zoom.

At St. Germain-en-Laye, in her 101st year, Madelaine Duree. She had by one husband twenty-two sons and one daughter; nineteen of the sons fell in battle.

At Stockholm, in his 58th year, Dr. Olof Schwartz, perpetual secretary to the academy of sciences, professor of botany, member of many learned societies, knight of the polar star, and of Wassa.—Since the death of Linnæus he was the first botanist of Sweden, and one of the most distinguished in Europe. Two plants perpetuate his name.

January 1819. At his seat, Stokes-

Stokestown House, co. Roscommon, in his 81st year, the right hon. Maurice Mahon, lord Hartland, baron Hartland of Stokestown, co. Roscommon, a governor of the county of Roscommon, &c.

In Gower-street, London, at the age of nearly 86, after a good and useful life, indefatigable in every public duty, and affectionate in every social relation, the rev. William Morice, D.D. the senior of his majesty's chaplains, rector of Allhallows, Bread-street, and secretary of the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts.

At Somers Town, in his 81st year, Dr. John Walcot, well known to the literary world under the name of Peter Pindar.

At Greenwich, in her 77th year, Mrs. Jane Potts, sister of Cuthbert Potts, esq. surgeon, formerly of Pall Mall, now of Kingsdowne, near Faversham, in Kent.

At Aston Clinton, Bucks, dowager lady Williams, relict of sir David Williams, bart of Sarratt, Herts.

In his 91st year, P. Hepburn, esq. of Chesham, Bucks.

At Melbury, Dorset, Caroline countess of Ilchester. She was second daughter of the right hon. and right rev. lord George Murray, late bishop of St. David's, and was niece to the duke of Athol. Her ladyship was married February 12, 1812.

Suddenly, of violent derangement, arising from an extraordinary determination of blood to the head, Mr. Tokely, the actor. The first symptoms of delirium were exhibited only on the 7th of January. His abilities were first introduced to public notice by Mr. Colman. Though the parts he so well performed were chiefly of the coarse, blunt, and even brutal kind, he was in private life a well-behaved and good-natured man. He has left a wife and children.

At Paris, the count de Beauharnais, formerly a senator, father of the grand duchess of Baden. He was son of madame de Beauharnais, well known in the republic of letters for her different amusing productions; and was cousin of count Alexander de Beauharnais (member of the constituent assembly), and of the empress Josephine.

At Paris, aged 92, the abbé Morellet, dean of the French academy.

At his seat of Hinton St. George, Somerset, in his 63d year, the right hon. John earl Poulett, viscount and baron of Hinton St. George, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Somerset, knight of the most ancient order of the thistle, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, colonel of the 1st regiment of Somerset militia, and of the eastern regiment of yeomanry cavalry, and recorder of Bridgewater.

At the Hague, in her 74th year, the countess dowager of Athlone, relict of Fred. Christian, earl of Athlone, who died at Teddington in 1808.

At Chelsea, in her 86th year, Mrs. Lindegren, relict of the late Charles Lindegren, esq.

Mr. James Adlard, printer, of Duke-street, West Smithfield and Bartholomew-close. He had taken leave of his daughter, on her returning to school, about an hour, when he was seized with spasms in the stomach, which terminated his existence in the short space of a single hour.

At

At Twickenham-lodge, Twickenham-common, aged 87, Frances, relict of the late Adam Moore, esq. of Norfolk-street.

In his 80th year, rev. Charles Jeffryes Cottrell, rector of Hadley, Middlesex, and of North Waltham, Hants.

Aged 85, George Parker, esq. of Newton-hall, near Chester.

At Rosiere, near Lyndhurst, in the New Forest, in his 47th year, the earl of Errol, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, hereditary lord high constable, and knight mareschal of Scotland, lord commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Aged 90, Mr. alderman Thomas Foster, of Lincoln, and father of the late T. Foster, gent. of Bury St. Edmund's. He served the office of mayor in the years 1782 and 1793.

At Hadleigh, Suffolk, aged 83, Mrs. Mary Vesey, sister of the late Mr. Vesey, surgeon, of Thorpe-le Soken, Essex, sincerely lamented by her relatives and friends, and greatly respected for her amiable disposition.

At Leighton-hall, in her 84th year, Mrs. Richmond, relict of H. Richmond, M.D. late of Bath, eldest daughter of J. Atherton, esq. late of Walton-hall, Lancashire.

At Bulwell, Lincolnshire, aged 90, a veteran named Gent, formerly well known in Nottingham as a seller of besoms. He fought at the battle of Minden in 1759, where he lost both his legs, and had them amputated above the knees. The case of a person surviving such a loss for 60 years is believed to be unprecedented. He travelled generally on an ass; and appearing in an old uniform, attracted considerable attention.

At Leslie House, Fifeshire, Harriet Evelyn, countess of Rothes, and wife to George Leslie, esq. by whom she has left five children. She has only survived her father two years. Her titles descend to her eldest son, now in his 11th year.

At his seat, Caher Castle, co. Tipperary, in his 44th year, the right hon. Richard Butler, earl of Glengall, viscount Caher, baron of Caher, a governor of the county of Tipperary, a trustee of the linen manufacture, &c.

At Loudwater, near High Wycombe, aged 91, William Davies, esq.; who in 1788 founded and endowed the chapel at Loudwater.

Near Whitehaven, aged 105, John Scott, well known as a shipborer; in which occupation he walked every morning until the last seven or eight years from his residence to Whitehaven, a distance of three miles. He was a musical performer, and a maker of musical instruments, having made the fiddle upon which he taught himself to play, and afterwards many things of the same kind. He has left a widow in her 94th year.

At Chesterfield, aged 85, Catherine, relict of the late reverend Edward Heathcote, of East Bridgeford, Notts, eldest and last surviving of the three daughters and co-heiresses of R. Hacker, esq. formerly of East Bridgeford.

At Glanton, Northumberland, aged 97, Mr. Edward Potts, the father of Mr. Potts, solicitor, of Serjeant's-inn, Fleet-street.

February. At Dumfries, in her 91st year, Mrs. Isabella Kelburn, relict of Mr. Allan M'Lachlan, printer and bookseller.

At

At Beccles, in her 83d year, Mrs. Alexander, relict of the late Mr. Alexander of that town, and sister of the late rev. Mr. Johnson, of Ellingham in Norfolk.

In Dean-street, Soho, Mr. Harlow, portrait and historical painter.

At the College in Shrewsbury, in his 84th year, T. Pemberton, esq.

In Hackney-road, aged 85, Hannah, relict of Mr. H. L. Okey, late of the Custom-house.

At Aberdeen, in his eighty-second year, professor William Ogilvie, of the King's college of that city.

At Edinburgh, aged 22, John Sackhouse, a native of the west coast of Greenland.

At Islington-green, in his 89th year, Thomas Hodson, esq.

At Ashton Hall, Lancashire, in his 80th year, the most noble Archibald duke of Hamilton, Brandon, and Chatelherault.

Charles IV. the former king of Spain and the Indies, who died at Rome on the 20th of January, was the son of Charles III. and of Maria Amelia of Saxony.

At Enmore Parsonage, Somersetshire, aged 84, Mrs. Poole.

In her 101st year, Mrs. Sarah Rose, of the Woodlands of Hope, Derbyshire, relict of the late Mr. Dan. Rose, of that place. She retained her faculties nearly to the last. Her descendants, at her decease, consisting of children, grand-children, and great grand-children, were found to be in number 214 persons living, besides about 50 already dead.

At Rome, in his 22d year, the hon. B. C. Colyear, son of viscount Milsintown, and grandson of Brownlow, late duke of Ancaster, by his only daughter.

In her 83d year, Mrs. Frost, relict of the late Mr. G. Frost, of Long-Melford, Suffolk.

In his 88th year, having survived Mrs. Cornwell only twelve days, Emerson Cornwell, esq. of Ipswich.

Aged 82, I. Josselyn, gent. of Copdock near Ipswich.

In his 89th year, at the Barley-House, Winston, Mr. Thomas Farrer. In the above parish (consisting of a population under 300) there are now 13 persons living, whose united ages amount to 1035 years, being, on an average, more than 81 years each.

At Gislingham, Norfolk, aged 88, Frances Sparrow Reeve, relict of Richard Reeve, and the mother of Dr. Reeve, of Norwich.

At Paris, of an inflammation of the brain, lord Spencer Stanley Chichester, brother of the marquis of Donegal.

In her 88th year, Elizabeth, relict of the late F. Hawes, esq. of Great Marlow, Bucks.

At Chichester, in his 59th year, sir George Murray, K.C.B. vice admiral of the red.

At his house in Hart-street, Bloomsbury, in his 84th year, Daniel Sutton, esq. formerly of Sutton House, Kensington Gore, and since of the Maisonnette, Ingatestone, Essex.

At Southgate, the five following children of A. K. Mackenzie, esq.; Elizabeth, aged 13 years; Augusta, aged 10 years; Isabella, aged 9 years; Anne Lealand, aged 8 years; and James Webster, aged two years and a half. These children all died in ten days, of ulcerated sore throats and inflammation on the windpipe.

In London, in his 94th year, sir Robert Mackreth, knight of Ewhurst.

At

At Broseley, aged 85, rev. J. Cope.

At Thrandeston, aged 90, Mr. John Filby.

In his 83d year, Samuel Tayler, esq. senior alderman of Devizes. He had served the office of mayor of that borough five times.

In Blake-street, York, in his 84th year, the rev. J. Deere Thomas, D. D. rector of Kirby Misperton.

The rev. Michael Corcoran, titular bishop of Leighlin and Kildare.

March. At the advanced age of 81, sir Walter Farquhar, bart. physician to his royal highness the prince regent.

In Hertford-street, in her 47th year, Catherine Octavia lady Ellenborough, youngest daughter of the marquis of Londonderry, sister of lords Castlereagh and Stewart, and niece of marquis Camden. She was born Oct. 14, 1772, and married to the hon. Edward Law, now lord Ellenborough, Dec. 11, 1813.

At Lausanne, in Switzerland, in his 50th year, the hon. J. T. Capel, second brother of the earl of Essex. He was married to lady Caroline Paget, eldest dau. of the late earl of Uxbridge.

At Norwich, in her 89th year, Mary, relict of the late Dr. John Murray, of that city.

At Bath, aged 83, the relict of T. Western, esq. of Abington, Cambridgeshire, and mother of the late rear-admiral Western, of Tattingstone-place, Suffolk.

Almost immediately on his return to Paris, count Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angely.

At Munich, the Nestor of the German philosophers, the celebrated Frederick Henri Jacobi, privy counsellor of the king of Bavaria.

In the Clapham-road, aged 71, Edward Parratt, esq. clerk of the journals of the house of lords.

At his prebendary-house in Dean's-yard, Westminster, the rev. William Douglas, M. A. prebendary of Westminster, and chancellor canon residentiary, and precentor of Salisbury. He was son of the rev. Dr. Douglas, bishop of that see; and was educated at Christ-church, Oxford; M. A. 1792.

At East Stoke Park, Wilts, aged 86, Joshua Smith, esq. late M. P. for Devizes, which borough he represented 30 years.

Aged 83, William Hey, esq. F. R. S. alderman of Leeds, and late senior surgeon to the Leeds general infirmary; author of "Observations on Surgery," and a "Treatise on the Blood."

At Paris, aged 84, the celebrated Portuguese poet, Francisco Manuel.

Lady Elizabeth, widow of the late H. Drummond, esq. and aunt of the marquis of Northampton.

In Weymouth Street, aged 65, Anne, dowager marchioness Townshend, relict of the most noble George, first marquis Townshend, of Rainham Hall, Norfolk. She was daughter of the late sir William Montgomery, bart.

In his 90th year, the rev. Edmund Fisher, rector of Duxford St. Peters, formerly fellow of Corpus Christi College, M. A. 1756.

At Norwich, Mr. C. Grimmer, aged 101, buyer of rabbit skins till two or three days before his death.

April. At Paris, in his 67th year,

year, the right hon. Charles, ninth lord Dormer, of Peterley House, in the county of Buckingham, and Grove Park, in the county of Warwick.

At Standon, Herts, Richard Goff, at the extraordinary age of 118 years! He has left a wife in her 47th year, and three children, the eldest of whom is but 17, and the youngest two years and a half old.

In Percy-street, aged 88, R. Haworth, esq. late of Chancery-lane, father of the society of apothecaries, &c. &c.

At Peckham, after a short illness, in the 90th year of her age, Mrs. Sarah Blackwood, relict of S. Blackwood, esq. of Pitreavie, near Edinburgh, and Crayford in Kent, and late of Camberwell, Surrey.

At Paris, the hon. Charlotte Frances lady Webb, wife of sir Thomas Webb, bart. of Odstock, Wilts, sister of viscount Dutton, and niece to the earl of Mulgrave.

At Somers Town, aged 83, rev. Bennet Allen. He was of Wadham College, Oxford; M.A. 1760.

In Poland-street, aged 87, the rev. W. Strickland, head of the ancient family of Strickland, of Sizer, Westmoreland.

At his lodgings in Gloucester, in his 83d year, E. Probyn, esq. of Newland, one of the verderers of his majesty's forest of Dean.

At Twickenham, aged 86, J. Fryer, esq.

At Walthamstow, Richard, ninth son of sir Robert Wigram, bart. Mr. Richard and Mr. Ely Wigram, two sons of sir Robert, were riding in a gig near Epping Forest; they had a fine spirited young horse, which became unmanageable, and ran away. The young gentlemen used their utmost endeavours to stop him; but to no purpose: at length the reins broke, and the vehicle was dashed to pieces, and both gentlemen were thrown out. Mr. R. Wigram received a dreadful wound in the back part of his head, which fractured his skull, and we lament to say, he died, at the age of 19. Mr. Ely Wigram was very much cut in the face and bruised, but is in a fair way of recovery.

At Lambeth, aged 87, Mary, widow of the late captain George Talbot, R. N.

In her 94th year, Mrs. Mary Lynch, of Gosport.

In Clarges-street, in her 69th year, Charlotte, countess Onslow.

In Fenchurch-street, in her 83d year, Mrs. Brown.

In St. James's-place, St. James's-street, in her 87th year, Mary, countess dowager Poulett.

In his 104th year, Mr. Goodacre, an oyster-dredger, of Saltfleet, Lincolnshire. He retained all his faculties to the last, and walked, about 10 days since, to Louth (14 miles), and returned the next day.

At Greenfield, near Ampthill, aged 90, William Burridge, labourer; a rare instance of pedestrian servitude; having regularly, and punctual to his time, for 32 years, walked from his cottage to his circle of work, in Ampthill Park, averaging about seven miles a day, nearly 70,000 miles; which is almost three times the circumference of the globe.

In her 99th year, Mrs. Eleanor Spencer, widow, of Lincoln.

Sir John Buchanan Riddell, bart. M. P. for the district of the burghs of Selkirk, Peebles, Linlithgow,

lithgow, and Lanark. He married in 1805 Lady Frances, sister of the present earl Romney.

M. the abbé Grandbois, aged 75, formerly almoner to Madame, and residing at Paris.

In the middle of April, at Lisbon (where his grace had been advised to go for the recovery of his health), Charles William Montagu Scott, duke of Buccleugh.

In Hungary, aged 123, G. Szinevier.

May. At Edgeworth-town, Ireland, Mary-Anne, second daughter of Richard Fox, esq. of Fox-hall (Longford), and the lady Anne Maxwell, granddaughter to Barry, earl of Farnham, and niece to the present earl.

At Mansfield, aged 91, Catherine, sister to the late rev. Dr. Storer, of Grantham.

At East Bergholt Parsonage, Suffolk, in the 86th year of his age, the rev. Durand Rhudde, D. D. rector of Brantham with East Bergholt, and of Great Wenham, Suffolk, and chaplain in ordinary to his majesty.

At Salisbury, in his 83d year, Henry Penruddocke Wyndham, M. P. for Wiltshire from 1795 to 1812.

At Felsted, at the advanced age of 101, Mrs. Mary Sewell, retaining her faculties to the last.

At his seat at Enville Hall, in Staffordshire, the rt. hon. George Harry, earl of Stamford and Warrington, baron Grey of Groby.

At Cambridge, in his 82d year, Mr. John Marshall, library and school-keeper to that university for half a century, universally beloved and respected: he had many friends, but no enemies.

Aged 100 years, and in possession of all her faculties till a few days previous to her decease, Mrs. Hannah Scott, relict of Mr. Robert Scott, formerly a sadler at Holt, Norfolk.

Aged 91, Elizabeth, wife of John Crane, esq. of Croydon, Surrey.

At Bath, Dr. Samuel Solomon, of Gilead House, Liverpool, proprietor of the "Balm of Gilead," and several other public medicines.

In Crawford-street, aged 84, Elizabeth, relict of the rev. John Smith, rector of Alexton, Leicestershire, and of Thistelton, county of Rutland.

At Highfield-park, Hants, in her 86th year, the hon. lady Pitt, relict of the late general the right hon. sir William Augustus Pitt, K. B. &c. and sister to the late admiral earl Howe, and general viscount Howe.

Aged 109, Elizabeth Perry, born at Shirlheath, in the parish of Eardisland, and who resided at Streamford, Herefordshire, within 200 yards of the same spot, to the day of her death. Her sight was a little impaired; but she could eat, drink, and take snuff (of which latter she was particularly fond) to the last, and could walk about the house and premises, with the assistance of her daughter. This venerable matron (with the exception of a severe surgical operation in the back, which she underwent about fifteen years ago) enjoyed, during her life, an almost uninterrupted state of good health, and her death appeared to be only the result of extreme age; for it was only the day previous to her dissolution that she took to her bed, and her faculties were clear

to

to the last hour. She attributed her protracted life to *hard work* and *hard living*. She remembered wheat at 2*s*. 6*d*. per bushel, and muncorn (mixture of wheat and rye) at 18*d*. per bushel; meat from 1*d*. to 2*d*. per lb.; and butter 2*d*. per lb. Her eldest daughter is an active dame of 84; her youngest son is about 60, her eldest grand-daughter 46, and her eldest great-grandchild 12.

Aged 50, at St. Petersburg, of an apoplexy, prince David, of Georgia, eldest son of the last czar of Georgia, George XIII. He had lived there many years; was lieut.-general and senator; and, like the other members of the family of the czar of Georgia, received a considerable pension from the Russian court.

At the Hope estate Jamaica, aged 140 years, Roger Hope Elletson, a negro.

June. At Winchmore Hill, Middlesex, in his 88th year, T. Holmes, esq. many years of the Excise Office.

At his seat, Castle Mary, co. Cork, Mountifort Longfield, esq. M. P. for the city of Cork in many successive parliaments, and col. of the city of Cork militia. He was first cousin to the late viscount Longueville, who bequeathed him the chief part of his estate.

At Edinburgh, after a long and severe illness, in his 60th year, the right hon. Robert Dundas, of Arniston, lord chief baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland.

At Lady Burnaby's, at Stoke cottage, near Guildford, aged 85, Mrs. Elizabeth Ottley.

At Bath, J. Meyer, esq. aged 82.

In his 81st year, D. Dyson, esq. of Barkisland-hall, near Halifax.

At Denmark-hill, Camberwell, in his 87th year, Mr. J. Evans.

At Abbeville, on his way to Paris, M. C. Maxwell, esq. of Terreagle, Dumfries-shire, and of Everingham, Yorkshire.

At Woodhall, near Worksop, aged 82, Mr. Francis Wilks, wood-steward to his grace the duke of Leeds; an office which he and his forefathers have held in that family upwards of 100 years.

July. At Smeaton, near Edinburgh, at the age of 81, sir George Buchan Hepburn, bart.

At Portsmouth, in his 84th year, Thos. Tucker, esq. formerly of the Custom-house, London.

In Durham-place, Chelsea, in his 81st year, T. Richardson, esq.

At Canterbury, in his 83d year, John Toke, esq. late of Godinton, Kent.

At the vicarage-house, Bedfont, Middlesex, in his 88th year, the rev. Dr. Henry Whitfield. He was of Merton college, Oxford, M. A. 1756, B. and D. D. 1772, upwards of 40 years vicar of Bedfont, and during the same period rector of Rushal, Wiltshire.

At Inglis Maldie, Kincardineshire, Julietta, countess of Kintore.

In her 85th year, Mrs. Cecil, of Charles-square, Hoxton.

In his 86th year, J. Lawrence, esq. many years senior alderman of Huntingdon.

At Rotherhithe, in his 85th year, captain John Boyd, many years commander of the Hibberts West Indiaman.

At Hadleigh, Suffolk, aged 82, Thomasine, widow of the late Arthur Hemming, esq.

In Upper Grovesnor-street, in her 79th year, Sarah, lady Cave, widow of sir Thomas Cave, (who died May 31, 1780,) and mother of

of the late sir Thomas Cave, who died in 1792, and represented the county of Leicester in parliament.

Aged 81, William Chatteris, esq. banker, of Lombard-street.

At Ipswich, in her 83rd year, Frances, relict of the late and mother of the present Thomas Green, esq.

At Kensington, in his 88th year, Edward Jennings, esq. formerly of Ripon, Yorkshire, and the Middle Temple.

Mary Rawes, of Marnhull, Dorsetshire, in the 98th year of her age; one of the Society of Friends.

In Sydney-place, Bath, in her 85th year, the widow of H. Prideaux, esq. of Place-house, Padstow, Cornwall.

August. At Blackheath, aged 81, the widow of H. Vansittart, esq. formerly governor of Bengal, and mother of the chancellor of the exchequer.

In Green-park-buildings, aged 81, the widow of the late Robert Hale, esq. of Cottle's-house, Wilts, and sister of the late governor Mocher.

At Kensington-palace, in her 90th year, viscountess Molesworth, widow of the late lord viscount Molesworth.

At Salisbury, Betsey Moore, aged 80 years; and on Friday the 6th instant, Rachael Moore, aged 82 years; both of the Society of Friends, and daughters of the late Joseph Moore, clothier, of that city.

At Alton, Hants, in her 91st year, the widow of the late Mr. Stephen Lee.

Aged 100, Mr. Walker, of Chesterfield, Derbyshire, father of the late Matthew Walker, esq. of New Steine, Brighton.

In Granby-row, Dublin, in his 90th year, the hon. Ponsonby Moore, brother to the marquis of Drogheda. He married, 1st, in 1768, Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen, 1st viscount Mountcashell, who died 1777; and 2dly, in April, 1781, Catharine, sister to Frederick, lord Ashtown.

At Sunning-hill, H. Willis, esq. F. R. and F. A. S. of Kensington-palace.

In Canada, of the hydrophobia, his grace Charles, fourth duke of Richmond.

At Grosbois (in consequence, as it is said, of falling into a piece of water during a dreadful fit of apoplexy), lieut.-gen. count Cæsar Berthier, brother to the late prince of Wagram.

At his seat at Felpham, near Bognor, in Sussex, aged 73, the rev. Cyril Jackson, D. D. who succeeded Dr. Bagot as dean of Christ Church in the year 1783, and resigned that honourable situation in 1809.

At his house at Heathfield, James Watt, esq.

After a short illness, Mr. Delamare, formerly master of the academy at Romford, having arrived at the extraordinary age of 98 years. The deceased retained his eye-sight and mental faculties to the last.

In Warwick-street, Cockspur-street, aged 89, R. Tindall, esq. nearly 60 years a surgeon in his majesty's navy.

At Clapham-rise, aged 92, Mrs. Warne.

September. At Louth, in his 85th year, the rev. J. Emeris, M. A. formerly fellow of C. C. C. Cambridge, A. B. 1758, A. M. 1761, for upwards of 30 years head master of Louth school, rector of Tedford, Lincolnshire.

At St. Lawrence, Ramsgate, in his 17th year, the hon. Wm. Boyle, youngest son of the earl of Glasgow.

At Tuam-palace, co. Galway, in his 77th year, his grace the right hon. and most rev. William Beresford, lord Decies, baron of Decies, co. Waterford, lord archbishop of Tuam, primate of Connaught, bishop of Ardagh, a privy counsellor in Ireland, &c.

Aged 102, Mary Schidmer, a native of Germany: her mental faculties were unimpaired to within a day of her death.

Aged 82, Mrs. Weeks, midwife, of Exeter, and also to the Exeter Lying-in-Charity.—She followed her avocations almost to the last; was the mother of 22 children, all of whom were baptized; and had attended at the delivery of more than 11,000 infants!

10. The gallant Blucher closed a long career of glory this day. His latter moments were cheered by the presence of his prince, and the sympathy and admiration of all around him.

In a fit of apoplexy, Mr. Samuel Simmons, the comedian, late of Covent-garden theatre.

In Oxford-street, the right hon. lady Essex Ker, eldest surviving daughter of Robert duke of Roxburgh, by Essex Mostyn, his duchess, eldest daughter of sir Roger Mostyn, bart. of Mostyn.

At his son's house, at Provender in Kent, after a short illness, in his 61st year, sir E. Knatchbull, bart. one of the representatives for the county of Kent during six parliaments.

At Eastbourn, Sussex, in his 69th year, sir A. Piggott, knt. M.P. for the borough of Arundel for four successive parliaments.

At Southend, Essex, Benjamin Moseley, M. D. licentiate of the royal college of physicians of London, and physician to Chelsea hospital.

At Bury St. Edmund's, in his 89th year, William Smith, esq. formerly of Drury-lane theatre.

At Vienna, Louis III. prince de Gonzaga, duke de Castiglione, &c. the last of the illustrious house of Nevers, which had produced two empresses, and a duchess of Lorraine. From this house, both by the paternal and maternal line, the emperor Leopold was derived. It was allied to all the sovereigns in Christendom.

At Brentwood, Essex, in her 88th year, Margaret, widow of the late rev. T. Newman, many years rector of West Hornden and Ingrave, Essex.

In his 89th year, J. Sanders, esq. principal partner in the Exeter bank.

At Tynemouth, lady Collingwood, widow of the late admiral lord C.

At Carron-park, aged 82, Wm. Cadell, esq. of Banton, one of the original founders of the Carron iron works. During the whole course of an active life he was engaged in many useful and important commercial undertakings.

At Paris, aged 83, the count Dupont, peer of France, and commandant of the royal order of the legion of honour.

At Englefield-green, col. sir F. E. Bathurst Harvey, bart. aid-de camp to the prince regent, secretary to the duke of Wellington, and lieut.-col. of the 14th dragoons.

At Clomore, Kilkenny, in his 100th year, Richard Elliott, esq.

At Portarlington, in her 83d year,

year, the widow of the late F. Trench, esq. of Woodlawn.

In his 85th year, W. Plumley, esq. of Shepton Mallet, formerly of Ludgate-hill.

Lately, aged 85, Mr. Daniel Davies, of Moorgate, where he resided sixty years, and accumulated a large fortune.

In his 90th year, John Hope, esq. senior alderman and father of the corporation of Derby. He was mayor of Derby four times.

At the advanced age of 85, the rev. John Teasdale Spry, M. A. vicar of Marystow and Thrusselton, and formerly of Sydney Sussex college, Cambridge.

At Badcombe, in his 93d year, John Dicker. He had been employed between 70 and 80 years as earth-stopper to the several packs of hounds in the western parts of Dorsetshire, and was buried by the members of the present hunt. A number of old sportsmen attended the funeral.

Within a few hours of each other, Mr. John Green and his wife Elizabeth, of Bromyard, Herefordshire. Their united ages amounted to 160 years. They had been married 59 years, and had had 22 children in little more than 19 years.

At Prescot, aged 87, J. Hasleden. He served at Quebec in the 15th regiment, and was employed by the immortal Wolfe as his valet, until the death of the hero; when he entered the service of general Murray, with whom he remained until his discharge in 1761.

At his residence near Brussels, lord C. Cavendish Bentinck, brother to the late duke of Portland. His lordship was in the 76th year of his age.

At the advanced age of 100 years and upwards, count Colomera, commandant of halberdiers of the Spanish guard.

October. In Botolph-lane, aged 82, Mr. William Fury, a non-commissioned officer of artillery, who had served under generals Wolfe at Quebec, and Elliot at Gibraltar, during the siege.

At Florence, the right hon. the dowager countess of Shaftesbury.

At Rushington, near Sleaford, Lincolnshire, aged 81, Mr. Pears, grazier. He was appointed high constable for the hundred of Langoe in the reign of George II.; was married in 1761, and, although he had several children, never had a death in his family.

At the baths of Tivoli, near Paris, in his 29th year, sir Arthur Grey Heselrige, bart. of Noseley-hall, in the county of Leicester.

In Brook-street, in his 29th year, the hon. Frederick Sylvester North Douglas, only son of lord Glenbervie, member of parliament for Banbury, and a captain in major Stratton's squadron of yeomanry cavalry.

At the Hague, the princess dowager of Brunswick Lunenburg, sister of the king of the Netherlands.

At Kilboy, co. Tipperary, the right honourable Maria, baroness Dunalley.

At Edinburgh, in her 83d year, Anne, daughter of the late rev. W. Wishart, principal of the college of that city.

October. At Goodnestone, Kent, in her 77th year, the right honourable Frances, widow of the late honourable Drigues Billers, lord Waltham, of New Hall, in Essex.

In his 93d year, Mr. Matthew Kindred, of Knoddishall, Suffolk.

At his lodgings in Queen's-square, Bath, aged 68, J. Bowles, esq. late of Dulwich, barrister at law, a commissioner of bankrupts, and a magistrate of the county of Surrey.

At Chelmsford, in his 84th year, J. Carden, a native of that town.

At Clapham, in her 83d year, Mrs. Stevens.

Aged 97, Owen Shone, of Hafodnyew, parish of Llanbedr, Carnarvonshire.

November. At Bristol, Edward Bird, esq. R. A. the celebrated painter, of that city. His "Chevy Chase" procured him the appointment of historical painter to the princess Charlotte.

At his seat, Doneraile-house, in the county of Cork, in his 65th year, right hon. Hayes St. Leger, viscount Doneraile, baron Doneraile, a governor of the county of Cork, &c.

At Preston, Sussex, the rev. James Douglas, F. S. A. for some time a member of Peter House, Cambridge; rector of Middleton, Sussex; and chaplain in ordinary to the prince regent.

James Curry, M. D. F. S. A. of Grafton-street, senior physician to Guy's Hospital, and lecturer on the theory and practice of medicine.

At Stowmarket, aged 84, the rev. Jabez Brown, baptist minister of that place; having been upwards of fifty years engaged in the work of the ministry.

In his 88th year, W. Meymott, esq. of Durham-place, Lambeth.

At High Wycombe, aged 89, Mr. Matthew Bates, one of the oldest and most celebrated horticulturists in the kingdom.

In Edgar-buildings, Bath, aged 79, J. Stackhouse, esq. F. L. S.

At St. Petersburg, aged 96, general Dorfelden, who obtained so much reputation in the field during the latter part of the reign of the empress Catherine II.

At Prince of Wales Island, aged 86, lieut.-col. Debrisay, formerly governor of that island, father of lieut.-col. Debrisay commanding the royal artillery at Limerick.

December. In her 83d year, Mary, widow of the late Mr. T. Burt, of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

At his house in London-street, Reading, aged 82, Mr. James Simonds. He was born at Arborfield Cross in the same county.

At Hackney-terrace, in her 82d year, Mary, widow of the late Allyn Symonds Smith, esq. late of Battersea.

Aged 82, Mrs. Phillips, of Hemel Hempstead.

In Leadenhall-street, in her 83d year, Mrs. Eleanor Cowley.

At Tunbridge Wells, the right hon. and most rev. Euseby Cleaver, D. D. lord archbishop of Dublin, and bishop of Glandelagh, primate of Ireland, chancellor of the illustrious order of St. Patrick, visitor of Trinity college, Dublin, &c. &c. He was of Christ Church, Oxford; M. A. 1770; B. and D. D. 1783.

At Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire, the right hon. Hugh Montgomerie, earl of Eglinton, lord Montgomerie and Kilwinning (baron Ardrossan, in Great Britain), knight of the most ancient order of the thistle, lord lieutenant of Ayrshire, one of the state counsellors of the prince of Wales, &c.

In Alfred-street, Bath, aged 90, the relict of the most reverend Dr. John Cradock, archbishop of Dublin; mother of general baron Howden,

Howden, and many years a resident of Bath; a woman of unbounded charity. The last on her *original* list of pensions died a short time since, aged nearly 100 years.—One of her singularities is worthy of being recorded; she never sat down to eat or drink (at her own table) any thing that had not been previously paid for.

PROMOTIONS in the year 1819.

December 1818. Mr. serj. Sellon, chief magistrate at Hatton Garden police-office.

Baugh Alleyne, esq. one of the magistrates at Union Hall, *vice* Sellon.

Thomas Le Blanc, esq. LL.D. re-elected master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

February 1819. The marquis of Bath, his majesty's lieutenant of the county of Somerset, *vice* earl Poulett deceased.

Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. rector of Lambeth, chaplain to the house of commons.

Hon. Edward Stuart and William Thomas Roe, commissioners of customs, *vice* William Roe and Francis Fownes Luttrell superannuated.

March. A new commission to the board of admiralty, which includes the name of sir G. Clerk.

The earl of Fife, a lord of the bed-chamber, *vice* earl Poulett deceased.

The earl of Morton, his majesty's commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland, *vice* earl of Errol.

Sir John Mortlocke, a commissioner of excise, *vice* Mr. Whish resigned; lord G. Seymour succeeds to the presidency of that board.

To be lords of the treasury: lord Liverpool, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Berkeley Paget, viscount Lowther, lord H. Somerset, the hon. J. Maxwell Barry, and Mr. Alexander M'Naghten.

Sir David Baird to be governor of Kinsale.

The prince regent has recommended the bishop of Landaff (Dr. Herbert Marsh) to be elected bishop of Peterborough.

April. Earl of Carrick, representative peer of Ireland, *vice* Northland.

Lord Belhaven, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, *vice* Errol.

Rev. Andrew Bell, D.D. a prebend of Westminster.

Rev. Thomas Walker, jun., B.A. prebend of Featherstone, at Windsor.

May. The prince regent has appointed T. Gregory, esq. judge; E. Fitzgerald, esq. arbitrator; and D. M. Hamilton, esq. registrar, to the English and Dutch commission at Sierra Leone; and C. E. Lefroy, esq. judge, and T. S. Wale, esq. arbitrator, to the mixed commission at Surinam, under the treaty for the prevention of the slave trade.

Also, the prince regent has issued a *congé d'élire* for the election of a successor to the see of Landaff to the late bishop, who has been translated to that of Peterborough; and the rev. Dr. William Van Mildert has been recommended to the vacant see.

The Gazette notifies the investiture of the earl of Aylesbury with the insignia of the order of the thistle. Also the appointment of C. Maxwell, esq. as governor of St. Christopher's; and

of sir S. F. Whittingham as governor of Dominica.

The right hon. Charles Grant sworn of the privy council; and Charles Warren, esq. appointed attorney-general to the prince of Wales.

June. The lieut.-general sir W. Lumley to be governor and commander-in-chief of the Bermuda islands, *vice* sir J. Cockburn resigned.

The honour of knighthood upon John Richardson, esq. on being appointed one of the judges of the court of common pleas.

The honour of knighthood upon William Draper Best, esq. on being appointed one of the judges of the court of king's bench.

The earl of Stamford and Warrington, to be his majesty's lieutenant of the county of Chester; the marquis of Lothian to be lieutenant and sheriff depute of the shire of Mid Lothian; and the marquis of Queensberry to be lieutenant and sheriff principal of the shire of Dumfries.

July. Sir R. Gifford is appointed attorney-general, and serjeant Copley solicitor-general.

Mr. Casberd, of the chancery bar, is appointed to the seat of a judge of the principality of Wales, *vice* Abel Mosey, esq. resigned.

Henry Revell Reynolds, esq. barrister at law, to be a commissioner for the relief of insolvent debtors, *vice* Mr. serjeant Runnington.

August. To be generals in the army—lieutenant generals the honourable R. Taylor, G. Milner, George marquis of Huntly, hon. E. Finch, I. Gascoyne, D. D. Wemyss, hon. J. Cuming, H. Wynyard, D. Campbell, T. Grosvenor, J. Calcraft, John earl of Hopetoun, G. C. B. James lord Forbes, Henry marquis of Anglesey, K.G. and G.C.B., sir J. Doyle, bart. and G. C. B., sir R. Brownrigg, bart. and G. C. B., W. Knollis, hon. E. Phipps, W. Cartwright, sir B. Leighton, bart., J. Coffin, J. Murray, and sir C. Green, bart.

To be lieutenant generals in the army—major generals J. Croker, L. B. Wallis, J. Hope, G. Meyricke, sir A. Cameron, K. C. B., Andrew lord Blayney, hon. S. Mahon, J. S. Wood, D. O'Meara, Francis baron Rottenburg, hon. sir C. Colville, G. C. B., F. C. White, G. Brown, L. Lindelthal, R. Coghlan, sir H. Fane, K. C. B. sir R. Bolton, R. Cheney, sir G. Anson, K.C.B., Kenneth Alexander lord Howard of Effingham, K. C. B., sir H. Hinuber, K.C.B. Thomas lord Hartland, sir J. S. Maxwell, bart. W. T. Dilkes, sir J. Oswald, K. C. B., W. Doyle, J. Hatton, P. Bonham, sir W. Anson, K.C.B., G. W. Ramsay, and J. Dorrien.

To be major generals in the army, from colonel sir J. Elley to colonel sir A. F. Barnard, inclusive.

His royal highness the prince regent has been pleased, in the name and on behalf of the king, to appoint W. R. Broughton, esq. C. B. sir E. Berry, bart. K.C.B. W. Prowse, esq. C.B. and T. Baker, esq. C.B. to be colonels in his majesty's royal marine forces, in the room of W. T. Lake, esq. C. B. W. C. Fahie, esq. C. B. sir G. Eyre, K.C.B. and sir J. Talbot, K. C. B. appointed flag officers of his majesty's fleet.

The following promotions have been made:

The first five officers on the list of admirals of the white, ending

ing with admiral Wilson, to be admirals of the red.

The 10 officers on the list of admirals of the blue, ending with admiral sir J. Saumarez, to be admirals of the white.

The 18 officers at the head of the list of vice-admirals of the red, ending with sir E. Nagle, to be admirals of the blue.

Vice admirals of the white, from F. Pender, esq. to sir T. Foley inclusive, to be vice admirals of the red.

The whole of the officers on the list of vice admirals of the blue to be vice admirals of the white.

The whole of the officers on the list of rear admirals of the red, to be vice admirals of the blue.

The whole of the rear admirals of the white to be rear admirals of the red.

The whole of the rear admirals of the blue to be rear admirals of the white.

Captain W. T. Lake, C.B. to be rear admiral of the white.

Captains sir C. Ogle, H. Raper, W. C. Fahie, sir G. Eyre, R. Lambert, J. Bingham, R. D. Oliver, T. Boys, sir C. Brisbane, sir J. Talbot, J. Halliday, J. Gifford, J. West, S. Poyntz, lord Colville, J. Cochet, sir A. C. Dickson, R. Winthrop, H. Digby, C. Ekins, J. S. Rainer, B. W. Page, P. Wodehouse, and T. Alexander, to be rear admirals of the blue.

Sir G. Murray, K.C.B. Governor of the royal military college, *vice* Hope; and sir A. Hope, governor of Edinburgh castle, *vice* Murray.

The duke of Wellington, governor of Plymouth, *vice* duke of Richmond deceased.

General sir John Francis Cradock, G.C.B. and heirs male, a baron of Ireland, by the title of baron Howden.

Lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie, G.C.B. to be captain-general and governor in chief of the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton; also sir James Kempt, G.C.B. to be lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia and its dependencies.

November. The earl of Egremont to be lord lieutenant of Sussex; lord Lascelles, lord lieutenant of the west riding of Yorkshire.

Earl of Craven to be lord lieutenant of Berks, *vice* earl of Radnor resigned.

Dr. W. Somerville, physician to Chelsea hospital, *vice* Moseley.

Very Reverend Dr. Saurin, dean of Derry, to be bishop of Dromore.

SHERIFFS for the year 1819.

Bedford. The hon. Samuel Ongley, of Sandy.

Berks. John Sawyer, of Heywood-lodge, esq.

Bucks. John Grubb, of Horsenden, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon. John Hall, of West Wratting, esq.

Cheshire. John Smith Barry, of Marbury, esq.

Cumberland. Thomas Salkeld, of Carlisle, esq.

Derby. Edward Coke, of Longford, esq.

Devon. Trebye Hele Hays, of Delamore, esq.

Dorset. George Purling, of Bradford, esq.

Essex. John Wilks, of Wendon Lofts, esq.

Glocester. Edward Sheppard, of the Ridge, esq.

Hereford. William Hanbury, of Shobden, esq.

Hertford. Sam. Unwin Heathcote, of Shephalbury, esq.

Kent. The hon. John Winkfield Stratford, of Addington-place.

Leicester. Thomas Sansome, of Hinckley, esq.

Lincoln. Ayscough Boucherett, of Willingham, esq.

Monmouth. George Buckle, of Chepstow, esq.

Norfolk. Sir William Windham Dalling, of Earsnam, bart.

Northampton. Sir J. Henry Palmer, of Carlton Curlieu, bart.

Northumberland. William Ord, of Nunney Kirk, esq.

Nottingham. Henry Gally Knight, of Langold, esq.

Oxford. John Houghton Langston, of Sarsden, esq.

Rutland. James Tiptaft, of Braunston, esq.

Salop. Edward William Smythe Owen, of Condover-park, esq.

Somerset. William Spike, of Ashill, esq.

Stafford. Jesse Watts Russell, of Ham, esq.

County Southam. H. C. Compton, Manor-house, Minstead, esq.

Suffolk. Andrew Archdeckne, of Glenham, esq.

Surrey. William Speer, of Thames Ditton, esq.

Sussex. John Wood, of Chestham, esq.

Warwick. John Eardley Eardley Wilmot, of Berkswell, esq.

Wilts. John Long, of Monkton Farleigh, esq.

Worcester. John Jeffreys, of Blakebrook, esq.

York. William Wrightson, of Cusworth, esq.

WALES.

Carmarthen. David Heron Pugh, of Greenhill, esq.

Pembroke. H. Davis, esq. of Mulloch.

Cardigan. George Jeffrys, of Glandorey, esq.

Glamorgan. Josiah John Guest, of Dowlais, esq.

Brecon. John Gwynne, of Gwernvale-house, esq.

Radnor. Morgan John Evans, of Llwynbarried-house, esq.

Merioneth. Edward Owen, of Garthynghaved, esq.

Carnarvon. G. Hay Dawkins Pennant, of Penryn-castle, esq.

Anglesey. William Pritchard Lloyd, of Llwydiart, esq.

Montgomery. John Davies, of Machynlleth, esq.

Denbigh. J. C. Jones, esq. of Brynnsteddford.

Flint. Ralph Richardson, of Kinsall, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

By the lords' committees appointed a secret committee to inquire into the state of the bank of England, with reference to the expediency of the resumption of cash-payments at the period now fixed by law, and into such other matters as are connected therewith; and to report such information relative thereto as may be disclosed without injury to the public interest, with their observations:—

Ordered to report,

THAT the committee have, pursuant to the instructions given to them by the house, proceeded to inquire into the several matters referred to them, and have collected from the examination of witnesses, and from the accounts laid before them, the information which will be found in the minutes of evidence, and in the appendix.

The committee think it right to premise, that in this investigation they have taken as their guide the decided opinion of parliament, as declared by many repeated enactments, that the removal of the restriction upon cash-payments by the bank, or, in other words, the restoration of the currency of the country to a state of regulation by its ancient metallic standard, is an object which ought to be accomplished at as early a period as shall be found safe and practicable.

The first act, confirming and continuing the restriction contained in the minute of council of the 26th of February, 1797, was passed on the 3d of May, 1797, and was to be in force till the 24th of June, 1797. The restriction was further continued by an act passed on the 22d of June, 1797, until one month after the commencement of the then next session of parliament. By another act, passed on the 30th of November in the same year, the restriction was further continued until one month after the conclusion of the war by a definitive treaty of peace. On the third of January, 1799, the directors of the bank, in pursuance of a power reserved to them by the acts of parliament referred to, gave notice that on the 14th instant they would pay in cash all fractional sums under *5l.*; and on the 1st of February, 1800, would pay cash for all notes of *1l.* and *2l.*, dated prior to the 1st of July, 1798, or exchange them for new notes of the same value,

value, at the option of the holders. By another act, passed on the 30th of April, 1802, the restriction was continued until the 1st of March, 1803. On the 28th of February, 1803, it was further continued until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament. On the 13th of December, 1803, the country being then again at war, it was further continued until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace. In the year 1812 an act was passed for preventing any note or bill of the banks of England or Ireland from being received for a smaller sum than the sum therein specified, and for staying proceedings upon distress by tender of such notes; and in 1814 this act was further continued during the continuance of any act imposing restriction upon the bank with respect to payments in cash.

By an act passed on the 18th of July, 1814, the restriction upon the bank was continued until the 25th of March, 1815; and it was further continued by an act passed on the 23d of March, 1815, to the 5th day of July, 1816. On the 21st of March, 1816, an act was passed; by which, after reciting in the preamble "that it was highly desirable that the bank should, as soon as possible, return to the payment of its notes in cash; and that it was expedient that the provisions of the former acts should be further continued, in order to afford time to the directors of the bank to make such preparations as to their discretion and experience might appear most expedient for enabling them to resume payments in cash, without public inconvenience, and at the earliest period; and that a time should be fixed at which the said restriction should cease," it was enacted, that the said restriction should be continued until the 5th of July, 1818. On the 28th of May, 1818, another act was passed, by which, after reciting in the preamble, "that it was highly desirable that the bank of England should return as soon as possible to the payment of its notes in cash, and that unforeseen circumstances, which had occurred since the passing of the last of the preceding acts, had rendered it expedient that the restriction should be further continued, and that another period should be fixed for the termination thereof; the restriction is further continued until the 5th of July, 1819. Of these unforeseen circumstances, the most important was the apprehension of the effect of further foreign loans (particularly those of France) upon the exchanges and the price of gold.

Subsequent to the first restriction upon the bank of England, similar restrictions were imposed and continued by different acts upon the bank of Ireland, and their termination was fixed at three months after the expiration of the restriction upon the bank of England.

During these successive prolongations the bank appears at different periods to have made great exertions to procure such a mass of treasure as might enable it to replace itself upon its ancient footing, whenever it should seem good to parliament to remove the restrictions. In 1798 the treasure was increased to an amount which bore, in the early part

part of 1799, a very large proportion to that of the outstanding notes. During the years immediately subsequent, this treasure experienced a considerable reduction; but from the middle of 1804 to the middle of 1808, the favourable state of the exchanges enabled the bank to make large purchases in gold. In order to encourage the importation of gold, the directors determined to give 4*l.* per oz., and the treasure was so much augmented as to have exceeded in 1808 the highest amount which it had reached in 1799. From that period it successively declined. The restriction was prolonged in 1814 only to the 25th of March, 1815, and in 1815 only to the 5th of July, 1816; but the extraordinary high price of gold, and the extreme depression of the exchanges, which, from whatever causes, prevailed during great part of these periods, combined with the large advances to government which the exigencies of the public service required, to prevent any material progress being made towards a restoration of the treasure of the bank to its former amount.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, the bank more than doubled its treasure during the last eight months of 1815; and the fall in the price of gold, and the favourable turn of the exchanges, enabled the directors to raise it, by January, 1817, to more than quadruple what it had been in the beginning of 1815. At this period the directors felt so confident of being able to comply with the injunctions of parliament, even before the period at which the restriction was to expire, that they issued a notice for the payment in cash of all the 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes bearing date prior to January 1816. Finding little or no demand for cash in consequence of this notice, and their treasure having continued during the course of the year to increase to an amount far exceeding what it had ever reached, and, with few exceptions, bearing a larger proportion to the extent of their issues than it had ever borne before, the directors issued a second notice in Sept. 1817, for the payment in cash of all notes bearing date before the 1st of January in that year. This measure has been stated to the committee to have been undertaken in the hope, that if it proved successful, that is, if the gold so tendered were not demanded, or if when demanded it remained in the country, the complete resumption of cash payments would take place gradually, and as it were insensibly, even prior to the period then fixed by parliament, viz. the 5th of July, 1818.

In the month of April, 1817, the effect of the great foreign loans made in that year began to be considerably felt. Between April and October, 1817, the exchanges took an unfavourable turn, and the price of gold, which had, from July, 1816, to March, 1817, fluctuated between 3*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* and 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* rose between April and December, 1817, from 3*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* to 4*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*; since which date it does not appear by the quoted prices to have been ever again reduced below 4*l.* The new gold coinage also began to be issued in July 1817. The treasure of the bank was raised to its highest amount in the month of October 1817. There appears

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to have been no considerable demand for gold previously to the month of October. The first issue of sovereigns in large quantities was in that month. There was a diminution in the demand for them in the three succeeding months; but in the month of February, 1818, the issue of gold increased till August in the same year; and the demand during this period is stated to have arisen decidedly for the purpose of exportation. It appears from the evidence of Mr. Harman, that during the whole of the year 1817, the bank did not think it necessary to make any reduction of its issues, either in consequence of the effect of the foreign loans upon the exchanges, or of its payments in gold, made in conformity to the notices above referred to. In fact, the average issue of bank-notes in 1817 exceeded by 1,700,000*l.* that of 1816; the average issue of the last six months of 1817 exceeded the average issue of the first six months of that year by 1,870,000*l.*: and this increase, combined with the revival of country banks from their previous depression, probably raised the circulating medium of the kingdom in the last six months of 1817 considerably beyond the amount at which it had stood in the preceding year.

A great reduction has been made in the issue of notes of the bank of England since the commencement of the year 1818; they had been, on the average of 6 months from July to December, 1817, at 29,210,000*l.*; on the average of 6 months from January to July 1818, at 27,954,000*l.*; from July to December 1818, they were reduced to 26,487,000*l.*, and have since been further reduced to about 25,000,000*l.*, and during the last 3 months of 1818 the issues of country banks are stated by persons much conversant with the subject, to have certainly not increased, and probably to have declined; but the price of gold and the state of the exchanges have continued to be such as to have drawn from the bank, in addition to the gold demanded, previously to March 1818, amounting to 2,022,000*l.* a further sum of 4,787,000*l.*, making in the whole an issue of 6,809,000*l.* in consequence chiefly of the liability with which the directors had under different circumstances voluntarily charged themselves to pay the fractional parts of dividends and a certain proportion of their notes in cash. Their treasure was by these drains very considerably reduced; and they were still liable, in consequence of the same measures, to an additional demand for cash to the amount of several millions.

This unfavourable state of the exchanges and of the price of gold is attributed to different causes by different persons examined before the committee: by some to an excess in the circulating medium of the country; by others to the effect of the late regulations of the mint respecting the new silver coinage, by which the proportions between the relative value of gold and silver are stated to have been so varied as to have occasioned the exportation of gold: by others it is attributed to the continued operation of foreign loans, to the temptation held out by a high rate of interest to the investment of British capital in foreign funds and foreign speculations,

lations, and to the large purchases of corn from abroad; a great proportion of which is paid for in advance, and must, therefore, in their opinion, have had a material effect upon the balance of payments, and of course upon the exchanges, during the year 1818.

It is under these circumstances that parliament is called upon to deliberate, whether it will be most for the public interest to adhere to the decision it had taken in May 1818; or to allow a further delay for the preparations necessary to carry this important measure into execution, in order, as far as possible, to secure its ultimate accomplishment, and at the same time afford the means of taking such precautions as may diminish the pressure of whatever public inconvenience may be felt or apprehended.

Much difference of opinion upon almost all the questions, whether of theory or of practice, to which the attention of the committee has been drawn, will be found in the evidence. Upon one point only there is nearly an unanimous opinion, grounded indeed by different persons upon different lines of argument, but concurring in the same result, viz. that it would not be safe and practicable for the bank to resume cash-payments on the 5th July 1819; and as the committee see sufficient reason to agree thus far with the practical result of these opinions, viz. that, in the state of things which now exist, there is a necessity for some further postponement, they need only refer to the evidence, in which the different reasons which lead to this conclusion are fully stated.

It can hardly be necessary for the committee to remark, that this opinion does not rest upon any ground which can intimate the slightest doubt as to the credit or solidity of the bank: that body possesses at the present moment the means of discharging, out of the treasure actually in its coffers, every demand which could have been made upon it for payment in cash, in consequence of the notices referred to; and the only object of the measure which, at the recommendation of the committee of both houses, has been already adopted by parliament, during the course of the present session, was to prevent the continuance of a drain of the existing treasure, and thereby to facilitate such operations as the committee might feel it to be their duty to recommend, in preparation to a final removal of the restriction.

Of the ultimate sufficiency of the bank no doubt has been or can be entertained; but as parliament thought proper, at the period when it imposed the first restriction upon the bank, to direct an inquiry into the actual state of its affairs; and as a similar injunction is contained in the order by which this committee is appointed, they have thought it their duty to lay before the house the statement in the appendix; by which it appears that, exclusive of the debt from government, at 3 per cent., of 11,686,800*l.* and of the advance to government at 3 per cent. of 3,000,000*l.*, making together 14,686,800*l.*, the balance in favour of the bank, on a comparison of its debts and credits (including in the former the government balances in the hands of the bank) is 5,231,190*l.*

The

The next subject to which the attention of the committee has been directed was the consideration of what time might now safely be fixed for the ultimate restoration of the currency of the country to the ancient metallic standard of value, and what were the measures, if any, which it might be expedient to adopt, in order both to facilitate and to ensure the complete attainment of this great object.

Unless the market price of gold shall be, at the time so fixed, and shall continue to be afterwards, so near the mint price as not to afford a profit upon the exportation of that metal, it has been abundantly proved by past experience, that no law can prevent such exportation, and the consequent demand upon the bank. The main question therefore is, By what means, and within what time, the reduction of the price of gold to the mint price, or, which is nearly equivalent, such a favourable state of the exchanges as will prevent a profit on exportation, may best be attained.

It is strongly contended by some of the witnesses, and is admitted by most, that a considerable and (as was expressed by one of them) forcible reduction of the issues of the bank, accompanied by what some consider as a necessary, and others as a probable, consequence, a diminution in the issues of country bank paper, would produce a favourable turn in the exchanges and a reduction in the price of gold. But many of those who are most deeply impressed with the necessity of the earliest possible recurrence to the ancient standard of the country, state, in the strongest terms, the general distress which a large and sudden diminution of the paper-currency, now the only circulating medium of the country, must occasion; while others are of opinion that a very small reduction of the circulating medium will be sufficient to produce these effects, and that little distress would be occasioned. There are some also who hold, that the present mint regulations respecting silver are the sole cause of the high price and consequent exportation of gold, and of course are of opinion, that there need be neither reduction nor distress.

The general result of all the varying sentiments of the witnesses upon the subject of the foreign exchanges, and of the price of gold, may perhaps be thus stated:—

Many of those who maintain that it is at all times in the power of the bank to exercise a complete control over the rise and fall of the exchanges, and of the price of gold, nevertheless think, that the great loans contracted for, since the peace, by foreign states; the investments made by persons in this country in foreign securities, to the amount, as has been conjectured, of 10 or 12,000,000*l.*; the pressure which took place in the money-market at Paris and other commercial towns on the continent, and in America; and the great importation of corn during the last year, have of late concurred in lowering the exchanges. They hold indeed, that when our circulation was in its former state of payments in specie, no payments abroad could bring the exchanges materially below their par; but with a paper that has no such regulator of its value, they think that the necessity of payments

payments abroad, from whatever cause, does undoubtedly produce a considerable effect upon the exchanges, which might, however, as they state, be always counteracted by a sufficient diminution of paper.

On the other hand, many of those who attribute the high price of gold, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges, chiefly to the operation of these latter causes, and who deny or doubt the fact that the issue of the notes of the bank of England has been excessive, nevertheless think that an excessive increase or diminution of their issue might affect the exchanges; but they doubt whether a small increase or diminution would produce any marked effect upon them.

Those, again, who maintain that the proportion betwixt the mint price of gold and silver, as settled by the recent change in our mint regulations, is the sole cause of the nominal high price of gold, think that the real exchange has for the last two years been in favour of this country; that there has been during that period no over issue of bank paper; that had it not been for the mint regulations, gold must have continued to flow into this country, as it did in 1816; that there could, therefore, have been no demand on the bank for coin of that metal, for the purpose of exportation; and that the bank could have found no difficulty in resuming payments in cash at the time now fixed by parliament.

It appears to the committee upon the whole, that so long as the bank continued liable to pay in cash, it might be concluded from reasoning, and has been proved by experience, that the variations in the market price of gold, and also in the exchanges, would be confined within much narrower limits than they have been since the restriction upon cash payments.

Under the ancient system, if an unusual demand were made upon the bank for cash, when the exchanges were above par, and the price of gold below the mint price, as such a demand could only be occasioned by some sudden panic, or by a failure in commercial credit, and could not under such circumstances arise from the profit to be derived from the exportation of gold, there might be occasions in which the bank might think, that with a view to its own interests, so closely connected with that of the commerce and manufactures of the country, the best mode of checking such a demand might be, to make a more liberal issue of its notes, and thereby to revive that credit, the want of which had produced the embarrassment; but if an unusual demand took place, at a time when, from the state of the exchanges and of the price of gold, it evidently arose from the profit to be made by the exportation of that metal, the bank always found itself under the necessity of contracting its issues for its own security. In the latter case, therefore, whether the directors did or did not adopt the principle, that the increase or diminution of the paper currency has a decisive influence upon the exchanges, they necessarily acted in the same manner as if they had fully adopted it.

There is a difference, however, not to be disregarded, in the impression likely to be produced upon

upon the public mind, by any pressure arising from the measures to be taken by parliament for ensuring the restoration of a metallic standard, as distinguished from those pressures which might be occasionally experienced under the former system. These would be felt to be the necessary result of the precautions which, under particular circumstances, might be taken by the bank for its own security; and if any temporary inconvenience were produced by them, they would manifestly have for their object to avert an evil universally acknowledged to be still greater, viz. the stoppage of payment by the bank; whereas any pressure which might now be experienced by too rapid a progress towards the resumption of cash-payments might be thought to be an evil voluntarily and unnecessarily incurred, from an impatience to attain an object, respecting which there was no difference of opinion, and therefore less readiness to make any considerable sacrifice for its speedy attainment.

It has also been stated to the committee, that there exists at this present moment a considerable degree of embarrassment in commercial transactions, which is attributed by some of the witnesses to the over-trading which has taken place, encouraged, in the opinion of one witness, by the increase of the circulating medium in 1817; and is attributed by others to the subsequent diminution of that medium. Very different opinions have also been stated respecting the probable duration of this embarrassment; but as all agree respecting its actual existence, a more than ordinary degree of caution is required in the adoption of legislative measures which may, even by a temporary operation, in any degree aggravate or prolong it.

These considerations have united to incline the committee, in the proposal which they will submit in the conclusion of their report, rather to extend the time at which the ultimate resumption of cash-payments should be required to take place beyond the period at which, according to the best opinion they can form, there would be a probability of its easy accomplishment under ordinary circumstances, than to hazard the ultimate success of that measure, by assigning to it the earliest period within which, according to such opinion, it might be safely practicable. The measure had better not be begun at all, unless there be a determined purpose to carry it to its completion, as an ineffectual attempt might create great mischief and distress, and would not leave any beneficial result to repay the country for what it may have suffered.

From thus extending the period, it seems to the committee that considerable advantages would arise. Those who think that the object is to be accomplished only by the means of a considerable reduction of the notes of the bank of England, and that the inconveniences, which they acknowledge to be the necessary result of such reduction, would be amply compensated by the restoration of the ancient metallic standard, feel considerable anxiety to diminish the extent of these inconveniences. Those who expect little or no inconvenience to arise from the measures necessary for the

the attainment of this object, are nevertheless sensible of the difficulties which are opposed to its early accomplishment by the present state of the bank treasure, and by the existing (though as they hope temporary) commercial pressure. They are on this latter account particularly desirous to allay even those apprehensions which they deem unfounded or exaggerated, and are satisfied that, provided the ultimate object be secured, the intermediate pressure, whatever may be its degree, would be materially lightened by being spread over a greater length of time.

Those, on the other hand, who feel less confident in the effect of such a reduction,—who think that, even were its effect certain, it could only be produced by the creation of a greater degree of distress than the public could well bear,—who look to the cessation of those temporary causes, to which they attribute the largest share in producing the unfavourable state of exchanges and the high price of gold, as the natural remedy for the evil,—and who expect that in no long space of time the favourable balance of payments (the usual result of the extent and nature of our commerce) will, without incurring any distress by taking measures for the forcible production of such a change, lead insensibily, but with sufficient certainty, to the attainment of the object in view: all persons who entertain these opinions must feel still more anxiety for the extension of the period.

There are, however, some measures of preparation which, whatever time may be fixed, appear desirable, if not indispensable.

It is well known that the bank has always been in the habit of making large advances to the government for the public service. These advances are partly made under special acts of parliament, upon securities therein provided. There is another species of accommodation which has also been afforded by the bank, viz. the purchase of exchequer-bills to a large amount. For the state of the law upon this subject the committee beg to refer to a paper which has been laid before them, and which is inserted in their appendix. The amount of the exchequer-bills and other government securities, either held or purchased by the bank at different periods, will also be found in the account which is there inserted. The different applications made by the treasury to the bank for accommodation are fully detailed in the annexed accounts and correspondence. The principles upon which the treasury has acted in making these applications during the last four years are explained in a memorandum delivered to the committee by the first commissioner of that board; and important information respecting these transactions will be found in the evidence of Mr. Harman, who, during the greatest part of the period last referred to, was either governor or deputy governor of the bank.

The committee think it proper to remark, that whatever effect the extent of the advances here referred to might have had upon the power of the bank, at any given moment, entirely to resume cash-payments, supposing other circumstances had not intervened to prevent such resumption, they

do not appear to have had any influence in diminishing the extent of the accommodation received by the public for commercial purposes. In the opinion of most of the witnesses who have been examined, the abundance of circulation produced by the liberal issue of bank-notes, upon whatever securities they were issued, has produced indirectly as great facilities to commerce as if they had been directly issued in commercial discounts. A transfer, to a considerable degree, of the discount trade from the bank to private bankers and merchants is stated to have taken place; but the facilities afforded to commerce were at least as great in the latter case as in the former, as the discounts made by the bank were more restricted in point of time, were limited by the necessity imposed upon the applicant of bringing two and sometimes more securities, and were granted only at 5 per cent. at a time when private merchants and bankers were discounting at a lower rate.

The effect, however, of the extent of the advances to government upon the situation of the bank, when preparing for a resumption of cash-payments, is evidently to cramp its operations, by placing a large proportion of its issues beyond its control. The advances made directly to government are only repaid at the period fixed by law. The exchequer-bills purchased by the bank could not be sold in large quantities without reducing them to a considerable discount; and this discount would bring them into the exchequer in payment of the taxes, to such an extent as might materially derange the provisions for the public service. An understanding, therefore, without express agreement, appears to have prevailed, that, when thus purchased, they should not be sold by the bank. On the other hand, the issues of notes upon discount revert to the bank at periods so short, that any reduction of the paper so issued, which circumstances may render necessary, is always within their reach: with this control over their issues, they are enabled to feel their way, and to restrict or enlarge them, either as the wants of the country may permit or demand, or as the state of the exchanges and the price of gold may appear to require.

It appears therefore to the committee to be highly expedient, that means should be taken to repay to the bank a large amount of these advances at an early period.

In considering the means of providing for the future a safe and sufficient circulating medium for the country, the committee were naturally led to make inquiries as to what had been its amount previously to the bank restriction, when it consisted partly of gold coin and partly of paper; what has been its amount during the interval when there was little or no gold coin in circulation; and what is likely to be its amount, and what ought to be its composition, when a metallic standard is restored.

Upon the first of these heads they neither found, nor indeed could they expect to find, any ground from which a satisfactory conclusion could be drawn. The only certain data at any period are the notes of the bank of England. The amount of coin

rests

rests only upon estimates formed in a great degree upon conjecture; and the official accounts offer little information respecting the issues of country banks at that period, as the stamps upon these notes were not then sufficiently distinguished in those accounts from other stamps. It is known that in 1792 those issues had been considerably extended; that after the commercial difficulties of 1793 they were greatly reduced; and in 1797 had not reached their former amount.

Taking, however, the amount of the gold coin in circulation at 5,000,000*l.* below the estimate made by the late lord Liverpool, viz. at . .	£25,000,000
The notes of the bank of England at	10,500,000
The country notes, including Scotland, may be conjectured to have been .	7,000,000
The amount of circulating medium before the bank restriction will be . .	42,500,000

Exclusive of silver and other means of circulation.

Upon the second head, viz. the amount of the circulating medium since the restriction, there are undoubtedly, at least as to a portion of the period, somewhat better materials for calculation. That part which is certain, viz. the amount of the notes of the bank of England, has borne so much higher a proportion to the whole of the circulating medium, that the uncertainty which rests upon the remainder has less proportional effect upon the general result. The details of these issues appear in the accounts in the appendix.

The variations in the amount of these issues, in the week immediately preceding, and in that immediately following the payment of the dividend upon the national debt, are so considerable (being from 3 to 5,000,000*l.* in January and July, and from 2 to 3,000,000*l.* in April and October), that in considering the general circulation of the country, it seems better to take an average of the issues for six months, than to form any calculation upon a shorter period. Stated upon this principle, it appears that they did not reach 15,000,000*l.* before the first six months of 1800; that they never reached 20,000,000*l.* before the first six months in 1810, in the latter six months of which year they exceeded 24,000,000*l.* The variations for the next three years were not considerable; but the rise during the year 1814 was rapid, and carried their amount, upon the average of the last six months, to above 28,000,000*l.* The lowest point to which they fell was between 26 and 27,000,000*l.* in the first six months of 1816. The highest to which they rose was in the last six months of 1817, when they were at their greatest average amount, viz. 29,000,000*l.* and from that period they have gradually decreased nearly to 25,000,000*l.* previously to the issue of the last dividends.

The amount, however, of bank of England paper actually in circulation is not always to be measured by the extent of its issues. When credit is flourishing, the reserve of bank of England notes kept by country bankers will be considerably less than when any local or general difficulties oblige them to make more ample preparations against large and sudden demands; and this reserve must, in the present state of our circulating medium, consist of a great

proportion of notes of the bank of England, into which their own notes are legally convertible. It will consist also, to some extent, of notes of other country banks, in exchange for which they can demand from those banks notes of the bank of England. In a state of imperfect credit, the country banks will also reduce their own issues, and will either never issue at all, or refrain from re-issuing a larger proportion of their own notes, which they keep by them ready stamped; so that, even if the amount of stamped notes actually in existence in any given year could be ascertained with certainty (which is very far from being the case), the proportion of such notes at that time actually in circulation could not from thence be inferred with accuracy. A similar degree of uncertainty as to the amount of the circulating medium must exist, as far as it arises from the varying reserves of all bankers, even when that circulating medium consists in part of gold, and will then equally apply, which it does not now, to the reserve of the bank of England.

With respect, however, to that part of our currency which has consisted of country bank-notes, the committee have endeavoured, from such accounts as have been furnished from the stamp-office, to form some estimate of their amount. The difficulties of various descriptions, which throw a great uncertainty upon any calculations founded upon these accounts, are explained in statements delivered in by Mr. Sedgewick, which are to be found in the appendix. From these materials two calculations have been drawn. The grounds upon which each of them rest are to be found in the appendix. The committee are inclined to think that of these two approximating estimates, the second is the best adapted to their view of the subject: but they submit them both to the house with a full sense of the imperfection to which they are necessarily liable.

F. 7.		F. 8.
21,574,000	1810	21,819,000
20,977,000	1811	21,453,000
20,047,000	1812	19,944,000
22,342,000	1819	22,597,000
21,672,000	1814	22,709,000
20,378,000	1815	19,011,000
15,525,000	1816	15,096,000
15,862,000	1817	15,898,000
20,044,000	1818	20,507,000

These estimates must indeed be not only far removed from accuracy respecting any particular year, but many causes of uncertainty attach to them even if they were considered merely as affording data for calculating the relative circulation of different years. In this respect, however, they derive confirmation, especially the latter, from their correspondence with the general tenor of the evidence of persons connected with the country banks. The estimates which these persons have formed as to the amount of the country notes, founded upon local knowledge, and extended by inference to the whole kingdom, will be found in the minutes.

Much important information respecting the nature of this circulation will be found in the evidence,

dence, and particularly as to the different practice which obtains in different parts of the kingdom, more especially in Norfolk and in Lancashire.

The calculations founded upon the accounts from the stamp-office (which afford no district data prior to the year 1809) would leave the committee to suppose that the amount has varied, between 1810 and 1818, from below 16 to above 22 millions; that it was at the highest in 1814; at the lowest in 1816 and 1817; and that it has again risen in 1818.

Combining the accurate statements of the issues of the bank of England upon the average of each year, with the result of the inquiry into the issues of country banks, the account would stand thus:

		F. 7.	F. 8.
1810.	Bank of England	22,541,000	22,541,000
	Country banks	21,374,000	21,819,000
		43,915,000	44,360,000
1811.	Bank of England	23,282,000	23,282,000
	Country banks	20,977,000	21,543,000
		44,259,000	44,825,000
1812.	Bank of England	23,237,000	23,237,000
	Country banks	20,047,000	19,944,000
		43,284,000	43,181,000
1813.	Bank of England	24,023,000	24,023,000
	Country banks	22,342,000	22,597,000
		46,365,000	46,620,000
1814.	Bank of England	26,901,000	26,901,000
	Country banks	21,672,000	22,709,000
		48,573,000	48,610,000
1815.	Bank of England	26,886,000	26,886,000
	Country banks	20,378,000	19,011,000
		47,264,000	45,897,000
1816.	Bank of England	26,574,000	26,574,000
	Country banks	15,525,000	15,096,000
		42,099,000	41,670,000
1817.	Bank of England	28,274,000	28,274,000
	Country banks	15,862,000	15,898,000
		44,136,000	44,172,000
1818.	Bank of England	27,220,000	27,220,000
	Country banks	20,044,000	20,507,000
		47,264,000	47,727,000

To this must be added about 271,000*l.* for the average circulation of unstamped small notes issued by the three chartered banks in Scotland, which are not included in the stamp-office accounts.

The result of this estimate would be, that the circulating medium of England, as far as it consists of notes of the bank of England, or of country bank notes, between 1810 and 1818, both years inclusive, has varied from about 42 millions to above 48 millions; and that it was highest in 1814, and lowest in 1816.

With respect to the numerical

amount of circulating medium necessary to carry on with facility the transactions of the country, whatever may be the composition of such circulating medium, it is evidently impossible to form any judgement.

The great increase of the transactions of this country in every part of its home trade and agriculture; the rise of the amount of its exports and imports (even according to the official value, which is much below the real value) from 51,231,000*l.*, on the average of three years preceding 1797, to 82,750,000*l.*, on the average of the three last years of which the accounts have been given in; the increase of the charge of the national debt from 13,480,000*l.* in 1797 to 48,819,000*l.* in 1819; and the amount of the taxes, which since 1792 have risen from about 16 to 50 millions (an increase occasioned not merely by an increased rate of taxation upon the same articles, but by the imposition of new taxes upon a great variety of articles), might have been expected to require a much larger increase of circulating medium. It is, however, obvious that such amount would not have necessarily borne any specific proportion to the amount of transactions of every kind, or to that of revenue. The flourishing state of commerce and of credit, producing a greater rapidity of circulation, will have enabled the same quantity of circulating medium to carry on a much greater amount of transactions; and the various modifications of credit to which such a state of things gives birth, together with the successive improvements in the arrangements of commercial and banking business, must have had the same effect to a great extent. There must also obviously be a great difference in the required amount of a currency consisting of paper only, and that of a currency consisting partly of paper, and also, in a large proportion, of gold. It is to these circumstances (co-operating possibly with others) that we may perhaps attribute the sufficiency of the circulating medium actually existing to perform functions to so much larger an amount than were performed in 1797 by the circulating medium then existing, which was probably not many millions less than at present.

What proportions the various component parts of the circulating medium may bear to each other, after the resumption of cash payments, it is difficult to conjecture. They must evidently be influenced by the future regulations of parliament, with respect to the nature and description of the paper currency.

If the paper currency is to be confined, as it was within a short period before the bank restriction, to the issue of notes of 10*l.* and upwards by the bank of England, and of 5*l.* and upwards by the country banks, the necessity for a very large amount of gold coin for smaller payments is evidently indispensable. Should parliament think proper to continue both to the bank of England and to country banks the liberty of issuing notes of a lower denomination, and particularly of 1*l.* and 2*l.*, this permission would probably have the effect of keeping up a paper circulation bearing a much larger proportion to the whole,

whole, than in the former case, and would so far diminish the necessity of an extensive circulation of gold coin. But although it would diminish that necessity, the degree in which it would diminish the demand for gold coin can only be stated as a matter of conjecture. The established habits of the public may operate so decidedly in favour of a paper circulation, that there might be only a very small demand for gold coin; and as far as any judgement can be formed from the short interval during which the bank issued gold coin in exchange for their notes before the rise in the market price of gold occasioned a demand for exportation, this might probably be the case: the period was, however, too short to afford sufficient grounds for any decisive inference as to the future; and it is on the other hand the opinion of some of the witnesses, that the new coin would be preferred to paper.

The committee, attaching great importance to the restoration of the paper currency to a metallic standard, are also deeply impressed with the great advantages of such a currency when so regulated; and they think it highly desirable that a large proportion at least of the transactions of the country should be carried on by that medium. But the question, what proportion ought to be so carried on, (if it were a point capable of solution, or could be the subject of regulation,) wherever a mixed circulating medium is permitted, is very different from the question, what proportion the different classes of such a mixed circulating medium will actually bear to each other, when left to be decided by the supposed interest, or even by the inclination of the public.

The latter question, however, is one, upon the result of which, one way or the other, the most serious practical consequences depend. Any judgement to be formed beforehand, must unavoidably be conjectural, and yet upon such judgement we must be forced in some degree to act. Upon the greater or less probability that, in the event of the opening of the bank upon the ancient system, paper would still be preferred to coin, must depend the extent of the accumulation of such coin, with which the bank must be prepared to meet that demand. Unless this point be rightly estimated, the bank, on its first reopening, might experience a demand against which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to guard.

If the bank is to make preparation, in the interval between the present time and the expiration of the restriction, to fill with gold coin all those channels of circulation which might possibly require to be so filled, the very extent of the purchases of bullion, necessary to be made for such a purpose, must in some degree, whatever may be the interval, and in a very great degree if that interval be short, tend to obstruct the attainment of the ultimate object —the equalization of the market price of gold to its mint price; and unless the effect of these purchases were counteracted by a rapid reduction of the issues of the bank, for commercial discounts and other purposes, to an extent of which the mischief has been so frequently referred to, the

price of gold might be such at the very moment of the resumption of cash payments (supposing that moment to be previously and unalterably fixed), as to render the continuance of such payments difficult and hazardous.

These considerations have led the committee to examine with particular attention a plan which has been suggested to them, and which, as it will appear by the evidence, is viewed in a very favourable light by many persons well qualified to form a judgement upon such a subject.

The leading principle of this plan is, to restore to the country, by the speediest and safest means, a metallic standard, as the regulator of its paper currency, by permitting the bank to pay its notes in gold bullion, at the mint price, instead of gold coin.

Various advantages appear to the committee to attend this plan in preference to a simple resumption, in the first instance, of cash payments by the bank. It establishes, equally with cash payments, the principle and the salutary control of a metallic standard, while it affords the best prospect of avoiding or diminishing many of the inconveniencies which are by many persons apprehended from that measure. It exempts the bank from the obligation of providing a quantity of gold necessary to replace, in case the public should prefer coin to paper, all the smaller notes to the amount probably of 15 or 16 millions, which are now circulated in London and in the country; and therefore, by relieving the bullion market from this demand, it prevents that augmentation of the price of gold which might be the consequence of large purchases of that article made in a short space of time, under the pressure of a necessity publicly and previously known. And it continues to the bank, and therefore to the nation at large, all the advantages to be derived from the employment of a capital equal to the amount of all the small notes in circulation, whether of the bank of England or country banks. In the one case, this capital would still be, as it now is, employed in the support and extension of agriculture and of commerce, whether foreign or domestic; in the other, it would be merely an addition to the dead stock of the country, producing neither profit nor advantage.

It seems probable also, that when the bank is made liable to pay only in bullion, and that only in exchange for notes to a certain amount, it would be chiefly subject to such demands as might arise from the excess of the market price of gold above the mint price, and the consequent profit upon exportation. To a demand resulting from this source every bank issuing paper convertible into either of the precious metals, must at all times be liable; and unless the market price of gold can be kept within certain limits of deviation from the mint price, either by the reduction of the issues of paper, or by the effect of a favourable balance of payments upon the exchanges, the old system of banking must necessarily fall to the ground. It is no objection, therefore, to this plan, that it does not provide against a possible inconvenience, which is, under such circumstances, an inseparable attendant upon all paper currency

rency so convertible—that is, upon all paper currency which is secured from great and inconvenient variations. The plan, however, contains in itself, during the period which may elapse before the market price of gold falls to the mint price, a considerable guard even against this danger, a guard which did not exist in the mixed state of our currency. As it would be impossible for any person to draw bullion from the bank, except in exchange for bank-notes, no demand could be made upon the bank to any great extent for gold without occasioning a scarcity in the currency, which would tend to raise the value of those notes, and to remove the temptation to present them in exchange for bullion. The same circumstance would operate to check any demand, which might arise from a sudden panic; and the rapidity of such demand, in which its chief danger consists, might be somewhat diminished by the necessity of collecting notes to that amount, in exchange for which payment in bullion would be demandable. And in whatever degree a disposition may have existed to hoard coin, there would probably be less disposition to demand bullion from the bank for that purpose.

The committee, in recommending the principle of this plan of resumption to the favourable consideration of the house, think it nevertheless their duty to suggest such provisions as have occurred to them, by which, in their opinion, without weakening its efficacy, or impairing any of its advantages, its operation would be facilitated and ensured.

In the first suggestion of the plan, it was proposed that the bank, upon the removal of the present restriction, should immediately pay in bullion at the mint price, instead of paying in coin. The committee have laid before the house, in the former part of this report, the considerations which induce them to think that it must be desirable upon the whole to allow a considerable interval of time before the bank should be required to resume cash payments upon the ancient system. These considerations would operate, in a great although not an equal degree, against the too early adoption of the plan for bullion payments at the mint price. The objection to the prolongation of the period in the former case was chiefly this—that the country would be left during that period, whatever it might be, without the certainty of any progress being made towards the re-adoption of a metallic standard of value. The interposition of bullion payments affords means of obtaining this security, which cannot be provided with equal advantage under the simple resumption of cash payments. The resumption of bullion payments may, if parliament should think proper; commence at an earlier time, and at the present market price of gold. Successive periods might, if thought necessary, be fixed, at which the rate of bullion payments should be gradually lowered, until it should finally be brought down to the mint price. The same principle of gradation could not be applied to payments in coin, without the great and obvious inconvenience which must result from successive variations in its circulating value.

The

The effect of this graduated scale would be, to re-establish, from the first commencement of its operation, the principle of a metallic standard. It would indeed not at once be a recurrence to the ancient standard; but an approximation would be gradually made towards it, and at no distant period it would be attained. The necessity under which the bank would be placed of regulating its proceedings, with a view to the commencement of bullion payments upon this system, would give a security, perhaps unnecessary, but satisfactory to the public, that some progress was actually making towards the ultimate object. As the bank would at the same time be relieved from an early recurrence to cash payments upon the ancient system, it would gain a longer interval for the gradual accumulation of its treasures; any reduction of its issues which might be found necessary, might be gradually made; and all persons engaged in commerce would also be enabled to accommodate their transactions to the new state of our circulation.

It has been suggested that the bank might have the option of paying in bullion or in coin; but the committee are inclined to think, that even at the time when this scale shall have reached the mint price, the bank should begin to pay in bullion only. If there is any weight in the argument, that one of the great advantages of the proposed plan, with the modification suggested, is this, that it would render it safe for the bank to open with a much smaller amount of treasure than might be thought necessary for the resumption of cash payments upon the ancient system, and therefore that it might begin its operation at an earlier period, it is evident, that were the bank, from a preference to the ancient system, to determine to avail itself at that period of the option between bullion and cash payments by paying in coin only, it must, in consequence of such determination, make more rapid and more extensive purchases of gold in the interval, and thereby impede the gradual progress of its reduction to the mint price, which is the main object to be attained.

There is also another evil against which it would be expedient to provide a guard, viz. the possibility of an excessive reduction of the circulating medium during the operation of this plan. This might be prevented by imposing upon the bank the obligation of giving their notes in exchange for gold bullion (if tendered to them) at fixed prices, either taken somewhat below the mint price, or, in the first instance, somewhat below the price at which the bank should commence to pay in bullion; or further, if it should be thought proper to introduce more than one point in a graduated scale, at prices somewhat below those which might successively be fixed. Either of the latter expedients would afford a greater security against any excessive reduction of the issues of the bank, but they might introduce a degree of complication into the system, and might cramp the operations of the bank in an inconvenient manner; and the committee think, that on the whole a preferable security would be afforded by leaving the mint open

open to the public, by which any considerable deficiency in the paper currency would be supplied, and its effects counteracted by the coinage of gold.

In order to bring before the view of the house with more distinctness the whole of the plan which the committee beg leave to recommend to their consideration, they will state shortly the different parts of which it consists:—

1. That provision should be made by parliament for a repayment of the debt of government to the bank to a considerable amount, and that a part of that repayment should take place some time antecedent to the first period which may be fixed for the commencement of bullion payments by the bank:

2. That from and after the 1st of December, 1819, or at latest the 1st February, 1820, the bank of England shall be required to pay its notes in gold bullion duly assayed and stamped in his majesty's mint, if demanded, in sums of not less than the value of 60 ounces, at the price of 4*l.* 1*s.* per ounce of standard bullion; that on the 1st of November, 1820, or at such other period as may be fixed, the price shall be reduced to 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, unless the bank shall have previously reduced it to that rate, it being always understood that the price, when once lowered, shall not again be raised by the bank; and that on the 1st of May, 1821, the bank shall pay its notes, if demanded, in gold bullion, in sums of not less than the value of 30 ounces, at the price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce of standard bullion:

3. That a weekly account of the average amount of notes in circulation during the preceding week shall be transmitted to the privy council: and a quarterly account of the average amount of notes in circulation during the preceding quarter shall be published in the London Gazette:

4. That for two years, from and after the 1st of May, 1821, the bank shall pay its notes in gold bullion only at the mint price; and that whenever parliament shall think proper to require the bank to pay its notes in coin, notice thereof shall be given to the bank one year beforehand, such notice not to be given before the 1st of May, 1822.

Should parliament think proper to adopt this plan for the regulation of the bank of England, it is evident that provisions must be made for applying the same principle to the bank of Ireland.

The committee are perfectly aware of an objection which may be stated to this plan, viz. that during its operation the country will probably have no currency except paper, for payments beyond 40*s.*, and that the advantage resulting from the convertibility of bank notes into bullion appears to be given, at least in the first instance, only to the holders of large sums.

In answer to this it must be remembered, that so long as the price of gold shall continue high enough to afford a profit upon the melting and exportation of coin, framed according to the present mint regulations, there can be no circulation of gold coin in the country. Under such circumstances any further issue of gold coin would be useless; it would indeed be worse than useless, as the purchase of the bullion to

to be coined would raise the price of gold, and the expense of coining it would be a waste of public money. Such an issue could only be useful whenever the price of gold is so far below the mint price as to compensate for the interest lost during the time of coinage. But although the committee entertain great hopes that, during the operation of the plan in question, the price of gold will fall to the mint price at an earlier period than what is fixed for its completion, yet the plan itself presumes that such fall may not take place and have been established before the 1st of May, 1821.

Under this uncertainty it would be difficult, if not impossible, to foresee any moment previous to that date at which it might be expedient to make such an issue, or at which the public would be able to avail itself of the power of resorting to the mint for the conversion of bullion into coin. But it will be able to avail itself of that power under the operation of this plan at as early a period as could reasonably be expected under any plan for the simple resumption of cash payments. In the interval the currency must consist (as it has long consisted) of paper alone; but from the moment this plan begins to operate, this paper would have, what it has not had since the bank restriction, and what it could not have in the interval preceding a simple resumption of cash payments, a metallic standard for its regulator. The holders of large sums in notes would indeed have the power of converting them into bullion at a fixed price by presenting them at the bank; but the holder of a small sum in notes has not now, and could not have, the power of converting it into coin, under circumstances when, as has been before stated, no coin could remain and circulate in the country. The latter, therefore, is exposed to no disadvantage whatever during the operation of the present plan, to which he would not be exposed during the interval which must precede a simple resumption of cash payments; but he derives from the first moment of its commencement a participation in the security against fluctuation afforded to the holder of large sums.

This detail of the plan now proposed by the committee will, they hope, be sufficient to explain both its nature and its objects. Above all, they trust it will be manifest that the plan is now recommended by them as a temporary measure, as the mode which appears to them at once the most desirable, and the most effectual for the attainment of the object which parliament has in view—the restoration of our currency to its ancient standard of metallic value. They think it probable, as they have already stated, that this object may thus be attained at a period comparatively earlier than that for which they have ultimately provided. But they entertain a confident expectation that in this mode it will be effected at that period, if not before, and with the least practical inconvenience to any of the interests which it may affect.

After the attainment of this first and great object, many important questions will still remain to be determined by the legislature, respecting the system on which

which our currency, when regulated by a metallic standard, may in other respects, with most advantage, be ultimately and permanently founded. But in these points the committee think they should have exceeded the limits of their duty, if they had ventured at the present period even to form, much more if they had submitted to parliament, any final or decisive opinion.

Whether the whole of our circulation and currency shall thenceforth be replaced either entirely on its ancient footing, or with what degree of alteration, particularly in respect of the smaller notes, the issue of which was formerly prohibited; whether the payments of the bank shall be made at their option in bullion or in coin; or those payments continuing to be made in bullion only, the mint shall be open to the public for coining such bullion into gold coin, with or without a seignorage or brassage; or whether, with a view to realize to the country a profit equal to the whole value of the gold employed as dead capital for the purpose of circulation, an endeavour shall be made to confine the whole of our currency (except for the small payments now made in silver) to paper only, but to paper regulated by convertibility into bullion;—these, with the numerous details connected with and dependent on them, are points upon which the house will find much useful information in various parts of the evidence contained in the minutes, and upon which the committee are satisfied that a better judgement than can be formed at present will be derived from the experience of the operation of the plan immediately in question.

With respect to the decision to be taken as to the future circulation of the smaller notes, the committee are fully sensible that all views of expediency or profit in this respect must be combined with another most important consideration—that of the comparative facility with which such paper, or the coins for which it is substituted, may respectively be counterfeited. This point is essential to the success of any measure on this subject; and it is of great weight in the opinion of the committee, as connected with the comparative degree of temptation or encouragement which any of these systems may afford to crime, and the consequent necessity of frequent and severe punishment.

Under these impressions the committee have endeavoured with much anxiety to obtain information as to the progress and probable results of the inquiries which have lately been made, under the authority of his majesty's commission, into the means of preventing, or rendering much more difficult than at present, the forgery of bank paper. They have learnt that these results are not yet sufficiently matured to be brought with this view in a complete shape under the consideration of parliament; but they find that the very able persons whose attention has been so beneficially employed in the examination of this subject, entertain sanguine expectations that the principles which they have adopted for this purpose will, in their application, provide, if not a complete, at least a much more effective check than has been provided by any means yet adopted for

for the security of the bank and of the public. In so far as the committee has felt itself competent to judge of the probable operation of those principles, they fully partake in this hope; and it is much strengthened by learning, from the testimony of the governor of the bank of Ireland, that the application even of a part of those principles has been found there, in a very great degree, effectual for that purpose.

There is another point to which the committee think it of great importance that parliament should advert. The large amount and nature of the advances made by the bank for the public service, have been stated, on different occasions, as opposing considerable obstacles to the measures which would otherwise have been adopted by the bank; and the plan now recommended essentially depends upon a previous reduction of them. But the invonvenience of this mode of habitually providing for the public exigencies to so great an extent is not merely temporary; it involves principles of considerable moment, with reference to the relation in which government and the bank are thereby placed towards each other. This system is not, however, of recent date. It had been acted upon to a large extent, for a long period of years before the first restriction upon the bank. The amount of the advances appears to have subsequently increased with the succeeding embarrassments of the public service; and the extraordinary exertions of the concluding years of the last war naturally produced an unprecedented extension of them. A considerable reduction of these advances has since been effected, and a still further diminution of them is recommended in this Report. It will be for the wisdom of parliament to determine, whether, in order to guard against the unobserved recurrence of this practice, some permanent regulation ought not to be established, extending the very narrow restraint under which the bank was originally placed in this respect, but imposing some new principle of limitation, so as on the one hand to allow the bank such a free use of its capital as might enable it (as it appears to have done previously to the bank restriction) to invest either the whole or some limited proportion thereof, if not demanded for commercial discounts, in the purchase of government securities; and, on the other, to prevent it from engaging in such purchases for the accommodation of government, when its own convenience or interest did not require them, or from entering into any engagement, express or implied, which shall prevent its bringing those securities freely into the market. It is obvious, that in imposing any new principle of limitation, exception must be made for cases of great emergency, to be stated to parliament and provided for by its express authority.

Whatever may be the decision of parliament upon all or any of the measures now in contemplation, the committee think it will be desirable to repeal the laws which prohibit the melting and exportation of the coin, and which enact that all bullion intended for exportation shall be sworn to consist of foreign gold or silver. The policy of these laws has long been held

held by the best writers on the subject to be at least dubious. From the nature of the article, so portable and so easily concealed, they could hardly be expected to be efficacious; and experience has abundantly proved their inefficacy. Notwithstanding the existence of these laws, the whole, or nearly the whole, of the gold coin of this kingdom, amounting probably to between twenty and thirty millions, has entirely disappeared, and scarcely a remnant now remains of the sovereigns which were issued in the year 1817. The prohibition, indeed, adds something to the difficulty, and consequently to the expense of exportation; and may, therefore, be supposed to operate, in some degree, as a seignorage upon our coin: but it is a seignorage perpetually varying, according to the greater or lesser facilities for smuggling which may at different moments exist, and affording therefore an uncertain, and in point of fact, an inadequate protection.

The means also by which this protection is afforded are highly objectionable, there being no possibility of distinguishing between bullion produced by the melting of foreign or of English coin. The only security is that of an oath; and the law, therefore, has no other operation than to offer a great, and, as experience proves, a successful temptation to perjury.

Even upon our ancient system of coinage, in which the value of the metal in coin is equal to that of the metal in bullion, and the whole expense of the coinage falls upon the public, it may be doubted whether the prohibition does not increase rather than diminish that expense; although the latter was probably one of the chief objects which the law had in view. As our coin is now either melted previously to exportation, or melted in the country to which it is exported, because it is not there known or current, when it returns, it returns in the shape of bullion, and if the mint is open, and the price such as to make it worth coining, it is carried to the mint and coined at the public expense. Whereas, if our coin were legally exportable, it would probably return into this country as coin, whenever the state of the exchanges rendered it a more profitable remittance than bills or merchandise. No country in Europe has maintained so large a metallic currency as France, without any prohibition upon the melting, the export, or the sale of the coin.

The committee cannot conclude their report without adverting to the opinions which have been expressed and very fully explained by some of the witnesses, that the present regulations of the mint for the coinage of silver must of themselves occasion a perpetual drain of gold from this country, and thereby oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the resumption of metallic payments by the bank, at the ancient standard of value. These opinions have been directly and strongly controverted by other witnesses. The committee more particularly refer to the evidence of Mr. Page and Mr. Fletcher on one side, and Mr. Mushett on the other; and to a paper received from the master of his majesty's mint: but much important information on this part of the subject may likewise be collected from the testimony of others, whose sentiments and authority

thority upon such matters must be of great weight. The committee, being fully sensible, that if the opinions of the two first witnesses be well founded, any attempt to remove the restriction upon the bank must prove ineffectual, unless the mint regulations for the coinage of silver were first altered, according to the principle upon which that opinion appears to be founded, have given this part of the subject full consideration: and they think it their duty to state, that they see no ground to apprehend that the present mint regulations respecting the silver coinage, so long as such silver coin shall not be a legal tender beyond the amount of forty shillings, and the mint shall not be open to the public for the coinage of that metal, will oppose any obstacle to the successful execution of the plan which they have ventured to recommend.

The house will find in various parts of the evidence, and in the appendix, a great mass of valuable information, illustrating not only those points which the committee have dwelt upon in their Report, but also many other points of considerable importance, to which they did not think it necessary to advert. They have judged it best to confine themselves as much as possible to a practical view of the question referred to them by the house, and to rest the proposal which they have brought forward upon grounds which might recommend it sufficiently, if not equally, to persons widely differing in opinion upon many of the considerations involved in any discussion upon so extensive and complicated a subject.

COMMERCE.

An Account of the total real or declared Value of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, exported from Great Britain during each of the three Years ending 5th Jan. 1819.

1817.	1818.	1819.
£42,955,256	43,626,253	48,903,760

Total official Value of foreign and commercial Merchandise exported from Great Britain to all Parts of the World.

1817.	1818.	1819.
£14,545,964	11,534,616	12,287,274

An Account of the total Value of all Articles imported into Great Britain during each of the three Years ending the 5th January, 1819, as calculated at the official Rates of Valuation.

	1817.	1818.	1819.
Foreign and colonial Merchandise ..	£26,406,634	29,962,913	35,880,983
Produce of Ireland and the Isle of Man	£,6398,931	4,002,318	4,276,651
Total Value of Imports	£30,105,565	33,965,231	40,157,634

THE

Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended the 5th July 1817, 5th July 1818, and 5th July 1819, distinguishing the Consolidated Fund, the Annual Duties, and the War Taxes, and also the Customs and Excise.

Revenue—distinguishing the consolidated fund, the annual duties, and the war taxes.	Years ended 5th July, 1817.	1818.	1819.
Customs	5,367,836	7,898,556	7,947,081
Excise	17,072,066	17,627,354	19,115,307
Stamps	6,030,997	6,443,768	6,308,177
Post-office....	1,360,000	1,333,000	1,401,000
Assessed taxes	5,933,664	6,169,009	6,184,410
Land taxes	1,187,413	1,163,621	1,172,184
Miscellaneous	258,688	517,669	320,561
Unappropriated war duties.....	1,417,755	22,235	216,447
Total consolidated fund	38,628,419	41,175,212	42,065,167
Annual Duties to pay off Bills.			
Customs	2,900,109	2,101,823	3,152,326
Excise	532,744	273,961	634,832
Pensions, &c.	4,016		16
Total annual duties.....	3,436,869	2,375,784	3,787,174
Permanent and annual duties	42,065,288	43,550,996	45,852,341
War Taxes.			
Customs	556		
Excise	3,629,404	3,277,799	3,436,029
Property	4,725,119	1,204,749	72,910
Total war taxes.....	8,355,079	4,482,548	3,508,939
Total revenue, distinguishing the consolidated fund, the annual duties, and the war taxes.....	50,420,367	48,033,544	49,361,280
Revenue—distinguishing the customs and excise.			
Total produce of customs, as particularized above	8,268,501	10,000,379	10,499,407
Ditto of excise, as ditto	21,234,214	21,179,114	23,186,168
Ditto of stamps, post-office, assessed, property, and land-taxes, miscellaneous and unappropriated duties and pensions, as do...	20,917,652	16,854,051	15,675,705
Total revenue, distinguishing the customs and excise	50,420,367	48,033,544	49,361,280
Deduct receipt upon property, war duty on malt, and unappropriated duties	6,660,476	1,226,984	289,357
Revenue, exclusive of property, war duty on malt, and unappropriated duties	43,759,891	46,806,560	49,071,923

REVENUE—distinguishing the consolidated fund, the annual duties, and the war taxes.	Quarters ended 5th July, 1817.	1818.	1819.
Customs	831,853	1,568,030	1,335,073
Excise	3,831,360	4,658,989	4,715,371
Stamps	1,589,615	1,599,814	1,594,723
Post-office	323,000	324,000	867,000
Assessed taxes	2,216,806	2,208,976	2,257,960
Land taxes	464,664	441,220	433,577
Miscellaneous	62,160	112,282	62,785
Unappropriated war duties	20,031	3,198	99,461
Total consolidated fund	9,339,489	10,916,509	10,745,950
ANNUAL DUTIES TO PAY OFF BILLS.			
Customs	877,760	289,114	909,566
Excise	83,727	106,316	118,101
Pensions, &c.			
Total annual duties	961,487	395,430	1,027,667
Permanent and annual duties	10,300,976	11,311,939	11,773,617
WAR TAXES.			
Customs			
Excise	779,647	872,496	869,974
Property	472,338	154,439	
Total war taxes	1,251,985	1,026,935	869,974
Total revenue, distinguishing the consolidated fund, the annual duties, and the war taxes	11,552,961	12,338,874	12,643,591
REVENUE—distinguishing the customs and excise.			
Total produce of customs, as particularized above	1,709,613	1,857,144	2,244,639
Ditto of excise, as ditto	4,694,734	5,637,801	5,703,426
Ditto of stamps, post-office, assessed, property, and land taxes, miscellaneous and unappropriated duties and pensions, as do.	5,148,614	4,843,929	4,695,506
Total revenue, distinguishing the customs and excise	11,552,961	12,338,874	12,643,591
Deduct receipt upon property, war duty on malt, and unappropriated duties	492,369	157,637	99,461
Revenue, exclusive of property, war duty on malt, and unappropriated duties	11,060,592	12,181,257	12,544,130

An Account of the Produce of the Excise Duties of Great Britain (exclusive of any Arrears received of the War Duty on Malt) in the Years ended 5th July 1818 and 1819: showing the Increase or Decrease on each Head thereof.

	Years ended 5th July, 1818.	1819.	Increase.	Decrease.
Auctions	£258,626	£264,627	£6,001	£
Beer	2,501,546	2,710,790	209,424	
Bricks and Tiles	240,003	324,161	84,158	
Candles	293,209	303,963	10,754	
Coffee and Cocoa	117,998	115,357		2,641
Cider, Perry, and Verjuice	12,107	31,071	18,964	
Glass	388,234	500,145	111,911	
Hides and Skins	587,825	612,614	24,789	
Hops	108,448	318,619	210,171	
Licenses	640,894	683,261	42,367	
Malt	2,248,632	2,977,373	728,741	
Paper	468,039	472,974	4,935	
Printed Goods	323,029	434,631	111,602	
Salt	1,471,582	1,498,899	27,317	
Soap	902,309	823,951		78,358
Spirits British	2,922,199	2,999,694	77,495	
Spirits Foreign	1,988,433	2,308,681	320,248	
Starch	33,999	50,263	16,263	
Stone Bottles	594	2,486	1,892	
Sweets	12,007	14,958	2,951	
Tea	2,991,180	3,087,298	96,118	
Tobacco and Snuff	1,449,101	1,502,881	53,780	
Vinegar	36,899	42,697	5,798	
Wine	1,174,011	1,091,354		82,657
Wire	8,212	7,266		946
	21,179,116	23,180,193	2,165,679	164,602
Deduct Decrease			164,602	
Increase on the Year			2,001,077	

Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain (exclusive of the Arrears of War Duty on Malt and Property), in the Years and Quarters ended 10th Oct. 1818, and 10th Oct. 1819:—showing the increase or decrease on each head thereof.

YEARS.

	Years ended 10th Oct. 1818.	Years ended 10th Oct. 1819.	Increase as compared with 1818.	Decrease as compared with 1818.
Customs.....	£10,548,183	£ 9,582,820	.....	£965,363
Excise.....	22,156,082	22,982,875	£826,793	—
Stamps	6,427,270	6,211,449	.....	215,821
Post-office	1,339,000	1,416,000	77,000	—
Assessed Taxes	6,173,833	6,178,432	4,599	—
Land Taxes ..	1,154,920	1,199,736	44,816	—
Miscellaneous	490,020	349,055	.....	140,965
	48,289,308	47,920,367	953,208	1,322,149
			Deduct increase.....	953,208
			Decrease as compared with the year 1818	368,941

	Increase as compared with 1817.	Decrease as compared with 1817.
In Customs	650,228	—
Excise	3,154,054	—
Stamps	....	20,764
Post-office	67,000	—
Assessed Taxes	176,436	—
Land Taxes	1,888	—
Miscellaneous	51,400	—
	4,101,006	20,764
Deduct Decrease	20,764	
Increase in 1819, as compared with the year 1817	4,080,242	

QUARTERS.

QUARTERS.

	Quarters ended 10th Oct. 1818.	1819.	Increase as compared with 1818.	Decrease as compared with 1818.
Customs.....	£3,669,754	£2,753,167	.....	£916,587
Excise	5,866,804	5,674,687	.....	192,117
Stamps	1,672,165	1,575,437	.....	96,728
Post-office	360,000	375,000	£15,000	—
Assessed Taxes	787,426	781,448	.....	5,978
Land Taxes ..	181,801	198,177	16,376	—
Miscellaneous	49,150	77,628	28,478	—
	12,587,100	11,435,544	59,854	1,211,410
			Deduct Increase	59,854
			Decrease as compared with the quarter 1818	1,151,556

	Increase as compared with 1817.	Decrease as compared with 1817.
In Customs	.....	368,783
Excise	764,851	—
Stamps	.....	113,226
Post-office	21,000	—
Assessed Taxes	.....	1,154
Land Taxes	7,675	—
Miscellaneous	829	—
	814,355	483,163
Deduct Decrease	483,163	
Increase in 1819, as compared with the quarter 1817	331,192	

An Account of the Income of, and Charge upon, the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended the 5th Day of January 1819: showing likewise the Produce of the Excise Duties, continued per Act 56 Geo. III. Cap. 17, and Duties annually granted for the Public Service, together with the Total Amount of All Monies paid into His Majesty's Receipt of Exchequer, between the 5th Day of January 1818, and the 5th Day of January 1819, distinguishing the Proportion thereof specially appropriated, from that which is applicable to the Public Service; containing also an Abstract of the Income and Charge of the Consolidated Fund arising in the Exchequers of Great Britain and Ireland, in the Year ended the 5th Day of January 1819.

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

INCOME—GREAT BRITAIN.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	YEARLY REVENUE.						
Customs	Consolidated ..	4,049,775	..	6½			
	Ditto..from the Isle of Man ..	9,656	5	9			
	Permanent A° 1813 ..	698,733	11	7½			
	Quarantine duty	29,723	17	7			
	Surplus canal and dock duty ..	41,283	3	1	7,590,196	8	5½
	Temporary or war duty A° 1809 .. made permanent from 5 July 1816	2,614,750	11	1½			
	Ditto .... Annis 1810 and 1811	146,273	18	8½			
Excise	Consolidated	16,184,762	..	..			
	British spirits A° 1806. A. ..	550,170	..	..			
	Ditto .. ..1811 ..	559,440	..	..	17,367,760	..	..
	Foreign spirits .. ditto	73,388	..	..			
	Stamps .. Consolidated anno 1815 ..	....		..	6,391,272	8	7
	Post Office duties consolidated anno 1808	....		..	1,339,000	..	..
	Assessed taxes .... ditto 1808			..	6,217,588	16	..½
	Ditto....Arrears of duties repealed			....	7	2	9½
	Surplus of duty annually granted upon sugar	After satisfying £3,000,000 Annually charged thereon,			296,234	..	10½
	——————— tobacco				184,010	..	..
	——————— malt, annual and additional				1,396,680	..	..
	——— land-tax on offices, and pensions,				35,899	12	9
	Land taxes unredeemed	....		....	1,173,786	5	11
	6d. and 1s. duty on pensions and salaries	..		..	29,508	17	3
	Hackney coaches			..	24,270	..	..
	Hawkers and pedlars			..	24,550	..	..
	Sundry small receipts			..	22,048	7	1
					42,092,806	19	9
	OTHER PAYMENTS.						
	Imprest and other monies repaid			..	222,264	18	5
	Arrears of duties on properties—Malt A° 1809, cap. 81—and temporary or war duty A° 1813, remaining unappropriated in the exchequer, are, pursuant to Act 27 Geo. III. cap. 13, sec. 52, to be carried to the consolidated fund				85,103	4	7½
					42,400,174	2	9
	Brought from monies in the exchequer per Acts	£.	s.	d.			
	29 Geo. III. cap. 61, for payment of life annuities in tontine A° 1789	23,456	3	7½			
	54 Geo. III. c. 160, being part of an annuity granted to his royal highness the prince of Wales ..	22,000	..	..			
	56 et 57 Geo. III. cap. 98 et 48, being the amount issued out of the consolidated fund in Ireland in the year ended 10th October 1818, for current public services of 1817 and 1818 . ..	2,164,122	5	4½	2,209,578	8	11½
					44,609,753	11	8½

CHARGE.

Great Britain.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest, etc. on the national debt.						
Life annuities at the exchequer	118,894	4	7			
Annuities at £3 per cent to the bank of England	446,502	3	5			
Dividends payable at ditto to the public creditors	26,917,328	5	9½	28,160,073	11	11½
Ditto at the South Sea House to ditto	406,711	..	9			
Charges of management at ditto on capitals of which the dividends are payable to ditto	12,164	8	3			
Ditto at the bank on ditto	268,473	9	2½			
Towards redemption of the national debt.						
Sinking fund per act 26 Geo. III. cap. 18	1,000,000	..	..			
Annuities for terms of years expired per ditto	79,880	14	6			
Sinking fund per act 42 Geo. III. cap. 71.	200,000	..	..			
Ditto on various loans since 1792	10,805,150	2	3	14,435,949	10	6
Dividends payable at the Bank on stock redeemed	2,626,499	3	8			
Ditto South Sea House on ditto	224,419	10	..			
His majesty's civil list	.....	..	..	1,028,000	..	..
Pensions by act of parliament	.....	..	..	457,678	4	9½
Salaries and allowances by ditto	.....	..	..	56,034	..	6
Ditto in courts of justice	.....	..	..	67,967	12	2
Mint in England and Scotland	.....	..	..	15,000	..	..
Russian loan made in Holland per act 55 Geo. III. cap. 115	.....	..	..	133,417	6	3
Miscellaneous charges	.....	..	..	35,517	9	6
				44,389,637	15	7½
Interest upon exchequer bills issued per act 57 Geo. III. cap. 48, to make good the deficiency of the consolidated fund in the year ended 10th October 1818, and which were paid off previously to 5th January 1819				8,246	16	8
Total charge				44,397,884	12	3½
Surplus				211,867	19	5½
				£44,609,752	11	8½

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

ABSTRACT.

	£.	s.	d.
Great Britain	44,609,752	11	8¼
Ireland	4,580,978	8	5
UNITED KINGDOM.			
Great Britain	44,609,752	11	8¼
Ireland 4,580,978 8 5			
Deduct issued for public services and carried from supplies of the years 1817 and 1818 to the consolidated fund of Great Britain in the year ended 5th Jan. 1819 2,164,122 5 4¼	2,416,856	3	¾
£	47,026,608	14	9½

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

ABSTRACT.

	£.	s.	d.
Great Britain	44,397,884	12	3¼
Surplus	211,867	19	5¼
	44,609,752	11	8¼
Ireland	2,310,222	11	11¼
Surplus *	2,270,755	16	5¾
	4,580,978	8	5
UNITED KINGDOM.			
Great Britain	44,397,884	12	3¼
Ireland	2,310,222	11	11¼
	46,708,107	4	3
Surplus	318,501	10	6¼
£	47,026,608	14	9½

* By virtue of an act 56 Geo. III. cap. 98, the above surplus of 2,270,755*l.* 16*s.* 5¾*d.* has been applied in Ireland for current public services of the years 1817 and 1818; and in pursuance of the said act, a like sum is directed to be carried from the supplies of 1817 and 1818 to the consolidated fund of Great Britain: of which pursuant to act 57 Geo. III. cap. 48. 1,773,487*l.* 3*s.* 6¼*d.* has been so carried in the year ended 5th January 1819; and the remainder 497,518*l.* 12*s.* 10¼*d.* will be applied at 5th April 1819.

EXCISE

EXCISE DUTIES, continued per act 56 Geo. III. cap. 171.

		£.	s.	d.
British spirits	Anno 1803	702,901	..	..
Ditto Sched. B.	1806	....	..	..
Foreign spirits	1803	699,177	..	..
Sweets	—	2,140	..	..
Tea	—	1,575,882	..	..
Tobacco	1806	324,936	..	..
Brandy	1807	94,224	..	..
		3,399,260	..	..

DUTIES

Annually granted to provide 3,000,000l. for the public service.

	£.	s.	d.
Sugar	2,109,812	7	1½
Malt annual and additional	237,144	..	..
Tobacco	309,596	..	..
Land tax on offices and pensions	16	18	4
	2,656,569	5	5½

Total

Total Amount of all Monies *paid into* the Exchequer of Great Britain between 5th January 1818 and 5th January 1819, distinguishing the Proportion thereof specially appropriated, from that which is applicable to the Public Service.

	Specially appropriated. £.	s.	d.	Applicable to the public service. £.	s.	d.
Total receipt upon the consolidated fund * ..	42,400,174	2	9¼	.....	..	..
Canal and dock duty	7,000	..	..	.....	..	..
Excise duties lately part of war taxes continued per act 56 Geo. III. c. 17 ..	.....	..	..	3,399,260	..	..
Duties on sugar, &c. annually granted	.....	..	..	2,656,569	5	5½
Duties of 4½ per cent.	25,013	13	4	.....	..	..
First fruits of the clergy	4,552	19	5	.....	..	..
Tenths of the clergy	9,855	19	2½	.....	..	..
Payments reserved for the collection of sundry duties	6,808	13	9	.....	..	..
Ditto....to the civil list	21,239	6	9	.....	..	..
Surplus of exchequer fees carried to ditto per act 56 Geo. III. cap. 46	36,000	..	..	.....	..	..
Land tax redeemed by payments in money ..	.....	..	..	1,533	1	7
South Sea duty, per act 55 Geo. III. cap. 57..	6,458	5	3½	.....	..	..
Contributions to lotteries anno 1817	346,339	8	4	172,660	11	8
Ditto 1818	90,740	9	10	144,259	10	2
Ditto, to annuities per act 58 Geo. III. cap. 23. pro anno 1818	.....	..	..	2,725,000	..	..
Ditto to ditto, towards discharging exchequer bills, per ditto, pro ditto	.....	..	..	8,125,000	..	..
Payments by the chief cashier of the governor and company of the bank of England, being a surplus of 100,000*l.* in their hands on account of unclaimed dividends, lottery prizes, &c. and which, pursuant to act 56 Geo. III. cap. 97, was applicable towards the supplies anno 1816; but there having been at sundry times a deficiency of 100,000*l.* abovementioned, the same has been, pursuant to the said act, repaid to the bank, and therefore could not be applied to the public service	267,651	6	1	65,297	..	6
Ditto by ditto on account of the commissioners for the issue of exchequer bills, per act 35 Geo III. cap. 97	8,771	3	8	.....	..	..
Repayment on account of the royal military asylum pro anno 1817	.....	..	..	589	8	..
Voluntary contributions pro anno 1817	.....	..	..	20,000	..	..
Arrears of property duties granted pro annis 1817 and 1818	.....	..	..	481,540	9	7½
	43,230,605	8	5½	17,791,709	7	..½
				43,230,605	8	5½
			Total....	61,022,314	15	5½

* The sum of 2,209,578*l.* 8*s.* 11½*d.* being carried to the consolidated fund out of monies *in the exchequer*, does *not* constitute a part of the actual receipt upon that fund in the year ending 5th January 1819.

An Account of the Public funded Debt of the United Kingdom, payable in Great Britain, as it stood on the 5th of January, 1819; distinguishing the Total of Public Debt as originally funded; Debt redeemed and standing in the Names of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; Debt transferred for Life Annuities; Debt cancelled by Redemption of Land-tax; Debt cancelled and the Funds thereof charged with Loans for the Years 1813, 1814, and 1815; Debt unredeemed and due to the Public Creditor; Interest on Debt standing in the Names of the Commissioners; Life Annuities payable by the Commissioners; and Interest on Debt unredeemed; Sums applicable to the Redemption of Debt; Total Charge of Debt.

	£.	s.	d.
1. Total of public debt as originally funded	1,181,504,364	..	7½
2. Debt redeemed and standing in the names of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt	103,449,672	15	..
3. Debt transferred to the commissioners for life annuities payable at the bank	4,895,146	..	..
4. Debt cancelled by redemption of land-tax	25,502,093	1	9
5. Debt cancelled and the funds thereof charged with new loans, as per acts 53 and 54 Geo. III. cap. 95 and 3	255,790,138	5	2½
6. Debt unredeemed and due to the public creditor	791,867,313	18	8½
7. Interest on debt standing in the names of the commissioners, as per col. 2 and 3	3,290,398	2	10½
8. Life annuities payable on col. 3. and other annuities forming part of the debt unredeemed	1,668,170	3	9½
9. Interest on debt unredeemed as per col. 6.	27,656,798	17	11½
10. Sums applicable to the redemption of debt	15,815,003	14	10½
11. Total charge of debt.	45,749,298	7	4½

An

An Account of the Number of Prisoners in custody, in his Majesty's Jail of Newgate, in the Year 1818, and how they have been disposed of.

In custody on the 1st of January 1818	428	
Committed from that period to 31st Dec. 1818*	2326	
		2754
Of which there have been executed	20	
Died	11	
Removed to the hulks at Sheerness, preparatory to transportation	647	
Ditto to Portsmouth	59	
Ditto to Gosport	100	
Ditto to Woolwich	78	
Removed to the Penitentiary, Milbank	33	
Removed to the Refuge for the Destitute	29	
Removed to Bethlem hospital	3	
Removed by habeas corpus to the county jails, for trial at the assizes	23	
Removed to the house of correction for the city of London, for imprisonment for certain periods	77	
Removed to the house of correction for the county of Middlesex for the like purpose	286	
Removed to ditto, having received his majesty's pardon, on condition of being imprisoned therein for certain periods	10	
Removed to the ship Maria, at Deptford, destined to carry out female convicts to New South Wales	36	
Discharged, having had his majesty's free pardon	23	
Discharged, being acquitted at the Old Bailey sessions	486	
Discharged by proclamation; bills of indictment not having been found against them	251	
Discharged for want of prosecution	53	
Discharged, having undergone their sentence of imprisonment	108	
Discharged upon bail, and other causes	46	
		2370
Remained in custody 1st Jan. 1819, Males 277 } Females 107 }		384
		2754

W. R. H. BROWN, keeper.

* Nearly 2000 of these were Middlesex prisoners.

An

An Account of the Number of Prisoners tried, and the Offences they were convicted of, at the Old Bailey Sessions, in the Year 1818.

Murder	3	Capital offences.
Burglary	25	
House breaking	7	
Highway robbery	25	
Stealing in a dwelling-house	68	
Stealing privately in a shop	16	
Stealing on the river Thames	2	
Horse stealing	11	
Sheep stealing	9	
Cattle stealing	1	
Cutting down trees	1	
Returning from transportation	1	
Forgery	2	
Uttering forged bank notes	25	
Having possession of ditto without lawful excuse	98	
Receiving stolen goods	10	
Manslaughter	6	
Embezzlement	2	
Fraud	6	
Grand larceny	1093	
Misdemeanors	6	
Uttering counterfeit coin	13	
	1480	

OF THESE THERE WERE

Between the age of ten and fourteen	38
Between the age of fourteen and eighteen	195
Between the age of eighteen and twenty-one	391
Total under twenty-one years of age	624

THE

THE ARMY.

The following is a correct return of the effective strength of the royal artillery, serving at home and abroad, on the 25th January 1819; distinguishing the foot from the horse artillery:—

	Marching battalions at home.	
Officers,	866—Non-commissioned officers and men,	3,589
	Marching battalions abroad.	
Officers,	105—Non-commissioned officers and men,	2,186
Total,	471	5,769
	Horse brigade, at home.	
Officers,	47—Non-commissioned officers and men,	653
	Invalid battalion, at home.	
Officers,	35—Non commissioned officers and men,	147
	Invalid battalion, abroad.	
Officers,	0—Non-commissioned officers and men,	18
Total,	82	823
	Royal artillery drivers, at home.	
Officers,	23—Non-commissioned officers and men,	508
	Royal artillery drivers, abroad.	
Officers,	0—Non-commissioned officers and men,	26
Total,	23	534
Grand Total,	576	7,126

The

The following is a Return of the effective strength of Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates, serving in the British army, on the 25th of January 1819, with the number of horses:

Stations.	*Officers.*	*Serjeants*	*Drummers.*	*Farriers.*	*Rank and File.*	*Total.*	*Troop horses.*
Cavalry.							
Great Britain ..	649	703	151	162	7696	8712	5923
Ireland	265	241	64	64	2916	3285	2103
East Indies ..	250	288	63	54	3311	3716	3173
Total	1164	1232	276	280	13923	15716	11276
Foot Guards.							
Great Britain .	257	310	156		5050	5516	
Infantry.							
Great Britain .	785	843	441		13950	15248	
Ireland . . .	950	983	520		17360	18923	
Heligoland .	4	3	1		60	64	
Gibraltar . .	194	208	105		3659	3969	
Malta and Ionian Islands . .	237	268	123		4673	5064	
Sierra Leone .	12	21	9		370	400	
St. Helena .	47	72	22		1157	1251	
Cape of Good Hope . .	144	184	76		2732	2992	
Mauritius . .	121	130	70		2238	2439	
East Indies . .	868	997	421		16863	18281	
Ceylon . .	143	158	68		2639	2865	
New S. Wales ..	5	49	21		807	877	
Nova Scotia, &c.	161	183	89		2649	2912	
Canada	218	251	112		3619	3982	
Jamaica . . .	220	288	107		3720	4067	
Leeward Colonies . . .	276	290	129		4822	5247	
Total . .	4431	4897	2369		81313	88581	
General total	5852	6439	2799	280	100295	109810	11276

N.B.—Of the above numbers there are about 14,000 non-commissioned officers and privates supernumerary to the peace establishment of the army; viz. about 2000 belonging to regiments at home, now in the course of discharge, and waiting to pass the board at Chelsea hospital; and about 12,000 at present on foreign stations, who are under orders to be discharged.

There are likewise included in this return about 1300 supernumerary horses of cavalry regiments in Great Britain, of which 813 have been sold, or ordered to be sold, since the date to which the return is made up; and the remainder will be disposed of without delay.

The

The official list of the Royal Navy, corrected up to the 31st contains the following officers, &c. :—

Admiral of the	Fleet	1	
Admirals of the	Red	17	
	White	16	
	Blue	18	2 employed.
Vice-admirals of the	Red	23	
	White	18	
	Blue	19	1 employed.
Rear-admirals of the	Red	25	1 employed.
	White	24	5 employed.
	Blue	29	3 employed.
Superannuated rear-admirals		26	
Retired captains		29	
Captains		865	62 employed.
Commanders		781	47 employed.
Superannuated commanders		100	
Poor knights of Windsor		8	
Lieutenants		3911	395 employed.
Superannuated masters		48	
Masters for service		631	135 employed.
Physicians		16	
Surgeons retired		71	
Surgeons for service		910	106 employed.
Assistant surgeons		374	147 employed.
Dispensers of hospitals		19	
Hospital mates		6	
Pursers		885	116 employed.
Chaplains		53	20 employed.
Ships of various descriptions in commission		134	

LITERARY

LITERARY RETROSPECT

AND

SELECTIONS.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

IN our two preceding volumes for the years 1817 and 1818, we gave a short sketch of the progress of biographical writing in this kingdom; of the changes which it had undergone, with respect to the manner and spirit in which it was executed, and the style in which it was written; and we also made some short and general remarks on the different species of biography—on the peculiar advantages and disadvantages attending each—on the materials for biography which had been latterly copiously, but rather with too little discrimination, drawn from private diaries and letters—and on some of the causes which appeared to us to render the biography of the present age meagre, superficial, and ill-written. As several of these topics, and others collateral and intimately connected with them, were necessarily treated with a brevity not at all proportioned to their interest and importance, we shall resume them in this portion of our Literary Retrospect.

The difference between British biography and the *mémoires* of the French is a topic of curious remark; and appears to us to be illustrative of the difference in the character of the intellect, as well as of the general manners and feelings of the two nations. It must be admitted that in almost every instance the *mémoires* of the French are much more highly finished than our biographical writings; and perhaps they also contain a much larger portion of a certain species of philosophy: but it is not that grand and comprehensive philosophy, by the help of which alone the clearest and furthest insight can be gained into the formation and construction of individual character, or our knowledge of the human intellect and character generally can be mainly increased. It is rather a philosophy dealing in interesting trifles, subtle, not profound, dissecting and laying bare the smaller blood-vessels and nerves, but for the most part neglecting the greater, and totally overlooking those grand organs from which motion and sense take their origin. The tendency of British biography, on the contrary, is philosophical, even in instances where it is written in a very care-

less and imperfect manner: in short, with respect to style, and what may be deemed the dress of a book, the French are very attentive and successful; the English too frequently negligent; whereas, with respect to that which style and dress are to cover, the French are inferior to the English.

Is it not possible, however, that with respect to biographical writing, the British might unite the excellencies of the French to their own? or is there something in the French manner of writing biography, which English habits of thinking cannot attain, or English taste and judgement will not endure? The latter cannot be the case; for the French *mémoires* are in general much admired in this country for the polish, ease, spirit and taste with which they are executed. Yet it must be confessed, that in the few instances in which English writers have endeavoured to imitate the French, or to infuse into their biographical writings a portion of the French manner and spirit, they have not succeeded, so far at least as to command popularity equal to that which is enjoyed by biographical writings constructed on the pure English model.

The principal source of the difference between English and French biography seems to us to arise from the greater attachment of the former to domestic life, and to the predominant passion of the latter for show and effect. The lives of our most eminent men fail in making a pleasing and permanent impression, if they are confined exclusively to them as great men, or even if they do not introduce us to them in their youth, before they became great; and in their domestic life and connexions, where, after they became great, they forgot their greatness, and talked and acted and felt in a manner which we all can understand, and in which we all can sympathize. It is an absurd, and has been a most pernicious notion (pernicious, we mean, in so far as it has prevented us from possessing nearly so many interesting lives, as well as interesting histories, as we should otherwise have done), that biography and history are degraded by descending to the notice of minute actions; their grand object ought to be to exhibit individual and national character—the causes by which it was formed—the acts by which it is indicated—the results of different modes of conduct—and the operation of circumstances on each, as well as their influence on circumstances. And, most assuredly, these important and useful objects cannot be obtained, at least, so completely and satisfactorily, if biography and history are confined only to the grand and leading facts: they must enter more intimately into the subject, if they are to render it interesting.

But though, in our opinion, we should do wrong to imitate the French in the matter of their biography, we should do well to endeavour to imitate them with respect to style and manner; not that even in these respects would an exact imitation of their style and manner suit either English tastes, or our more solid as well as more minute species of biography. What we mean to assert is, that with respect to the style of our biographical writings, if it could be rendered so far conformable to that of the French, as

to

to become more easy, simple, and a little more polished, it would greatly increase the interest, without in the smallest degree diminishing the utility and genuine character of our biographical writings.

It is a very general but in our opinion an ill-founded notion, that biography is a species of writing within the reach of the abilities of almost any literary man; that nothing is necessary but a sufficiency of materials, and a facility of literary composition. To us, however, it appears, that much more is necessary; and even with regard to those things allowed to be necessary, that erroneous notions are entertained.

What is meant by sufficiency of materials? Let us suppose that the life of a literary man is to be written, would it be enough that the person about to write it, was well acquainted with all the works of the author whose life he had undertaken, was a master of the subject on which they treated, and acquainted with the leading and general facts of his life? Certainly not: and yet in most cases this is all that is deemed requisite, and with these materials biography is too frequently undertaken.

Much more however in our opinion is requisite. The object is to write the life of a person whose works had become deservedly popular, and had advanced considerably a certain branch of literature or science: there are at least two objects which the biographer of such a life ought to aim at.

In the first place, in order to render the life interesting, as well as to trace the character he means to pourtray from its rudest and simplest form, it would be necessary, if there were materials, to give all the youthful anecdotes that were in the least degree characteristic of the future man, or had a tendency to constitute him what he afterwards became. This is too often neglected, either from want of materials, or because it is deemed not compatible with the dignity of biography: and yet biography without it must be imperfect; for, if we are introduced to the person only at the period when he became known to the world by his actions or writings, it is evident that we are introduced to him when his character is in a great measure formed, and, that we are cut off from the instruction we might derive from being made acquainted with the circumstances which produced or indicated that character, which we afterwards find displayed in his actions or writings.

Moreover, besides the knowledge of the individual character which would be acquired, if biography stooped more frequently than it does to record the actions of youth, there would be acquired ample and most desirable materials for a much more accurate and satisfactory history of the formation of the human intellect, and all that constitutes human character, than we at present possess. Perhaps, with respect to the intellectual powers, their gradual development, their cooperating or antagonist action, and their final settlement and adjustment into what may be deemed fixed intellectual character, biography, written on the plan we have recommended, would not be so useful as it would be in other points of view; for it is not with regard to the intellectual portion of human character, that

we are so defective in our knowledge, from want of materials; it is rather in what respects the development and action and influence of the passions and feelings: by the passions we do not mean the more powerful and open ones, such as anger, revenge, jealousy, &c. but those passions, or, more properly speaking, feelings, which, though they do not often break out into action, or betray themselves in look or language to the superficial observer, have a constant and powerful influence on the thoughts, associations and sympathies of the person in whom they dwell, and through them on his whole character, and on the actions and happiness of his future life.

If biography were written, where there were materials for it, with this object in view, there can be no doubt, that it would not only answer its peculiar purpose most effectually, but also contribute eventually to enlarge our knowledge of the human mind and character. But it is evident that no common talents would be requisite to write biography in this manner: whoever attempts to render it contributory to our further acquaintance with the formation of human intellect and character, must be well conversant with human nature: he must know every thing essential that is known regarding it, in what particulars that information is defective, needs further illustration and proof, or is supposed to be erroneous; otherwise he will most assuredly, even though he had the most ample materials, be unable to select such as are important from those that are useless; and supposing he does make a good and proper selection, he will not be able to apply his materials to any useful purpose. It is evident that, if a person travelling in an unexplored country were to endeavour to add to the botanical or geological knowledge already in existence, without being well grounded in those sciences, his industry would be undoubtedly thrown away; and the case would be similar, if a person undertook to write biography without a thorough knowledge of human nature; and yet how seldom is this possessed by those who do write biography! Need we be surprised, therefore, if this species of composition, whatever other merit it may possess, is very deficient in contributing to the advancement of our acquaintance with what constitutes human character?

In the second place, a biographer, to do justice to his subject, should be well acquainted with the particular department of literature or science in which the person whose life he writes was distinguished. If he is ignorant on this point, it is evident that he can neither be a judge of the merit of the person, nor of the benefits which literature or science has derived from his labours. The life of a man of literature and science is connected with the history of literature and science, and ought to be written under a constant impression of that connexion. The state of the particular branch in which he was famous at the time his labours first began, ought to be clearly and impartially given: the influence of his writings, the encouragement or opposition they at first met with, ought to be pointed out; and the advances to which the branch of literature or science attained, either directly by his

his labours, or indirectly by his labours and example stimulating or guiding others, ought to be accurately described. The life of a person eminent in any branch of literature or science ought to be written by one eminent also in the same branch; otherwise it will not be written in such a manner as to form a portion of the history of that particular branch, nor in such a manner as to do justice to the person. But if biography requires, in the first place, that it should be written by a person who has well and diligently studied human nature—not merely in the state of manhood, but as it breaks forth in infancy and youth; and in the second place, that to this acquaintance with human nature there should be added a sympathy, arising from similar pursuits and studies, with the person whose life is to be written, and a thorough acquaintance with the particular branch of literature or science for which he was eminent; it is clear that it is a topic requiring very rare talents and information, and that neither in this nor in any other country has it been advanced to that rank to which it has just claims, nor been rendered productive of that interest and information which it is capable of affording.

The year 1819 has not been rich in biography. Besides those works from which we shall make selections, and of which we shall therefore subsequently give short characters, we know of none that deserve particular notice, except the Life of Curran, by his son; Coxe's Life of Marlborough; MacCrie's Life of Melville; Franklin's Memoirs, by himself; and the Life of Mad. de Staël, by Mad. Necker de Saussure. The Life of Curran, by his son, is on the whole an excellent piece of biography: it is written by one who of course had access to the best and most ample materials: and, what does not very often happen, the son seems to possess a species of enthusiasm similar to that which warmed the heart and eloquence of the father: the union of this enthusiasm with natural filial affection renders the life uncommonly interesting; while the author seems to have guarded as much as possible, and more than could have been expected, against that blindness to faults, and that exaggeration of excellencies, to which the sympathy of similar feelings and character and filial affection must otherwise have given rise. The life of Mr. Curran is closely connected with the history of Ireland during a very momentous era; and the present work, as bearing upon and illustrating that history, forms a rare and happy combination of excellent biography and most useful and important materials for the future historian.

Coxe's Life of Marlborough, like all the works of this author, is drawn from the most authentic sources, and is very minute and accurate: but it resembles a quarry, in so far that intermixed with valuable materials there is much rubbish. In fact, the life of Marlborough could not have been made by any writer a biographical work properly speaking: his life and the history of his country during the period of it must consist nearly of the same materials, or nearly so. Mr. Coxe, however, certainly was not the proper person to infuse into such a mass of materials

any of the spirit and interest of real biography. To write the life of a public man, in a manner similar to that in which Mr. Southey has written the life of Nelson, is what we must most ardently desire, but can scarcely hope to see accomplished.

Dr. M'Crie burst suddenly and unexpectedly on the public with his life of Knox: perhaps there are few instances in which an author raised up his fame so rapidly and highly as he did by this work. His great merit consisted in entering into the feeling and character of Knox so completely, as to infuse a soul into his biography; at the same time that with the zeal, the honesty, and the vigour of Knox, he evinces none of his violence, bigotry, and persecuting spirit. In short, what we may believe and hope that Knox would have been in the 19th century, Dr. M'Crie exhibits himself in the life of that great reformer. The acuteness and research, too, with which he elicits the truth in many places—the clear and satisfactory light in which his penetration and judgement, aided by a large portion of strong sense, put transactions before involved in obscurity, and above all, the boldness with which he follows out the truth, wherever it leads him, while at the same time he deals justice impartially to every party—stamped on his life of Knox the character of high excellence. The life of Melville did not afford the same materials, or the same opportunity for the display of the author's peculiar powers; nor indeed could it be made so generally interesting. But considering what Dr. M'Crie had to work upon, he has produced a very instructive and interesting piece of biography, which throws considerable light on the political history of Scotland during the period of Melville's life.

We do not believe any person, either young or old, ever rose from a perusal of Franklin's Life by himself, without being deeply interested, and having reaped some information which would be useful to him. Indeed this is the striking characteristic of Franklin's writings: for the purposes of life none are so rich; and the information they convey is given in such a pleasing style, is so evidently the result of his own observation and experience, that we do not hesitate to adopt it for our guidance. Every person who read Franklin's Life regretted that so small a portion of it was written by himself; and very great expectations were formed when a continuation of his life by himself was announced to be published by his grandson. We believe that some disappointment has been felt; this has arisen from two causes: in the first place, the continuation of his life by himself does not extend so far as was expected; and in the second place, the arrangement of the new work is very defective, and seems to have been adapted more with a view to the profit of the bookseller than the advantage of the reader. The papers possessed by Dr. Franklin's grandson consisted of his life written by himself—private letters—public letters—and essays on various topics. It might have been thought that the proper arrangement of these materials was sufficiently obvious: the private letters ought to have been incorporated with his life, instead

instead of which they are partly incorporated, but for the most part published separately and independently. There might have been some doubt about the arrangement of his public letters: perhaps the best mode would have been to select such as related to transactions in which he was personally much engaged, and to have given them in his life; and to have published by themselves such as did relate to his personal transactions. With the drawbacks, however, of a defective arrangement, and of a too obvious tendency to enlarge the bulk of the work, Franklin's Life and Correspondence must be regarded as forming a very valuable addition to the stock of our biography.

The Life of Madame de Staël is an elegant piece of biography; and the writer seems well qualified for her task, in so far as intimate acquaintance and a similar taste for subtle and mystic philosophy can qualify her. But we must confess the work disappointed us. It is deficient in two grand points: we see too little of madame de Staël at Copet—in her family—in dishabille. Madame de Staël evidently acted a part in her writings and in company: here she was well known; but otherwise she was not known: and if madame Necker could have brought herself to exhibit her relation in her retired and domestic life, she would have rendered a most acceptable present to all the admirers of madame de Staël, as well as have infused an interest into her work, of which it is destitute. In the second place, the *dress* character of madame de Staël if we may use the expression, her character as a woman of superior intellect, is analysed rather with extreme subtlety than with clearness and acuteness; and the real merit of her different works is not investigated in an impartial and satisfactory manner. In our opinion the writings of madame de Staël have been much overrated; and a very large portion of what she meant to pass for, and what in fact is generally regarded as, very profound, will on close examination be found either destitute of substantial meaning, or absolute nonsense, or common-place thoughts decorated in highly mystical and obscure language.

The Life of William Lord Russell.

By Lord John Russell.

[Second Edition. 2 vols. 8vo.]

IN one most essential respect this piece of biography may justly be expected to be complete, that is, as far as authentic materials can render it so: but we are sorry to say, that the matter is destitute of the animating spirit. Lord John Russell does not write the life of his admirable ancestor with that warmth of feeling—that entering of the whole soul into the subject, which might have been

been expetted from a whig descendant of the house of Russell. In short, this is a tame performance so far as style and manner go; but it is impossible that style and manner, however tame, can render a life of William lord Russell uninteresting.

The following extract describes lord R. after his condemnation:—

"Lord Cavendish having sent him a proposition, by sir James Forbes, to change clothes with him, and remain in prison, whilst he made his escape, he, in a smiling way, sent his thanks to him, but said he would make no escape. He probably thought that flight would look like a confession of guilt, and might prejudice his associates, and injure the great cause to which his whole life had been devoted. He said he was very glad he had not fled, for he could not have lived from his children, and wife, and friends; that was all the happiness he saw in life. He was glad that some (probably alluding to lord Grey) who had not lived so as to be fit to die, had escaped. Of lord Essex (who committed suicide in the Tower on the morning of lord Russell's trial) he said, he was the worthiest, the justest, the sincerest, and the most concerned for the public, of any man he ever knew. He ascribed his last fatal act, in great part, to lord Essex's regret for having introduced lord Howard to him.

"When he spoke of his wife, the tears would sometimes come into his eyes, and he would suddenly change the discourse. Once he said he wished she would give over beating every bush for his preservation; but when he considered that it would be some mitigation of her sorrow afterwards, to reflect she had left nothing undone, he acquiesced. He expressed great joy in the magnanimity of spirit he saw in her, and said, the parting with her was the greatest thing he had to do; for he was afraid she would hardly be able to bear it. The concern about preserving him filled her mind at the time; but when that should be over, he feared the quickness of her spirit would act too powerfully within her. In general, he kept up his cheerfulness undiminished. One of the sheriffs was Rich, who, though he had now changed sides, had formerly voted for the exclusion bill in the house of commons. When he came, with the other sheriff, with the warrant for the execution, lord Russell told Burnet, that it was not decent to be merry with such a matter, otherwise he had been near telling Rich that they should never sit together again to vote for the exclusion bill*. And a Mrs. Tressam having come to see him, after the trial, he said to her, 'Mrs. Tressam, you always find me out in a new place.'

"In such discourse lord Russell spent his time till the day previous to his execution. At the hours of meals he talked of the news of the day, and the politics of Europe, in the style he had usually done. But Friday being the day he had fixed for receiving the sacrament, he determined to pass

* Dalrymple says, "recollecting that Rich might feel pain from the innocent pleasantry, he checked himself."

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the day as he would have done the Sunday, had he lived so long. The sacrament was given him early in the morning (his servant receiving it with him) by the dean of Canterbury (Tillotson). After he had received it, the dean asked him if he believed all the articles of the christian religion, as taught by the church of England.—He answered, 'Yes, truly.' Then he asked him if he forgave all persons. That, he said, he did from his heart.—Then the dean told him, he hoped he would discharge his conscience in full and free confession. He said that he had done it. Upon which the dean left him; and Dr. Burnet, in the course of the morning, preached two sermons to him. In the interval he told him, he could not pretend to such high joys and longings as Dr. B. had spoken of, but on an entire resignation of himself to the will of God, and a perfect serenity of mind. He said he was sometimes troubled because he had not those longings which were felt by Mr. Hampden, a friend for whom he had great kindness and esteem. Mr. Hampden had, a few days before, given him, from Mr. Baxter, his book of Dying Thoughts, then lately published, from which he derived great comfort. He said he was much concerned at the cloud which seemed to be over his country; but he hoped his death would do more service than his life could have done. After dinner, he signed the copies of his paper, and desired it might be sent to the press. He then received a few of his friends, and took his last leave of his children. On this occasion, the fondness of a father did not prevent him from maintaining the constancy of his temper. A little before he went to eat his supper, he said to lady Russell, 'Stay and sup with me; let us eat our last earthly food together.' He talked very cheerfully during supper on various subjects, and particularly of his two daughters. He mentioned several passages of dying men with great freedom of spirit; and when a note was sent to his wife, containing a new project for his preservation, he turned it into ridicule, in such a manner, that those who were with him, and were not themselves able to contain their griefs, were amazed. They could not conceive how his heart, naturally so tender, could resist the impression of their sorrow. In the day time he had bled at the nose, on which he said, 'I shall not now let blood to divert this; that will be done to-morrow;' and when it rained hard that night, he said, 'Such a rain to-morrow will spoil a great show, which is a dull thing on a rainy day.'

"Before his wife left him, he took her by the hand, and said, 'This flesh you now feel in a few hours must be cold.' At ten o'clock she left him. He kissed her four or five times; and she so governed her sorrow, as not to add, by the sight of her distress, to the pain of separation. Thus they parted; not with sobs and tears, but with a composed silence: the wife wishing to spare the feelings of the husband, and the husband of his wife, they both restrained the expression of a grief too great to be relieved by utterance.

"When she was gone, he said, 'Now the bitterness of death is past.' And he then ran out into a long

a long discourse concerning her, saying, how great a blessing she had been to him, and what a misery it would have been to him if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit, joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing to save his life. Whereas, what a week he should have passed, if she had been crying on him to turn informer, and to be a lord Howard!

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"Then he spoke of his own situation, and said, how great a change death made, and how wonderfully those new scenes would strike on a soul. He had heard how some that had been born blind were struck, when by the couching of their cataracts they saw; but what, he said, if the first thing they saw were the sun rising?

On the morning of his execution, after a night of calm repose, he went into his coach with great cheerfulness. Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet accompanied him. As they were going he looked about him, and knew several persons. Some he saw staring on him, who knew him, and did not put off their hats. He said there was great joy in some, but that did not touch him so much as the tears he observed in the eyes of others; for that, he said, made him tender. He sung within himself as he went along; and Dr. Burnet, asking him what he was singing, he said it was the 119th psalm; but he should sing better very soon. As the carriage turned into Little Queen-street, he said, 'I have often turned to the other hand with great comfort, but now I turn to this with greater.' As he said this, he looked towards his own house, and Dr. Tillotson saw a tear drop from his eye.

"Just as they were entering Lincoln's-inn-fields, he said, 'This has been to me a place of singing, and God now makes it the place of my punishment. He wondered to see so great a crowd assembled. He had before observed that it rained, and said to his companions, 'This rain may do you hurt that are bare-headed.'

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"He then knelt down and prayed three or four minutes by himself. When that was done, he took off his coat and waistcoat. He had brought a night cap in his pocket, fearing his servant might not get up to him. He undressed himself, and took off his cravat, without the least change of countenance. Just as he was going down to the block, some one called out to make a lane, that the duke of Albemarle might see; upon which he looked full that way. Dr. Burnet had advised him not to turn about his head when it was once on the block, and not to give a signal to the executioner. These directions he punctually attended to.

"'When he had laid down,' says doctor Burnet, 'I once looked at him, and saw no change in his looks; and though he was still lifting up his hands, there was no trembling, though in the moment in which I looked the executioner happened to be laying his axe to his neck, to direct him to take aim; I thought it touched him, but am sure that he did not seem to mind it.'

"The executioner, at two strokes, cut off his head."

EXTRA-

Extraordinary Longevity.

[From a Jamaica Paper.]

ROGER Hope Elletson died at the Hope estate on Monday the 31st of May, aged upwards of 140 years.

His age cannot be positively proved by any written document or record, and must therefore be inferred from his own account of himself, combined with what collateral testimony may be collected, and the circumstances connected with them. His own account is, that he was born at Merryman's hill, an old sugar estate, in St. Andrew's, and was a father at the time of the great earthquake in 1692, which destroyed Port-royal; that he was at home when that event took place, and perfectly remembered the violence of the shocks, far exceeding any he had felt since. The particulars of the immediate consequences resulting from that dreadful convulsion of nature had faded from his memory, but the general scene of desolation and distress he very well remembered. Being asked, about two years since, if he recollected any thing remarkable to have happened a short time either before or after the great earthquake, he replied, "Yes; a great storm, and an attempt of the French to land on the island;" but he could not tell which event preceded the other. The first was in 1689, the second in 1694; and it is by no means strange that he could not recollect these circumstances so correctly as the earthquake; because the predominating magnitude of that awful event, its dreadful violence, and shocking consequences, must naturally have made a deeper impression on his mind. He could not tell how long it was since he had done any work, but that it was a great many years: that he had never been sick, and had never drank rum, nor any ardent spirit, in the whole course of his life; that, from first to last, he had always good masters and good overseers, from whom he had often received great kindness, and that he did not remember ever to have been treated with harshness or severity.

Mr. Long, in his History of Jamaica, (vol. i. b. 2. c. 2. s. 2.) speaking of the healthiness of the climate, and the consequent longevity of its inhabitants, says, "I can remember three white inhabitants, each of whom exceeded one hundred years; I know others now living beyond ninety; and, about five years ago, I conversed with a negro man, who remembered perfectly well the great earthquake which destroyed Port-royal in 1692; and by his account, he could not have been much under eighteen or twenty when that event happened. These persons were not, as in northern countries, decrepit, or bed-ridden, but lively, and able to stir about, their appetites good, and their faculties moderately sound." It is to be regretted that no mention is made of even the estate to which this old man belonged; but Mr. Long resided many years on the island, and from the exactness and minuteness of his descriptions must have been in every parish, and have

have been acquainted with every thing remarkable in every part of it, and, if he had ever met with more than one person who remembered the great earthquake, and was grown up to manhood at the time, he doubtless would have said so; but his mentioning one only, as an extraordinary instance, renders it very probable that old Hope was the man he conversed with; especially when we consider that Mr. Long's book was published in 1774, and that his conversation with the old man was five years at least before that, which brings it to 1769, 77 years after the earthquake, to which, if we add 18 years, his supposed age at the time, it makes him to have been then 95 years old; add 50 years that have elapsed since, and it amounts to 145—about the age that he professed himself to be.

Another species of evidence that possesses great weight, is the testimony of the other negroes on the Hope estate. All the oldest of them living, as well as several that are dead, have concurred in declaring that from their earliest recollections, old Hope appeared to them nearly as old then as he has ever done since; and that they have been able to observe but little difference in his appearance from their first knowledge of him to their last. Toney, an intelligent negro, who died in April last, and who could not be less than 80 years old (as he had been coachman to Roger Elletson, when he was lieutenant-governor,) used always to say that old Dick (as he was then called) was as old again as himself; and when admiral Douglas first visited the estate, before he had heard of so old a man being in existence, on his return, an apparently very old watchman, stationed at the gate to open and shut it, being from great feebleness very tedious in the performance of his duty; induced the admiral to ask him how old he was? "Old enough, massa; but dere another man here as old again as I am." This made the admiral turn back again; and from that time till his removal from this station, old Hope was a favourite object of his liberality and benevolence.

Old Hope must have been a strong man, of full six feet in height, and no doubt of great vigour and activity; for, if not twelve months ago he could walk from the Hope estate to town, and back again the same day, of how much greater exertion must he have been capable in his prime! Many years ago he lost the sight of his right eye, by being too near the blasting of a rock with gunpowder, but he could see perfectly well with the other; his other senses were very good, as well as his mental faculties. He had some teeth remaining; he had some grey hairs, but so few, that at a little distance it could scarcely be perceived he had any. His head was well covered, without baldness in any part. He did not stoop more than, nor so much as, many men not half his age; and in October 1817, when his portrait was painted, he used to walk to town with ease, whenever he was required to sit—he would then drink some wine saugaree to recruit himself, but never more than was requisite to quench his thirst, and would generally leave some in the glass for his grandson. He sat very patiently, and was much pleased to observe the progress of the portrait; and was highly gratified

tified with the idea of the admiral's taking it home, and showing it to the king and the nobility of England. Neither his father nor mother was uncommonly old. He had two brothers, Tom and Cambridge, long since dead; and there is a woman now living on the estate, named Sinee, who says she is his sister; but, as from her own account of the age of her last child, she cannot be more than between eighty and ninety at furthest, it is impossible she can be his sister. The only survivor derived from him is his grandson Richard, a boy about twelve years old, who constantly attended him. Young Richard is the son of Quashie, now living on the estate, who married old Hope's youngest daughter, and only remaining child. She died in 1813, of a consumption, aged about 43 years: so that he must have been near an hundred years old when he became her father; and it reflects the highest credit to the old man's feelings, to know that he attended and nursed her with the tenderest care, and most unremitting attention, during a lingering illness.

At last his own time drew nigh. About the beginning of this year he was attacked with a slow intermittent fever, which undermined his remaining strength; and although he in a great degree recovered, yet it was with much difficulty that he a few times afterwards walked to town, but could not walk back again without at least a day's intermediate rest. Perceiving himself to get weaker and weaker, and being conscious he could not exist much longer, he grew desirous to be baptized, or, as he called it, to be made a christian of; and, in compliance with his earnest wishes, he was sent to the church at St. Andrew's, and was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Campbell, on the 11th of April, being Easter Sunday, by the name of Roger Hope Elletson. After his baptism, I have not heard that he ever left the estate; he continued to decline by imperceptible gradations, without any bodily pain or mental uneasiness, until Whit-Monday, the 31st of May, when he quietly expired at about three o'clock in the afternoon. Those who constantly attended him, say that for some time previous to his decease, he was frequently very earnest in prayer; but they could seldom distinctly hear what he said. Let us hope, though he did not formally enter within the pale of christianity until the eleventh hour, that the general harmless tenor of his life, and the humble resignation of his death, will gain him a reception in those regions where there is neither ignorance, nor pain, nor guilt, nor sorrow.

It has been remarked, that out of the many instances of longevity which have been recorded, by far the greater number have been peasants, living in high healthy parts of the country, employed in rustic labour, temperate and simple in their diet, habitually quiet, gentle and cheerful. Large cities, populous manufacturing towns, and sea-ports, are far from being conducive to long life. The luxuries, the intemperance, the habits of dissipation, the irregularities and vices they engender, have almost an inevitable tendency to enervate the body and perturb the mind. Nor have any extraordinary instances of longevity been found among literary and scientific

tific men.—Their profound studies generate such sedentary habits, that they very seldom take sufficient exercise with continued regularity; and their mental energies, being so often strained to the utmost, have a natural tendency to impair the functions of the body. Sir Isaac Newton is a remarkable instance of a corporeal frame that might have lasted much longer than it did. He lived to be upwards of eighty, and never lost a tooth nor wore spectacles; and if he had not, like the astronomer in Rasselas, "drawn out his soul in endless calculations," his bodily frame might, with proper management, have much exceeded an hundred years. R. F.

ANECDOTS of the KING and Mr. ADAMS.

[From an AMERICAN PAPER.]

WE are not aware that the following letter from Mr. Adams, our ambassador in England, to Mr. Jay, secretary of state under the old confederation, has ever been published. It is valuable from the elevated character of the actors, and from the interest of the scene described. Some of our patriots, who think there is a natural repulsion between independence and good-breeding, may be horrified at the courtier-like address of Mr. Adams, and feel quite indignant that republicanism should have observed a proper decorum before royalty. We admire in Mr. Adams's conduct that good sense and dexterity that has distinguished most of our foreign ministers in their intercourse with European courts. The style is simple, and we think more *republican* than the inflated bombast that characterises most of our present productions. It is what we seldom meet—the plain language of a sensible man:—

"*Bath Hotel, Westminster,*
June 2, 1785.

"Dear sir,—During my interview with the marquis of Carmarthen, he told me that it was customary for every foreign minister, at his first presentation to the king, to make his majesty some compliments conformable to the spirit of his credentials; and when sir Clement Cottrel Dormer, the master of the ceremonies, came to inform me that he should accompany me to the secretary of state, and to court, he said that every foreign minister whom he had attended to the queen, had always made an harangue to her majesty, and he understood, though he had not been present, that they always harangued the king. On Tuesday evening the baron de Lynden (Dutch ambassador) called upon me, and said he came from the baron de Nolken (Swedish envoy), and had been conversing upon the situation I was in; and they agreed in opinion that it was indispensable that I should make a speech, and that it should be as complimentary as possible. All this was parallel to the advice lately given by the count de Vergennes to Mr. Jefferson. So that finding that it

was

was a custom established at both these great courts, and that this court and the foreign ministers expected it, I thought I could not avoid it, although my first thought and inclination had been to deliver my credentials silently, and retire. At one, on Wednesday the 1st of June, the master of ceremonies called at my house, and went with me to the secretary of state's office in Cleveland-row, where the marquis of Carmarthen received me, and introduced me to Mr. Frazier, his under secretary, who had been, as his lordship said, uninterruptedly in that office, through all the changes in administration, for 30 years, having first been appointed by the earl of Holderness. After a short conversation upon the subject of importing my effects from Holland and France, free of duty, which Mr. Frazier himself introduced, lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to court. When we arrived in the antechamber, the *œil de bœuf* of St. James, the master of the ceremonies met me, and attended me while the secretary of state went to take the commands of the king. While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand upon such occasions, always attended by the master of ceremonies, the room very full of ministers of state, bishops, and all other sorts of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the king's bed-chamber, you may well suppose that I was the focus of all eyes. I was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it by the Swedish and Dutch ministers, who came to me, and entertained me with a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen, whom I had seen before, came to make their compliments too—until the marquis of Carmarthen returned, and desired me to go with him to his majesty. I went with his lordship through the levee-room into the king's closet—the door was shut, and I was left with his majesty and the secretary of state alone. I made the three reverences; one at the door, another about half way, and the third before the presence, according to the usage established at this and all the northern courts of Europe, and then addressed myself to his majesty in the following words:—

"Sir,—The United States of America have appointed me minister plenipotentiary to your majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it, It is in obedience to their express commands that I have the honour to assure your majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your royal family.

"The appointment of a minister from the United States to your majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an en-

tire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, 'the old good nature, and the good old humour,' between people, who though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood. I beg your majesty's permission to add, that although I have sometimes before been intrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."

The king listened to every word I said, with dignity it is true, but with an apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I did or could express, that touched him, I cannot say, but he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with, and said—

"Sir — The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly disposition of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiment and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, Let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect."

I dare not say that these were the king's precise words: and it is even possible that I may have in some particular mistaken his meaning; for although his pronunciation is as distinct as I ever heard, he hesitated sometimes between his periods, and between members of the same period. He was, indeed, much affected, and I was not less so; and therefore I cannot be certain that I was so attentive, heard so clearly, and understood so perfectly, as to be confident of all his words or sense; and I think that all which he said to me should at present be kept secret in America, unless his majesty or his secretary of state should judge proper to report it. This I do say, that the foregoing is his majesty's meaning, as I then understood it, and his own words as nearly as I can recollect them.

The king then asked me whether I came last from France; and upon my answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and smiling, or rather laughing, said, "There is an opinion among some people, that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France." I was surprised at this, because I thought it an indiscretion, and a descent from his dignity. I was a little embarrassed, but determined not to deny the truth on the one hand, nor leave him

him to infer from it any attachment to England on the other. I threw off as much gravity as I could, and assumed an air of gaiety, and a tone of decision, as far as was decent, and said—"That opinion, sir, is not mistaken; I must avow to your majesty I have no attachment but to my own country." The king replied as quick as lightning, "An honest man will never have any other."

The king then said a word or two to the secretary of state, which being between them I did not hear, and then turned round and bowed to me, as is customary with all kings and princes when they give the signal to retire. I retreated, stepping backwards, as is the etiquette, and, making my last reverence at the door of the chamber, I went my way. The master of the ceremonies joined me the moment of my coming out of the king's closet, and accompanied me through all the apartments, down to my carriage, several stages of servants, gentlemen porters, and under porters, roaring out like thunder, as I went along, "Mr. Adams's servants, Mr. Adams's carriage," &c.

I have been thus minute in these details, because they may be useful to others hereafter to know. The conversation with the king I should not dare to withhold from congress, who will form their own judgement of it. I may possibly expect from it a residence here less painful than I once expected, because so marked an attention from the king will silence many grumblers; but we can infer nothing from all this concerning the success of my mission. There is a train of other ceremonies to go through in presentations to the queen, and visits to and from ministers and ambassadors, which will take up much time, and interrupt me in my endeavours to obtain all that I have at heart, the objects of my instructions. Thus it is that the essence of things is lost in ceremony in every country of Europe; we must submit to what we cannot alter. Patience is the only remedy.

With great and sincere esteem, I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant, JOHN ADAMS.

His excellency John Jay, esq. secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs.

CHARACTER of PROFESSOR PLAYFAIR.

[Attributed to Mr. JEFFREY, the Editor of the Edinburgh Review.]

NO event of the kind certainly ever excited more general sympathy than the death of Mr. Playfair; and no individual, we are persuaded, will be longer or more affectionately remembered by all classes of his fellow-citizens: and yet it is to those very circumstances that we must look for an explanation of the apparent neglect by which his memory has been followed. His humble admirers had been deterred from expressing their sentiments by a na-

tural feeling of unwillingness to encroach on the privilege of those whom a nearer approach to his person and talents rendered more worthy to speak of them; while the learned and eloquent among his friends have trusted to each other for the performance of a task which they could not but feel to be painful in itself, and not a little difficult to perform as it ought to be; or, perhaps, have reserved for some more solemn occasion that tribute for which the public impatience is already at its height.

We beg leave to assure our readers, that it is merely from anxiety to do *something* to gratify this natural impatience, that we presume to enter at all upon a subject to which we are perfectly aware that we are incapable of doing justice; for of Mr. Playfair's scientific attainments, of his proficiency in those studies to which he was peculiarly devoted, we are but slenderly qualified to judge: but, we believe, we hazard nothing in saying that he was one of the most learned mathematicians of his age, and among the first, if not the very first, who introduced the beautiful discoveries of the latter continental geometers to the knowledge of his countrymen, and gave their just value and true place in the scheme of European knowledge to those important improvements by which the whole aspect of the abstract sciences has been renovated since the days of our illustrious Newton. If he did not signalize himself by any brilliant or original invention, he must at least be allowed to have been a most generous and intelligent judge of the achievements of others, as well as the most eloquent expounder of that great and magnificent system of knowledge which has been gradually evolved by the successive labours of so many gifted individuals. He possessed, indeed, in the highest degree, all the characteristics both of a fine and powerful understanding, at once penetrating and vigilant, but more distinguished, perhaps, for the caution and sureness of its march, than for the brilliancy or rapidity of its movements, and guided and adorned through all its progress by the most genuine enthusiasm for all that is grand, and the justest taste for all that is beautiful in the truth or the intellectual energy with which he was habitually conversant.

To what account these rare qualities might have been turned, and what more brilliant or lasting fruits they might have produced, if his whole life had been dedicated to the solitary cultivation of science, it is not for us to conjecture; but it cannot be doubted that they added incalculably to his eminence and utility as a teacher; both by enabling him to direct his pupils to the most simple and luminous methods of inquiry, and to embue their minds, from the very commencement of the study, with that fine relish for the truths it disclosed, and that high sense of the majesty with which they were invested, that predominated in his own bosom. While he left nothing unexplained or unreduced to its proper place in the system, he took care that they should never be perplexed by petty difficulties, or bewildered in useless details, and formed them betimes to that clear, masculine, and direct method of investigation, by which, with the least labour, the greatest advantages might be accomplished.

Mr. Playfair, however, was not merely

merely a teacher; and has fortunately left behind him a variety of works, from which other generations may be enabled to judge of some of those qualifications which so powerfully recommended and endeared him to his contemporaries. It is perhaps to be regretted that so much of his time, and so large a proportion of his publications, should have been devoted to the subjects of the Indian astronomy, and the Huttonian theory of the earth. For though nothing can be more beautiful or instructive than his speculations on those curious topics, it cannot be dissembled that their results are less conclusive and satisfactory than might have been desired; and that his doctrines, from the very nature of the subjects, are more questionable than we believe they could possibly have been on any other topic in the whole circle of the sciences. To the first, indeed, he came under the great disadvantages of being unacquainted with the eastern tongues, and without the means of judging of the authenticity of the documents which he was obliged to assume as the elements of his reasonings; and as to the other, though he ended, we believe, with being a very able and skilful mineralogist, we think it is now generally admitted, that that science does not yet afford sufficient materials for any positive conclusion; and that all attempts to establish a theory of the earth must, for many years to come, be regarded as premature. Though it is impossible, therefore, to think too highly of the ingenuity, the vigour, and the eloquence of those publications, we are of opinion, that a juster estimate of Mr. Playfair's talent, and a truer picture of his genius and understanding, is to be found in his other writings; in the papers, both biographical and scientific, with which he has enriched the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; his account of De Laplace, and other articles which he is understood to have contributed to the Edinburgh Review; the outlines of his lectures on natural philosophy; and above all, his introductory discourse to the supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, with the final correction of which he was occupied up to the last moments that the progress of his disease allowed him to dedicate to any intellectual exertion.

With reference to these works, we do not think we are influenced by any national or other partiality, when we say that he was certainly one of the best writers of his age; and even that we do not now recollect any one of his contemporaries who was so great a master of composition. There is a certain mellowness and richness about his style, which adorns without disguising the weight and nervousness which is its other great characteristic; a sedate gracefulness and manly simplicity in the more level passages, and a mild majesty and considerate enthusiasm where he rises above them, of which we scarcely know where to find any other example. There is great equability too and sustained force in every part of his writings. He never exhausts himself in flashes and epigrams, nor languishes into tameness or insipidity: at first sight you would say that plainness and good sense were the predominating qualities; but, by and by, this simplicity is enriched with the delicate and vivid colours of a fine imagination; the free and forcible

touches of a most powerful intellect; and the lights and shades of an unerring and harmonizing taste. In comparing it with the styles of his most celebrated contemporaries, we would say that it was more purely and peculiarly a written style, and therefore rejected those ornaments that more properly belong to oratory. It had no impetuosity, hurry, or vehemence,—no bursts or sudden turns or abruptions, like that of Burke; and though eminently smooth and melodious, it was not modulated to an uniform system of solemn declamation, like that of Johnson; nor spread out in the richer and more voluminous elocution of Stewart; nor still less broken into the patch-work of scholastic pedantry and conversational smartness which has found its admirers in Gibbon. It is a style, in short, of great freedom, force, and beauty; but the deliberate style of a man of thought and of learning; and neither that of a wit throwing out his extempores with an affectation of careless grace, nor of a rhetorician, thinking more of his manner than his matter, and determined to be admired for his expression, whatever may be the fate of his sentiments.

His habits of composition, as we have understood, were not, perhaps, exactly what might have been expected from their results. He wrote rather slowly, and his first sketches were often very slight and imperfect, like the rude chalking of a masterly picture. His chief effort and greatest pleasure was in their revisal and correction; and there were no limits to the improvement which resulted from this application. It was not the style merely, or indeed chiefly, that gained by it. The whole reasoning, and sentiment, and illustration, were enlarged and new modelled in the course of it, and a naked outline became gradually informed with life, colour, and expression. It was not at all like the common finishing and polishing to which careful authors generally subject the first draughts of their compositions, nor even like the fastidious and tentative alterations with which some more anxious writers essay their choicest passages. It was, in fact, the great filling in of the picture, the working-up of the figured weft on the naked and meagre woof that had been stretched to receive it; and the singular thing in this case was, not only that he left this most material part of his work to be performed after the whole outline had been finished, but that he could proceed with it to an indefinite extent, and enrich and improve as long as he thought fit, without any risk either of destroying any proportions of that outline, or injuring the harmony and unity of the design. He was perfectly aware, too, of the possession of this extraordinary power, and it was partly, we presume, in consequence of it, that he was not only at all times ready to go on with any work in which he was engaged without waiting for favourable moments or hours of greater alacrity, but that he never felt any of those doubts and misgivings as to his being able to get creditably through with his undertaking, to which, we believe, most authors are occasionally liable. As he never wrote upon any subject of which he was

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not perfectly master, he was secure against all blunders in the substance of what he had to say, and felt quite assured, that if he was only allowed time enough, he should finally come to say it in the very best way of which he was capable. He had no anxiety, therefore, either in undertaking or proceeding with his tasks, and intermitted and resumed them at his convenience, with the comfortable certainty that all the time bestowed on them was turned to good account, and that what was left imperfect at one sitting might be finished with equal ease and advantage at another. Being perfectly sure both of his ends and his means, he experienced in the course of his compositions none of that little fever of the spirits with which that operation is so apt to be accompanied. He had no capricious visitings of fancy which it was necessary to fix on the spot, or to lose for ever,—no casual inspiration to invoke, and to wait for, no transitory and evanescent lights to catch before they faded. All that was in his mind was subject to his control, and amenable to his call, though it might not obey at the moment; and while his taste was so sure, that he was in no danger of overworking any thing that he had designed, all his thoughts and sentiments had that unity and congruity, that they fell almost spontaneously into harmony and order; and the last added, incorporated, and assimilated with the first, as if they had sprung simultaneously from the same happy conception.

But we need dwell no longer on qualities that may be gathered hereafter from the works he has left behind him. They who lived with him mourn the most for those which will be traced in no such memorial; and prize far above those talents which gained him his high name in philosophy, that personal character which endeared him to his friends, and shed a grace and dignity over all the society in which he moved. The same admirable taste which is conspicuous in his writings, or rather the higher principles from which that taste was but an emanation, spread a similar charm over his whole life and conversation; and gave to the most learned philosopher of his day the manners and deportment of the most perfect gentleman. Nor was this in him the result merely of good sense and good temper, assisted by an early familiarity with good company, and consequent knowledge of his own place and that of all around him; his good breeding was of a higher descent, and his powers of pleasing rested on something better than mere companionable qualities. With the greatest kindness and generosity of nature, he united the most manly firmness,—and the highest principles of honour, and the most cheerful and social dispositions, with the gentlest and steadiest affections. Towards women he had always the most chivalrous feelings of regard and attention, and was, beyond almost all men, acceptable and agreeable in their society,—though without the least levity or pretension unbecoming his age or condition: and such, indeed, was the fascination of the perfect simplicity and mildness of his manners, that the same tone and deportment seemed equally appropriate in all societies, and

enabled him to delight the young and the gay with the same sort of conversation which instructed the learned and the grave. There never, indeed, was a man of learning and talent who appeared in society so perfectly free from all sorts of pretension or notion of his own importance, or solicitous to distinguish himself, or so sincerely willing to give place to every one else. Even upon subjects which he had thoroughly studied, he was never in the least impatient to speak, and spoke at all times without any tone of authority; while, so far from wishing to set off what he had to say by any brilliancy or emphasis of expression, it seemed generally as if he had studied to disguise the weight and originality of his thoughts under the plainest form of speech, and the most quiet and indifferent manner: so that the profoundest remarks and subtilest observations were often dropped, not only without any solicitude that their value should be observed, but without any apparent consciousness that they possessed any. Though the most social of human beings, and the most disposed to encourage and sympathise with the gaiety and joviality of others, his own spirits were in general rather cheerful than gay, or at least never rose to any turbulence or tumult of merriment; and while he would listen with the kindest indulgence to the more extravagant sallies of his younger friends, and prompt them by the heartiest approbation, his own satisfaction might generally be traced in a slow and temperate smile, gradually mantling over his benevolent and intelligent features, and lighting up the countenance of the sage with the expression of the mildest and most genuine philanthropy. It was wonderful, indeed, considering the measure of his own intellect, and the rigid and undeviating propriety of his own conduct, how tolerant he was of the defects and errors of other men. He was too indulgent, in truth, and favourable to his friends, and made a kind and liberal allowance for the faults of all mankind, except only faults of baseness or of cruelty, against which he never failed to manifest the most open scorn and detestation. Independent, in short, of his high attainments, Mr. Playfair was one of the most amiable and estimable of men, delightful in his manners, inflexible in his principles, and generous in his affections; he had all that could charm in society or attach in private; and while his friends enjoyed the free and unstudied conversation of an easy and intelligent associate, they had at all times the proud and inward assurance that he was a being upon whose perfect honour and generosity they might rely with the most implicit confidence, in life and in death; and of whom it was equally impossible, that, under any circumstances, he should ever perform a mean, a selfish, or a questionable action, as that his body should cease to gravitate, or his soul to live.

If we do not greatly deceive ourselves, there is nothing here of exaggeration or partial feeling, and nothing with which an indifferent and honest chronicler would not concur. Nor is it altogether idle to have dwelt so long on the personal character of this distinguished individual: for we are ourselves persuaded

persuaded that his personal character has almost done as much for the cause of science and philosophy among his countrymen as the great talents and attainments with which it was combined, and has contributed in a very eminent degree to give to the better society of Edinburgh that tone of intelligence and liberality by which it is so honourably distinguished. It is not a little advantageous to philosophy that it is in fashion; and it is still more advantageous, perhaps, to the society which is led to confer on it this apparently trivial distinction. It is a great thing for the country at large—for its happiness, its prosperity, and its renown, that the upper and influencing part of its population should be made familiar, even in its untasked and social hours, with sound and liberal information, and be taught to know and respect those who have distinguished themselves for great intellectual attainments. Nor is it, after all, a slight or despicable reward for a man of genius to be received with honour in the highest and most elegant society around him, and to receive in his living person that homage and applause which is too often reserved for his memory. Now, those desirable ends can never be effectually accomplished, unless the manners of our leading philosophers are agreeable, and their personal habits and dispositions engaging and amiable. From the time of Hume and Robertson, we have been fortunate in Edinburgh, in possessing a succession of distinguished men, who have kept up this salutary connexion between the learned and the fashionable world; but there never, perhaps, was any one who contributed so powerfully to confirm and extend it, and that in times when it was peculiarly difficult, as the lamented individual of whom we are now speaking; and they who have had the most opportunity to observe how superior the society of Edinburgh is to that of most other places of the same size, and how much of that superiority is owing to the cordial combination of the two aristocracies, of rank and of letters—of both of which it happens to be the chief provincial seat—will be best able to judge of the importance of the service he has thus rendered to its inhabitants, and through them, and by their example, to all the rest of the country.

MEMOIR of JAMES WATT, Esq.

[Attributed to the same Writer.]

THE name of Mr. James Watt, the great improver of the steam-engine, fortunately needs no commemoration of ours; for he that bore it survived to see it crowned with undisputed and unenvied honours; and many generations will probably pass away before it shall have "gathered all its fame." We have said that Mr. Watt was the great *improver* of the steam-engine; but, in truth, as to all that is admirable in its structure, or vast in its utility, he should rather be described as its *inventor*. It was by his inventions that its action was so regulated as to make it capable of being applied

ed to the finest and most delicate manufactures, and its power so increased as to set weight and solidity at defiance. By his admirable contrivances, it has become a thing stupendous alike for its force and its flexibility; for the prodigious power which it can exert, and the ease, and precision, and ductility, with which they can be varied, distributed, and applied. The trunk of an elephant that can pick up a pin or rend an oak is nothing to it. It can engrave a seal, and crush masses of obdurate metal like wax before it, draw out, without breaking, a thread as fine as gossamer, and lift a ship of war like a bauble in the air. It can embroider muslin and forge anchors, cut steel into ribands, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of the winds and waves.

It would be difficult to estimate the value of the benefits which these inventions have conferred upon the country. There is no branch of industry that has not been indebted to them; and in all the most material, they have not only widened most magnificently the field of its exertions, but multiplied a thousandfold the amount of its productions. It is our improved steam-engine that has fought the battles of Europe, and exalted and sustained, through the late tremendous contest, the political greatness of our land. It is the same great power which now enables us to pay the interest of our debt, and to maintain the arduous struggle in which we are still engaged, with the skill and capital of countries less oppressed with taxation. But these are poor and narrow views of its importance. It has increased indefinitely the mass of human comforts and enjoyments, and rendered cheap and accessible all over the world the materials of wealth and prosperity. It has armed the feeble hand of man, in short, with a power to which no limits can be assigned, completed the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter, and laid a sure foundation for those future miracles of mechanic power which are to reward the labours of after generations. It is to the genius of one man too that all this is mainly owing; and certainly no man ever before bestowed such a gift on his kind. The blessing is not only universal, but unbounded; and the fabled inventors of the plough and the loom, who were deified by the erring gratitude of their rude contemporaries, conferred less important benefits on mankind than the inventor of our present steam-engine.

This will be the fame of Watt with future generations; and it is sufficient for his race and his country. But to those to whom he more immediately belonged, who lived in his society and enjoyed his conversation, it is not perhaps the character in which he will be most frequently recalled—most deeply lamented—or even most highly admired. Independently of his great attainments in mechanics, Mr. Watt was an extraordinary, and in many respects a wonderful man. Perhaps no individual in his age possessed so much and such varied and exact information,—had read so much, or remembered what he had read so accurately and so well. He had infinite quickness of apprehension, a prodigious memory, and a certain rectifying and methodising power

power of understanding, which extracted something precious out of all that was presented to it. His stores of miscellaneous knowledge were immense,—and yet less astonishing than the command he had at all times over them. It seemed as if every subject that was casually started in conversation with him, had been that which he had been last occupied in studying and exhausting; such was the copiousness, the precision, and the admirable clearness of the information which he poured out upon it without effort or hesitation. Nor was this promptitude and compass of knowledge confined in any degree to the studies connected with his ordinary pursuits. That he should have been minutely and extensively skilled in chemistry and the arts, and in most of the branches of physical science, might perhaps have been conjectured; but it could not have been inferred from his usual occupations, and probably is not generally known, that he was curiously learned in many branches of antiquity, metaphysics, medicine, and etymology, and perfectly at home in all the details of architecture, music, and law. He was well acquainted too with most of the modern languages, and familiar with their most recent literature. Nor was it at all extraordinary to hear the great mechanician and engineer detailing and expounding for hours together, the metaphysical theories of the German logicians, or criticising the measures or the matter of the German poetry.

His astonishing memory was aided, no doubt, in a great measure, by a still higher and rarer faculty—by his power of digesting and arranging in its proper place all the information he received, and of casting aside and rejecting as it were instinctively whatever was worthless or immaterial. Every conception that was suggested to his mind seemed instantly to take its place among its other rich furniture, and to be condensed into the smallest and most convenient form. He never appeared, therefore, to be at all encumbered or perplexed with the *verbiage* of the dull books he perused, or the idle talk to which he listened; but to have at once extracted, by a kind of intellectual alchemy, all that was worthy of attention, and to have reduced it, for his own use, to its true value and to its simplest form. And thus it often happened that a great deal more was learned from his brief and vigorous account of the theories and arguments of tedious writers, than an ordinary student could ever have derived from the most faithful study of the originals; and that errors and absurdities became manifest from the mere clearness and plainness of his statement of them, which might have deluded and perplexed most of his hearers without that invaluable assistance.

It is needless to say that, with those vast resources, his conversation was at all times rich and instructive in no ordinary degree; but it was, if possible, still more pleasing than wise, and had all the charms of familiarity, with all the substantial treasures of knowledge. No man could be more social in his spirit, less assuming or fastidious in his manners, or more kind and indulgent towards all who approached him. He rather liked to talk, at least in his latter years; but though he took a considerable share of the conversation, he rarely suggested

suggested the topics on which it was to turn, but readily and quietly took up whatever was presented by those around him, and astonished the idle and barren propounders of an ordinary theme, by the treasures which he drew from the mine which they had unconsciously opened. He generally seemed, indeed, to have no choice or predilection for one subject of discourse rather than another, but allowed his mind, like a great cyclopedia, to be opened at any letter his associates might choose to turn up, and only endeavoured to select from his inexhaustible stores what might be best adapted to the taste of his present hearers. As to their capacity, he gave himself no trouble; and, indeed, such was his singular talent for making all things plain, clear, and intelligible, that scarcely any one could be aware of such a deficiency in his presence. His talk, too, though overflowing with information, had no resemblance to lecturing or solemn discoursing, but, on the contrary, was full of colloquial spirit and pleasure. He had a certain quiet and grave humour, which ran through most of his conversation, and a vein of temperate jocularity, which gave infinite zest and effect to the condensed and inexhaustible information which formed its main staple and characteristic. There was a little air of affected testiness, and a tone of pretended rebuke and contradiction, with which he used to address his younger friends, that was always felt by them as an endearing mark of his kindness and familiarity, and prized accordingly far beyond all the solemn compliments that ever proceeded from the lips of authority. His voice was deep and powerful, though he commonly spoke in a low and somewhat monotonous tone, which harmonised admirably with the weight and brevity of his observations, and set off to the greatest advantage the pleasant anecdotes which he delivered with the same grave brow, and the same calm smile playing soberly on his lips. There was nothing of effort indeed, or impatience, any more than of pride or levity, in his demeanour; and there was a finer expression of reposing strength, and mild self-possession, in his manner, than we ever recollect to have met with in any other person. He had in his character the utmost abhorrence for all sorts of forwardness, parade, and pretensions; and, indeed, never failed to put all such impostors out of countenance, by the manly plainness and honest intrepidity of his language and deportment.

In his temper and dispositions he was not only kind and affectionate, but generous, and considerate of the feelings of all around him, and gave the most liberal assistance and encouragement to all young persons who showed any indications of talent, or applied to him for patronage or advice. His health, which was delicate from his youth upwards, seemed to become firmer as he advanced in years; and he preserved, up almost to the last moment of his existence, not only the full command of his extraordinary intellect, but all the alacrity of spirit and the social gaiety which had illuminated his happiest days. His friends in this part of the country never saw him more full of intellectual vigour and colloquial animation, never more delightful or more instructive, than in his last visit to Scotland in the autumn of 1817.

This happy and useful life came-

came at last to a gentle close. He had suffered some inconveniences through the summer; but was not seriously indisposed till within a few weeks from his death. He then became perfectly aware of the event which was approaching; and, with his usual tranquillity and benevolence of nature, seemed only anxious to point out to the friends around him the many sources of consolation which were afforded by the circumstances under which it was about to take place. He expressed his sincere gratitude to providence for the length of days with which he had been blessed, and his exemption from most of the infirmities of age, as well as for the calm and cheerful evening of life that he had been permitted to enjoy, after the honourable labours of the day had been concluded. And thus, full of years and honours, in all calmness and tranquillity, he yielded up his soul, without pang or struggle, and passed from the bosom of his family to that of his God!

OBSERVATIONS, ANECDOTES and CHARACTERS of BOOKS and MEN.

[By the Rev. JOSEPH SPENCE, arranged with Notes by the late EDMUND MALONE, Esq.]

THIS work, or rather the information it contains, was first introduced to the notice of the public by Warton in his observations on Pope; and it obtained additional credit by the frequent references made to it by Dr. Johnson in his life of the same poet. It is therefore surprising that it was suffered to remain so long in manuscript: there are now two editions of it published: the one from which we shall make our extracts was prepared by Mr. Malone; and he certainly has added to its value by the notes he has appended, as well as by his having brought all the anecdotes relating to particular individuals together, and thus presented them in connexion with and illustration of one another. It is well observed in the advertisement, that "authentic works, similar to Spence's Anecdotes, are precious not only to the historian of human literature but of the human mind: the conversations of the eminent person will always be found to reflect not only his own character, but an image of the times."

Joseph Spence, the author, was educated at Oxford: in the year 1727 he published an essay on Pope's Odyssey; in which he pointed out some blemishes with so much good sense and candour, as to gain Mr. Pope's friendship; from this period they were much together: Spence attended the poet in his last hours, and compiled memorials of his conversation. Through Mr. Pope's recommendation and influence, he obtained very valuable preferment in the church. In 1742 he was made professor of modern history at Oxford, and in 1754 prebend of Durham. In the year 1747 he published Polymetis, or an inquiry concerning the agreement

ment between the works of the Roman poets and the remains of the ancient artists, being an attempt to illustrate them mutually from each other. Mr. Spence was unfortunately drowned in a canal in his garden at Byfleet in Surry in the year 1768.—Besides Polymetis he was the author of several other productions: his intellectual powers as well as his acquirements seem to have been but moderate.

DRYDEN.

Dryden has assured me that he got more from the Spanish critics alone than from the Italian and French, and all others put together.—*Lord Bolingbroke.*

Even Dryden was very suspicious of rivals. He would compliment Crown, when a play of his failed, but was cold to him if he met with success. He sometimes used to own that Crown had some genius; but then he always added, that his father and Crown's mother were very well acquainted.—*Old Jacob Tonson.*

I was about seventeen when I first came to town; an odd-looking boy, with short rough hair, and that sort of awkwardness which one always brings up first out of the country with one. However, in spite of my bashfulness and appearance, I used now and then to thrust myself into Will's, to have the pleasure of seeing the most celebrated wits of that time, who used to resort thither. The second time that ever I was there, Mr. Dryden was speaking of his own things, as he frequently did, especially of such as had been lately published. "If any thing of mine is good," says he, "it is my Mac-Fleckno; and I shall value myself the more on it, because it is the first piece of ridicule written in heroics." Lockier overhearing this, plucked up his spirit so far as to say in a voice just loud enough to be heard, that Mac-Fleckno was a very fine poem, but that he had not imagined it to be the first that ever was wrote that way. On this Dryden turned short upon him, as surprised at his interposing; asked him how long he had been a dealer in poetry, and added with a smile, "But pray, sir, what is that you did imagine to have been writ so before?" Lockier named Boileau's Lutrin, and Tassoni's Secchia Rapita, which he had read, and knew Dryden had borrowed some strokes from each. "It is true," says Dryden, "I had forgot them." A little after Dryden went out; and in going spoke to Lockier again, and desired him to come to see him the next day. Lockier was highly delighted with the invitation, went to see him accordingly, and was well acquainted with him as long as he lived.—*Lockier.*

Dryden allowed the Rehearsal to have a great many good strokes in it, "though so severe (added he) upon myself; but I can't help saying that Smith and Jonson are two of the coolest, most insignificant fellows I ever met with on the stage." This, if it was not spoke out of resentment, betrayed a great want of judgement; for Smith and Jonson are men of sense, and should certainly say but little to such stuff, only enough to make Bayes show on.—*The same.*

Dryden was most touched with the Hind and the Panther transverst. I have heard him say, "For two young fellows that I have always been so civil to, to

use

use an old man in so cruel a manner." And he wept as he said it.—*The same.*

Three of the characters in Tate's second part of Absalom and Achitophel are of Dryden's writing, and are all excellently well writ; that of Samuel Johnson, under the name of Ben Jochanan; Shadwell, under the name of Og; and Settle, under that of Doeg.—*Lockier.*

I don't think Dryden so bad a dramatic writer as you seem to do. There are many things as finely said in his plays as almost by any body. Besides his three best (All for Love, Don Sebastian, and the Spanish Fryar), there are others that are good; as Cleomenes, Sir Martin Mar-all, Limberham, and the Conquest of Mexico. His Wild Gallant was written while he was a boy, and is very bad. All his plays are printed in the order that they were written.—*Mr. Pope.*

It was Charles the second who gave Mr. Dryden the hint for writing his poem called The Medal. One day as the king was walking in the Mall, and talking with Dryden, he said, "If I was a poet (and I think I am poor enough to be one), I would write a poem on such a subject in the following manner," and then gave him the plan for it. Dryden took the hint, carried the poem as soon as it was written to the king, and had a present of a hundred broad pieces for it. [This was said by a priest that I often met with at Mr. Pope's, who seemed to confirm it, and added, that king Charles obliged Dryden to put his Oxford speech into verse, and to insert it towards the close of his Absalom and Achitophel.]

Dryden lived in Gerrard-street, and used most commonly to write in the ground room next the street. —*The same.*

He had three or four sons; John, Erasmus, Charles, and perhaps another. One of them was a priest, and another a captain in the pope's guards. He left his family estate, which was about 120*l.* a year, to Charles. His historiographer and poet laureat's places were worth to him about 300*l.* a year.—*The same.*

1742. Dryden cleared every way about 1200*l.* by his Virgil, and had sixpence each line for his Fables. For some time he wrote a play (at least) every year; but in those days ten broad pieces was the usual highest price for a play; and if they got 50*l.* more in the acting, it was reckoned very well. —*The same.*

His Virgil was one of the first books that had any thing of a subscription (and even that was a good deal on account of the prints, which were Ogilby's plates touched up); as the Tatlers were the first great subscription.—*The same.*

It was Dryden who made Will's coffee-house the great resort for the wits of his time. After his death, Addison transferred it to Button's*, who had been a servant of his.—*The same.*

1743, I learned versification wholly from Dryden's works, who had improved it much beyond any of our former poets, and would probably have brought it to its perfection, had he not been unhappily obliged to write so often in haste.—*The same.*

* In Russell-street, Covent Garden, on the south side.

Dryden

Dryden always uses proper language, lively, natural, and fitted to the subject, it is scarce ever too high or too low; never, perhaps, except in his plays.—*The same.*

Addison passed each day alike, and much in the same manner as Dryden did. Dryden employed his mornings in writing, dined *en famille*, and then went to Will's; only he came home earlier at nights.—*The same.*

Addison was so eager to be the first name, that he and his friend sir Richard Steele used to run down Dryden's character as far as they could. Pope and Congreve used to support it.—*Tonson.*

WYCHERLY.

Wycherly was a very handsome man. His acquaintanee with the famous duchess of Cleveland commenced oddly enough. One day as he passed that duchess's coach in the Ring, she leaned out of the window, and cried out, loud enough to be heard distinctly by him, "Sir, you're a rascal; you're a villain." Wycherly from that instant entertained hopes. He did not fail waiting on her next morning; and with a melancholy tone begged to know, how it was possible for him to have so much disobliged her grace? They were very good friends from that time; yet, after all, what did he get by her? He was to have travelled with the young duke of Richmond. King Charles now and then gave him 100*l.*—not often; and he was an equerry*.—*Mr. Pope.*

Wycherly was fifteen or sixteen when he went to France, and was acquainted there with madam de Rambouillet, a little after Balzac's death†.—*The same.*

He was not unvain of his face. That's a fine one which was engraved for him by Smith, in 1703. He was then about his grand climacteric; but sat for the picture from which it was taken when he was about 28. The motto to it (*Quantum mutatus ab illo*) was ordered by himself; and he used to repeat it sometimes with a melancholy emphasis.—*The same.*

It was generally thought by this gentleman's friends, that he lost his memory by old age. It was not by age, but by accident, as he himself has often told me. He remembered as well at sixty years old, as he had done ever since forty, when a fever occasioned that loss to him.—*The same.*

We were pretty well together to the last; only his memory was so totally bad, that he did not remember a kindness done him even from minute to minute. He was peevish, too, latterly; so that sometimes we were out a little, and sometimes in. He never did any unjust thing to me in his whole life; and I went to see him on his death bed.—*The same.*

Wycherly died a Romanist, and he has owned that religion in my hearing.—*The same.*

Wycherly's nephew (on whom his estate was entailed, but with power of settling a widow's jointure) would not consent to his selling any part of it, which he wanted much to do, to pay off his debts, which were about a thousand pounds. He had therefore for some time been resolved

* Dennis says, he was equerry to the duke of Buckingham, as master of the horse to the king. Letters, p. 219.

† Balzac died Feb. 18, 1654.—M.

to

to marry, in order to make a settlement from the estate to pay off his debt with his wife's fortune, and to plague his damn'd nephew, as he himself used to express it. When he found himself going off, he accordingly did marry, only about ten days before his death. This was about the time he had intended for it, for he only wanted to answer those ends, by marrying; and dreaded the ridicule of the world for marrying when he was old. After all, the woman he did marry was a cheat; was a cast mistress of the person who recommended her to him, and was supplied by him with money for her wedding clothes. After Wycherly's death, there were law quarrels about the settlement. Theobald was the attorney employed by her old friend, and it was by this means that Theobald came to have Wycherly's papers in his hands.—*The same.*

Wycherly had this odd particularity in him from the loss of his memory, that the same chain of thought would return into his mind at the distance of two or three years, without his remembering that it had been there before. Thus, perhaps, he would write one year an encomium upon avarice (for he loved paradoxes), and a year or two after in dispraise of liberty; and in both the words only would differ, and the thoughts be as much alike as two medals of different metals out of the same mould.—*The same.*

1730. Wycherly was in a bookseller's shop, at Bath, or Tunbridge, when lady Drogheda came in, and happened to inquire for the *Plain Dealer*. A friend of Wycherly's, who stood by him, pushed him towards her, and said, "There's the Plain Dealer, madam, if you want him." Wycherly made his excuses, and lady Drogheda said, that "she loved plain dealing best." He afterwards visited that lady, and in some time married her. This proved a great blow to his fortune. Just before the time of his courting, he was designed for the governor to the late duke of Richmond, and was to have been allowed fifteen hundred a year from the government. His absence from court in the progress of the amour, and his being yet more absent after his marriage (for lady Drogheda was very jealous of him), disgusted his friends there so much, that he lost all his interest with them. His lady died; he got but little by her; and his misfortunes were such, that he was thrown into the Fleet, and lay there seven years. It was then that colonel Brett got his Plain Dealer to be acted, and contrived to get the king (James the second) to be there. The colonel attended him thither: the king was much pleased with the play; asked who was the author of it; and upon hearing it was one of Wycherly's, complained that he had not seen him for so many years, and inquired what was become of him. The colonel improved this opportunity so well, that the king gave orders that his debts should be discharged out of the privy purse. Wycherly was so weak as to give an account only of five hundred pounds, and so was confined almost half a year longer, till his father was at last prevailed upon to pay the rest, between two or three hundred pounds more.—*Dennis.*

Mr. Wycherly was really an-

gry with me for correcting his verses so much. I was extremely plagued up and down, for almost two years, with them. However, it went off pretty well at last; and it appears by the edition of Wycherly's Posthumous Works, that he had followed the advice I had so often given him, and had gone so far as to make some hundreds of prose maxims out of his verses.—Those verses that are published are a mixture of Mr. Wycherly's own original lines, with a great many of Mr. Pope's inserted here and there (but not difficult to be distinguished), and some of Wycherly's softened a little in the running, probably by Theobald, who had the chief care of that edition.—*The same.*

"People have pitied you extremely on reading your letters to Wycherly; surely 'twas a very difficult thing for you to keep well with him?" The most difficult thing in the world. He lost his memory forty years before he died, by a fever, and would repeat the same thought sometimes in the compass of ten lines, and not dream of its being inserted but just before, and when you pointed it out to him, would say "Gad's so, so 'tis; I thank you very much; pray blot it out." He had the same single thoughts (which were very good) come into his head again, that he had used twenty years before. His memory did not carry above a sentence at a time—these single sentences were good; but the whole was without connexion, and good for nothing, but to be flung into maxims.—"In spite of his good sense, I could never read his plays with true pleasure, from the great stiffness of his style."—Ay, that was occasioned by his being always studying for antitheses.—*Mr. Pope.*

The chronology of Wycherly's plays I was well acquainted with, for he has told me over and over. Love in a Wood he wrote when he was but nineteen; the Gentleman Dancing-master at twenty-one; the Plain Dealer at twenty-five; and the Country Wife at one or two-and-thirty.—*The same.*

Wycherly must have been born about the year 1638, according to Pope's account; therefore Love in a Wood was written in 1659: it, however, was acted for the first time at the duke's theatre in 1672; and it is extremely improbable that he should have had it ten or twelve years by him after the restoration of the theatres, at which time he was certainly in great want of money, living in the Temple, and consorting with such expensive companions as Villiers, duke of Buckingham, &c. The Gentleman Dancing-master was first acted in 1673; the Country Wife, in 1675; and the Plain Dealer, in 1677; at which time he was at least thirty-seven, perhaps thirty-nine.—*M.*

Lord Rochester's character of Wycherly is quite wrong. He was far from being slow in general, and in particular wrote the Plain Dealer in three weeks.—*Mr. Pope.*

There are several verses of mine inserted in Mr. Wycherly's poems here and there, and particularly in those on Solitude, on a Life of Business, and on a Middle Life.—*Mr. Pope.*

Wycherly used to read himself asleep o' nights, either in Montaigne, Rochefoucault, Seneca, or Gratian, for these were his four favourite

favourite authors. He would read one or other of them in the evening, and the next morning perhaps write a copy of verses on some subject similar to what he had been reading, and have several of their thoughts, only expressed in a different turn; and that without knowing that he was obliged to them for any one thought in the whole poem. I have experienced this in him several times (for I visited him for a whole winter almost every evening and morning), and look upon it as one of the strangest phenomenons that ever I observed in the human mind.—*The same.*

The nobleman look.—Yes, I know very well what you mean—that look which noblemen should have, rather than what they have generally now.

The duke of Buckingham was a genteel man, and had a great deal of the look you speak of. Wycherly was a very genteel man, and had the nobleman look as much as the duke of Buckingham.—*The same.*

SIR GODFREY KNELLER.

I paid sir Godfrey Kneller a visit but two days before he died, and I think I never saw a scene of so much vanity in my life. He was lying in his bed, and contemplating the plan he had made for his own monument. He said many gross things in relation to himself, and the memory he should leave behind him. He said he should not like to lie among the rascals at Westminster. A memorial there would be sufficient; and desired me to write an epitaph for it. I did so afterwards; and I think it is the worst thing I ever wrote in my life.—*The same.*

Did you never hear sir Godfrey's dream? "No." Why then I'll tell it you. A night or two ago (says sir Godfrey) I had a very odd sort of a dream. I dreamed that I was dead, and soon after found myself walking in a narrow path that led up between two hills, rising pretty equally on each side of it. Before me I saw a door, and a great number of people about it. I walked on towards them. As I drew nearer, I could distinguish Saint Peter by his keys, with some other of the apostles. They were admitting the people as they came next the door. When I had joined the company, I could see several seats every way at a little distance within the door. As the first after my coming up approached for admittance, St. Peter asked his name, and then his religion; I am a Roman catholic, replied the spirit. Go in then, says St. Peter, and sit down in those seats there on the right hand. The next was a presbyterian; he was admitted too after the usual questions, and ordered to sit down on the seat opposite to the other. My turn came next, and as I approached, St. Peter very civilly asked me my name. I said 'twas Kneller. I had no sooner said so, than St. Luke (who was standing just by) turned towards me, and said with a great deal of earnestness, "What, the famous sir Godfrey Kneller, of England?"—"The very same, sir," says I, "at your service." On this St. Luke immediately drew nearer to me, and embraced me, and made me a great many compliments on the art we both of us had followed in this world; and entered so far into the subject, that he seemed almost to have forgot the business

for which I came thither. At last, however, he recollected himself, and said, "I beg your pardon, sir Godfrey, I was so taken up with the pleasure of conversing with you. But, apropos; pray, sir, what religion may you be of?" "Why, truly, sir," says I, "I am of no religion."—"O, sir," says he, "you will be so good then as to go in and take your seat where you please."—*The same.*

As I was sitting by sir Godfrey Kneller one day whilst he was drawing a picture, he stopped and said, "I can't do so well as I should do, unless you flatter me a little: pray flatter me, Mr. Pope; you know I love to be flattered." I was once willing to try how far his vanity would carry him, and after considering a picture which he had just finished for a good while very attentively, I said to him in French (for he had been talking for some time before in that language): "On lit dans les Ecritures Saintes, que le Bon Dieu faisoit l'homme après son image; mais je crois, s'il voudroit faire un autre à présent, qu'il le feroit après l'image que voila." Sir Godfrey turned round, and said very gravely, "Vous avez raison, Monsieur Pope; par Dieu je le crois aussi."—*The same.*

Monsieur Fenelon, the author of Telemachus, and archbishop of Cambray, used to entertain Protestants as readily as Papists. He was above all the little distinctions of country or religions. He used to say, that he loved his family better than himself, his country better than his family, and mankind better than his country; for I am more a Frenchman (added he) than a Fenelon, and more a man than a Frenchman.—*Chevalier Ramsey,* (author of the Travels of Cyrus, and for several years in the archbishop's family; I think, as his secretary.)

The true reason of the archbishop's being banished from the court, was the honesty he showed in not advising Louis the fourteenth to own his marriage with madame Maintenon. ["'Tis certain, then, they were married?" Oh! unquestionably, sir.] The king had asked the bishop of Meaux his opinion in that affair, who spoke much in praise of the lady, and advised what he saw would best please the king: but added, that if his majesty had the opinion of the archbishop of Cambray on his side, it would be of much more weight and use than any one's else. On this the king consulted the archbishop, who, as his enemies had foreseen, was not courtier enough to say any thing to encourage such a declaration; and, on the contrary, gave some hints of the prejudice it might be of to his majesty's affairs, in their then situation. This soured the king much against him, as he expected it would; and soon after, madame Maintenon, and her creatures, insinuated it into the king that Monsieur Fenelon had had the insolence of designing to represent his majesty under the character of Idomeneus in his Telemachus; and both him and the lady (in part) under those of Pygmalion and Astarbe—and thus finished his disgrace.—*The same.*

The archbishop, when most in favour, used to say, "I would rather see the king lose half his dominions, than occasion one unnecessary

necessary battle, in which the lives of many citizens were to be thrown away."—*The same.*

The archbishop used to rise by four in the morning; think for about two hours, and then write. His time was chiefly spent in study, performing the duties of his function, and amusements of charity. As to the latter, it was very usual for him, whenever he went into the country to take the air, to call at the poor people's houses, where he would eat and drink, and enter into familiar conversations with them. He would inquire how they lived, and what family they had; advised them what they should do with such and such a child, and often would apprentice out their sons, or give portions for their daughters. It is inconceivable with what pleasure the people expected him, where he used to pay these little visits, or how much they regarded him wherever he passed: they all loved him, and looked upon him as their common father.—*The same.*

Lord Peterborough, after a visit to the archbishop, said, "he was cast in a particular mould, that was never used for any body else. He is a delicious creature; but I was forced to get from him as soon as I possibly could, for else he would have made me pious."—*The same.*

Dr. Clarke has but one error in relation to the Trinity, his maintaining the free production of the son. I am very well acquainted with him, and think him the finest reasoner I ever met with. He has a transparency of mind peculiar to himself. I don't know whether I make myself understood, but what I mean is, that he does not only see things clearly himself, but makes you see clearly whatever he *is* speaking of.—*The same.*

Ramsay had then [1729] gone a good way in answer to Spinosa, a Treatise on the Progress of the Human Understanding; and another high philosophical work, in which there were several notions that would have made him be looked upon as an heretic in our church, as well as his own. His favourite point in the last seems to be, that of all things being good at first; that there has been a great degeneracy and disorder in the world, and that there will be a general restoration. The whole (says he) depends on these two principles, that God would not create any thing bad; and if it became bad, would not suffer it to continue so for ever.—*The same.*

[What one of his friends said of his most elevated notions, that they were

"Like stars, when of too great a height,
That neither give us warmth nor light,"

seemed to be very well grounded. I should have been very glad to have seen the proofs of what he said he had made out, in his Progress of the Understanding, that all theological knowledge was noble and better preserved among the Chaldeans than among the Egyptians; that the latter clouded it much by their hieroglyphics; that it grew still more clouded and depraved among the Greeks, and received its last and worst corruption among the Romans.]

There is the same difference between Corneille and Racine, as there is between a *homme de génie*

and a *homme d'esprit*. Corneille has more fire than Racine, and bolder strokes; and, in some things, is not unlike our Shakspeare. Racine's tragedies are all good; and as to Corneille's, even his greatest enemies would allow six of his to be so.—*The same.*

Lesley, after all the pains he had taken to convert the Chevalier St. George, thought latterly that he might very well have spared himself so much trouble. He said, a little before he died, that it was scarce worth while to make a convert from either of the religions to the other.—*The same.*

Not one of the Jesuits who have ever been turned out of their schools or houses was ever known to write or speak any thing to disgrace their order.—*The same.*

When the celebrated Father Bourdaloue, who has sometimes been called the French Tillotson, was to preach on a Good Friday, and the proper officer came to attend him to church, his servants said the father was in his study, and, if he pleased, he might go up to him. In going up stairs, he heard the sound of a violin; and, as the door stood a little ajar, saw Bourdaloue stripped into his cassock, playing a good brisk tune, and dancing to it about his study. He was extremely concerned, for he esteemed that great man highly, and thought he must be run distracted. However, at last he ventured to rap gently at the door. The father immediately laid down his fiddle, hurried on his gown, and came to him; and with his usual composed pleasing look, said, "O, sir, is it you? I hope I have not made you stay; and am ready to attend you." The poor man, as they were going down, could not help mentioning his surprise at what he had heard and seen. Bourdaloue smiled, and said, "Indeed, you might well be a little surprised, if you do not know any thing of my way on these occasions; but the whole of the matter was this: In thinking over the subject of the day, I found my spirits too much depressed to speak as I ought to do; so I had recourse to my usual method of music and a little motion. It has had its effect: I am quite in a proper temper, and go now with pleasure to what else I should have gone in pain."—*The same.*

The Abbé de Fleury's Ecclesiastical History is allowed by all sides to be the best that ever was, though it is put into the Index Expurgatorius.—*The same.*

The archbishop of Cambray often said, that, of all the Protestant churches, the church of England alone could do any thing in disputing with the Catholics. The Calvinists (says he) have made themselves harmless enemies by holding their fatality; and the Lutherans have disarmed themselves of one of their chief weapons by their doctrine of consubstantiation.—*The same.*

Let your great endeavour be to get an independency.—*Lockier.*

If a person would travel for three months, to get the French language and qualify himself for a larger tour, the whole expense need not be above fifty pounds. Orleans would be the best place, or Caen. If you take a friend with you, it will make you miss a thousand opportunities of following your end. You go to get French;

French; and it would be best if you could avoid making an acquaintance with any one Englishman there. To converse with their learned men will be beside your purpose too, if you go only for so short a time: they talk the worst for conversation; and you should rather be with the ladies, who are the best for it.—*The same.*

It is strange that Harrington, so little while ago, should be the first man to find out so evident and demonstrable a truth, as that of property being the true basis and measure of power. His Oceana, allowing for the different situations of things (as the less number of lords then, those lords having no share in the parliament, and the like), is certainly one of the best founded political pieces that ever was writ.—*The same.*

Our Gothic ancestors were very great men, and of great capacities. They were the first that established, in fact, what Aristotle had touched only in theory; I mean their excellent constitution of limited monarchies. The Asiatic monarchs were absolute, and the greatest republics of antiquity very defective. Greece was split into many distinct powers, as Holland is at present; and were always jarring with one another, unless when held together by the pressure of some powerful common enemy. Rome, whilst a republic, was scarce ever free from distractions, between patricians and plebeians, for ten years together.—Whatever is good, either in monarchies or in republics, may be enjoyed in limited monarchies; the whole force of the nation is as ready to be turned one way, as in monarchies; and the liberties of the people may be as well secured as in republics.—*The same.*

The Jews offered my lord Godolphin to pay five hundred thousand pounds (and they would have made it a million) if the government would allow them to purchase the town of Brentford, with leave of settling there entirely, with full privileges of trade, &c. The agent from the Jews said that the affair was already concerted with the chief of their brethren abroad; that it would bring the richest of their merchants hither, and of course an addition of above twenty millions of money to circulate in the nation. Lord Molesworth was in the room with Lord Godolphin, when this proposal was made; and as soon as the agent was gone, pressed him to close with it. Lord Godolphin was not of his opinion. He foresaw that it would provoke two of the most powerful bodies in the nation, the clergy and the merchants; he gave other reasons too against it; and, in fine, it was dropped.—*The same.*

The Jews had better success with Oliver Cromwell, when they desired leave to have a synagogue in London. They offered him, when Protector, 60,000*l.* for that privilege. Cromwell appointed them a day for his giving them an answer. He then sent to some of the most powerful among the clergy, and some of the chief merchants of the city, to be present at their meeting. It was in the long gallery at Whitehall. Sir Paul Ricaut, who was then a young man, pressed in among the crowd, and said he never heard a man speak so well in his life as Cromwell did on the occasion. When they were all met, he or-

dered the Jews to speak for themselves. After that he turned to the clergy, who inveighed much against the Jews, as a cruel and accursed people. Cromwell, in his answer to the clergy, called them "men of God;" and desired to be informed by them, whether it was not their opinion, that the Jews were to be called in the fulness of time, into the church. He then desired to know, whether it was not every christian man's duty to forward that good end all he could. Then he flourished a good deal on religion prevailing in this nation, the only place in the world where religion was taught in its full purity; was it not then our duty, in particular, to encourage them to settle where they could be taught the truth; and not to exclude them from the light, and leave them among false teachers, papists, and idolaters? This silenced the clergy. He then turned to the merchants, who spoke of their falseness and meanness, and that they would get their trade from them. "And can you really be afraid," says he, "that this mean despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world?" Thus he went on till he had silenced them too, and so was at liberty to grant what he desired to the Jews.—*Lockier*, [who had this from sir Paul Ricaut himself, as he had the former from lord Molesworth.]

SPECIMENS of the BRITISH POETS, with BIOGRAPHICAL and CRITICAL NOTICES, and an ESSAY on ENGLISH POETRY.

By THOMAS CAMPBELL.

FOR many years before it appeared, this work was most anxiously expected: all who had been so fortunate as to hear Mr. Campbell's lectures at the Royal Institution, on British poetry, spoke in the warmest terms of admiration of their eloquence and exquisite taste, and not less of their profoundness and originality. At length they have appeared: and we must confess the public have been disappointed, not however on account of the manner in which they are executed, for it is not possible to conceive any thing more perfect in their kind, but because these volumes contain so little of Mr. Campbell's own composition. The new and refreshing light which he throws on subjects and characters that were deemed exhausted; the sound and pure principles on which all his doctrines and criticisms proceed; the poetic eloquence with which he discourses of his brother poets and their writings; and the chaste style in which his notices as well as his essay on English poetry are written, a style which unites to the vigour of the old English school, the greater purity and polish of the modern school, but which is far removed from the verbose and slovenly style in which too

too many authors of the present day indulge; all these circumstances give so high a value to the volumes before us, that, little as they contain of Mr. Campbell's own composition, that little we have no doubt will be prized by the public far above all other productions of a similar kind that have issued from the modern press. At present we shall confine our selections to the biographical notices:—afterwards we shall enrich our pages with some extracts from the essay on English poetry.

BEN JONSON.

Till Mr. Gilchrist and Mr. Gifford stood forward in defence of this poet's memory, it had become an established article of literary faith that his personal character was a compound of spleen, surliness, and ingratitude. The proofs of this have been weighed, and found wanting. It is true that he had lofty notions of himself, was proud even to arrogance in his defiance of censure, and in the warmth of his own praises of himself was scarcely surpassed by his most zealous admirers; but many fine traits of honour and affection are likewise observable in the portrait of his character, and the charges of malice and jealousy, that have been heaped on his name for an hundred years, turn out to be without foundation. In the quarrel with Marston and Dekker his culpability is by no means evident. He did not receive benefits from Shakspeare; and did not sneer at him in the passages that have been taken to prove his ingratitude; and, instead of envying that great poet, he gave him his noblest praise; nor did he trample on his contemporaries, but liberally commended them. With regard to Inigo Jones, with whom he quarrelled, it appears to have been Jonson's intention to have consigned his satires on that eminent man to oblivion; but their enmity, as his editor has shown, began upon the part of the architect, who, when the poet was poor and bed-ridden, meanly resented the fancied affront of Jonson's name being put before his own to a masque, which they had jointly prepared, and used his influence to do him an injury at court. As to Jonson's envying Shakspeare, men, otherwise candid and laborious in the search of truth, seem to have had the curse of the Philistines imposed on their understandings and charities the moment they approached the subject. The fame of Shakspeare himself became an heir-loom of traditionary calumnies against the memory of Jonson; the fancied relics of his envy were regarded as so many pious donations at the shrine of the greater poet, whose admirers thought they could not dig too deeply for trophies of his glory among the ruins of his imaginary rival's reputation. If such inquirers as Reid and Malone went wrong upon this subject, it is too severe to blame the herd of literary labourers for plodding in their footsteps; but it must excite regret as well as wonder that a man of pre-eminent living genius should have been one of those

quos de tramite recto
Impia sacrilegæ flexit contagio turbæ,

and should have gravely drawn down Jonson to a parallel with Shadwell, for their common traits of low society, vulgar dialect, and intem-

intemperance. Jonson's low society comprehended such men as Selden, Camden, and Cecil. Shadwell (if we may trust to Rochester's account of him) was probably rather profligate than vulgar; while either of Jonson's vulgarity or indecency in his recorded conversations there is not a trace. But they both wore great coats—Jonson drank canary, and Shadwell swallowed opium. "*There is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth.*"

The grandfather of Ben Jonson was originally of Annandale, in Scotland, from whence he removed to Carlisle, and was subsequently in the service of Henry VIII. The poet's father, who lost his estate under the persecution of queen Mary, and was afterwards a preacher, died a month before Benjamin's birth, and his widow married a master-bricklayer of the name of Fowler. Benjamin, through the kindness of a friend, was educated at Westminster, and obtained an exhibition to Cambridge; but it proved insufficient for his support. He therefore returned from the university to his father-in-law's house and humble occupation; but disliking the latter, as may be well conceived, he repaired as a volunteer to the army in Flanders, and in the campaign which he served there distinguished himself, though yet a stripling, by killing an enemy in single combat, in the presence of both armies. From thence he came back to England, and betook himself to the stage for support; at first, probably, as an actor, though undoubtedly very early as a writer. At this period he was engaged in a second single combat, which threatened to terminate more disastrously than the former; for having been challenged by some player to fight a duel with the sword, he killed his adversary indeed, but was severely wounded in the encounter, and thrown into prison for murder. There the assiduities of a catholic priest made him a convert to popery, and the miseries of a gaol were increased to him by the visitation of spies; sent, no doubt, in consequence of his change to a faith of which the bare name was at that time nearly synonymous with the suspicion of treason. He was liberated, however, after a short imprisonment, without a trial. At the distance of twelve years, he was restored to the bosom of his mother church. Soon after his release, he thought proper to marry, although his circumstances were far from promising, and he was only in his twentieth year. In his two-and-twentieth year he rose to considerable popularity, by the comedy of Every Man in his Humour, which, two years after, became a still higher favourite with the public, when the scene and names were shifted from Italy to England, in order to suit the manners of the piece, which had all along been native. It is at this renovated appearance of his play (1598) that his fancied obligations to Shakspeare for drawing him out of obscurity, have been dated; but it is at this time that he is pointed out by Meres as one of the most distinguished writers of the age.

The fame of his *Every Man out of his Humour* drew queen Elizabeth to its representation, whose early encouragement of his genius

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is commemorated by lord Falkland. It was a fame, however, which, according to his own account, had already exposed him to envy—Marston and Dekker did him this homage. He lashed them in his Cynthia's Revels, and anticipated their revenge in the Poetaster. Jonson's superiority in the contest can scarcely be questioned; but the Poetaster drew down other enemies on its author than those with whom he was at war. His satire alluded to the follies of soldiers, and the faults of lawyers. The former were easily pacified, but the lawyers adhered to him with their wonted tenacity; and it became necessary for the poet to clear himself before the lord chief justice. In our own days, the fretfulness of resenting professional derision has been deemed unbecoming even the magnanimity of tailors.

Another proof of the slavish subjection of the stage in those times is to be found soon after the accession of king James, when the authors of Eastward Hoe were committed to prison for some satirical reflections on the Scotch nation, which that comedy contained. Only Marston and Chapman, who had framed the offensive passages, were seized, but Jonson, who had taken a share in some other part of the composition, conceived himself bound in honour to participate their fate, and voluntarily accompanied them to prison. It was on this occasion that his mother, deceived by the rumour of a barbarous punishment being intended for her son, prepared a lusty poison, which she meant to have given him, and to have drank along with him. This was maintaining in earnest the consanguinity of heroism and genius.

The imagined insult to the sovereign being appeased, James's accession proved, altogether, a fortunate epoch in Jonson's history. A peaceable reign gave encouragement to the arts and festivities of peace; and in those festivities, not yet degraded to mere sound and show, poetry still maintained the honours of her primogeniture among the arts. Jonson was therefore congenially employed, and liberally rewarded, in the preparation of those masques for the court, which filled up the intervals of his more properly dramatic labours, and which allowed him room for classical impersonations, and lyrical trances of fancy, that would not have suited the business of the ordinary stage. The reception of his Sejanus, in 1603, was at first unfavourable; but it was remodelled, and again presented with better success, and kept possession of the theatre for a considerable time. Whatever this tragedy may want in the agitating power of poetry, it has a strength and dramatic skill that might have secured it, at least, from the petulant contempt with which it has been too often spoken of. Though collected from the dead languages, it is not a lifeless mass of antiquity, but the work of a severe and strong imagination, compelling shapes of truth and consistency to rise in dramatic order from the fragments of Roman eloquence and history; and an air not only of life but of grandeur is given to those curiously adjusted materials. The arraignment of Caius Silius before Tiberius, is a great and poetical

poetical cartoon of Roman characters; and if Jonson has translated from Tacitus, who would not thank him for embodying the pathos of history in such lines as these, descriptive of Germanicus?

> O that man!
> If there were seeds of the old virtue left,
> They liv'd in him. * * *
> * * * * * * *
> What his funerals lack'd
> In images and pomp, they had supplied
> With honourable sorrow. Soldier's sadness,
> A kind of silent mourning, such as men
> Who know no tears, but from their captives, use
> To shew in so great losses.

By his three succeeding plays, Volpone (in 1605), the Silent Woman (in 1609), and the Alchymist (in 1610), Jonson's reputation in the comic drama rose to a pitch which neither his own nor any other pen could well be expected to surpass. The tragedy of Catiline appeared in 1611, prefaced by an address to the ordinary reader, as remarkable for the strength of its style, as for the contempt of popular judgements which it breathes. Such an appeal from ordinary to extraordinary readers ought at least to have been made without insolence; as the difference between the few and the many, in matters of criticism, lies more in the power of explaining their sources of pleasure than in enjoying them. Catiline, it is true, from its classical sources, was chiefly to be judged of by classical readers; but its author should have still remembered, that popular feeling is the great basis of dramatic fame. Jonson lived to alter his tone to the public, and the lateness of his humility must have made it more mortifying. The haughty preface, however, disappeared from later editions of the play, while its better apology remained in the high delineation of Cicero's character, and in passages of Roman eloquence which it contains; above all, in the concluding speech of Petreius. It is said, on lord Dorset's authority, to have been Jonson's favourite production.

In 1613 he made a short trip to the continent, and, being in Paris, was introduced to the cardinal du Perron, who, in compliment to his learning, showed him his translation of Virgil. Ben, according to Drummond's anecdotes, told the cardinal that it was nought: a criticism, by all accounts, as just as it was brief.

Of his two next pieces, Bartholomew Fair (in 1614), and the Devil's an Ass (in 1616), the former was scarcely a decline from the zenith of his comic excellence, the latter certainly was: if it was meant to ridicule superstition, it effected its object by a singular process of introducing a devil upon the stage. After this he made a long secession of nine years from the theatre, during which he composed some of his finest masques for the court, and some of those works which were irrecoverably lost in the fire that consumed his study. Meanwhile he received from his sovereign a pension of 100 marks, which, in courtesy, has been called making him poet laureat. The title, till then gratuitously assumed, has been since appropriated to his successors in the pension.

The poet's journey to Scotland (1617),

(1617), awakens many pleasing recollections, when we conceive him anticipating his welcome among a people who might be proud of a share in his ancestry, and setting out, with manly strength, on a journey of 400 miles, on foot. We are assured, by one who saw him in Scotland, that he was treated with respect and affection among the nobility and gentry, nor was the romantic scenery of Scotland lost upon his fancy. From the poem which he meditated on Lochlomond, it is seen that he looked on it with a poet's eye. But, unhappily, the meagre anecdotes of Drummond have made this event of his life too prominent by the over-importance which has been attached to them. Drummond, a smooth and sober gentleman, seems to have disliked Jonson's indulgence in that conviviality which Ben had shared with his Fletcher and Shakspeare at the Mermaid. In consequence of those anecdotes, Jonson's memory has been damned for brutality, and Drummond's for perfidy. Jonson drank freely at Hawthornden, and talked big —things neither incredible nor unpardonable. Drummond's perfidy amounted to writing a letter, beginning Sir, with one very kind sentence in it, to the man whom he had described unfavourably in a private memorandum, which he never meant for publication. As to Drummond's decoying Jonson under his roof with any premeditated design on his reputation, no one can seriously believe it.

By the continued kindness of king James, our poet was some years after presented with the reversionary grant of the mastership of the revels but, from which he derived no advantage, as the incumbent, sir John Astley, survived him. It fell, however, to the poet's son, by the permission of Charles I. King James, in the contemplation of his laureat's speedy accession to this office, was desirous of conferring on him the rank of knighthood; but Jonson was unwilling to accept the distinction, and prevailed on some of his friends about the court to dissuade the monarch from his purpose. After the death of his patron James, necessity brought him again upon the theatre, and he produced the Staple of News, a comedy of no ordinary merit. Two evils were at this time rapidly gaining on him,

"Disease and poverty, fell pair."

He was attacked by the palsy in 1625, and had also a tendency to dropsy, together with a scorbutic affection inherent from his youth, which pressed upon the decaying powers of his constitution. From the first stroke of the palsy he gradually recovered so far as to be able to write, in the following year, the antimasque of Sophiel. For the three succeeding years his biographer suspects that the court had ceased to call upon him for his customary contributions, a circumstance which must have aggravated his poverty; and his salary, it appears, was irregularly paid. Meanwhile his infirmities increased, and he was unable to leave his room. In these circumstances he produced his New Inn, a comedy that was driven from the stage with violent hostility. The epilogue to this piece forms a melancholy contrast to the tone of his former addresses

to

to the audience. He "whom the morning saw so great and high*," was now so humble as to speak of his "faint and faultering tongue, and of his brain set round with pain." An allusion to the king and queen in the same epilogue, awoke the slumbering kindness of Charles, who instantly sent him 100*l.* and in compliance with the poet's request, also converted the 100 marks of his salary into pounds, and added, of his own accord, a yearly tierce of canary, Jonson's favourite wine. His majesty's injunctions for the preparation of masques for the court were also renewed, till they were discontinued at the suggestion of Inigo Jones, who preferred the assistance of one Aurelian Townsend to that of Jonson, in the furnishing of those entertainments. His means of subsistence were now, perhaps, both precariously supplied, and imprudently expended. The city, from whom he had always received a yearly allowance of 100 nobles, by way of securing his assistance in their pageants, withdrew their pension. He was compelled by poverty to supplicate the lord treasurer Weston for relief. On the rumour of his necessities, assistance came to him from various quarters, and from none more liberally than from the earl of Newcastle. On these and other timely bounties his sickly existence was propt up to accomplish two more comedies, the Magnetic Lady, which appeared in 1632, and the Tale of a Tub, which came out in the following year. In the last of these, the last, indeed, of his dramatic career, he endeavoured to introduce some ridicule on Inigo Jones, through the machinery of a puppet-show. Jones had distinguished himself at the representation of the Magnetic Lady, by his boisterous derision. The attempt at retaliation was more natural than dignified; but the court prevented it, and witnessed the representation of the play at Whitehall with coldness. Whatever humour its manners might contain, was such as courtiers were not likely to understand.

In the spring of 1634 Charles visited Scotland, and on the road was entertained by the earl of Newcastle with all the luxury and pageantry of loyal hospitality. To grace the entertainment, Jonson sent, in grateful obedience to his benefactor the earl, a little interlude, entitled, Love's Welcome at Welbeck, and another of the same kind for the king and queen's reception at Bolsover. In dispatching the former of these to his noble patron, the poet alludes to his past bounties, which had "fallen, like the dew of heaven, on his necessities."

In his unfinished pastoral drama of the Sad Shepherd, his biographer traces one bright and sunny ray that broke through the gloom of his setting days. Amongst his papers were found the plot and opening of a domestic tragedy on the story of Mortimer earl of March, together with the discoveries and Grammar of the English tongue, works containing, no doubt, the philological and critical reflections of more vigorous years, but which it is probable that he must have continued to write till he was near his dissolution. That event took place on the 6th of August, 1637.

*Sejanus.

ROBERT

ROBERT BURNS.

Robert Burns was born near the town of Ayr, within a few hundred yards of "Alloa's auld haunted kirk," in a clay cottage, which his father, who was a small farmer and gardener, had built with his own hands. A part of this humble edifice gave way when the poet was but a few days old; and his mother and he were carried, at midnight, through the storm, to a neighbour's house that gave them shelter. After having received some lessons in his childhood, from the schoolmaster of the village of Alloa, he was, at seven years of age, put under a teacher of the name of Murdoch, who instructed him in reading and English grammar. This good man, who is still alive, and a teacher of languages in London, boasts, with a very natural triumph, of having accurately instructed Burns in the first principles of composition. At such an age, Burns's study of principles could not be very profound; yet it is due to his early instructor to observe, that his prose style is more accurate than we should expect even from the vigour of an untutored mind, and such as would lead us to suppose that he had been early initiated in the rules of grammar. His father's removal to another farm in Ayrshire, at Mount Oliphant, unfortunately deprived him of the benefit of Murdoch as an instructor, after he had been about two years under his care; and for a long time he received no other lessons than those which his father gave him in writing and arithmetic, when he instructed his family by the fireside of their cottage in winter evenings. About the age of thirteen he was sent, during a part of the summer, to the parish-school in Dalrymple, in order to improve his handwriting. In the following year he had an opportunity of passing several weeks with his old friend Murdoch, with whose assistance he began to study French with intense ardour and assiduity. His proficiency in that language, though it was wonderful, considering his opportunities, was necessarily slight; yet it was in showing this accomplishment alone, that Burns's weakness ever took the shape of vanity. One of his friends, who carried him into the company of a French lady, remarked, with surprise, that he attempted to converse with her in her own tongue. Their French, however, was soon found to be almost mutually unintelligible. As far as Burns could make himself understood, he unfortunately offended the foreign lady. He meant to tell her, that she was a charming person, and delightful in conversation; but expressed himself so as to appear to her to mean, that she was fond of speaking: to which the Gallic dame indignantly replied, that it was quite as common for poets to be impertinent, as for women to be loquacious.

At the age of nineteen he received a few months' instruction in land-surveying.—Such is the scanty history of his education, which is interesting simply because its opportunities were so few and precarious, and such as only a gifted mind could have turned to any account.

Of his early reading, he tells us, that a life of Hannibal, which Murdoch gave him when a boy, raised the first stirrings of his enthusiasm; and, he adds, with his own fervid expres-

expression, "that the life of sir William Wallace poured a tide of Scottish prejudices into his veins, which would boil along there till the floodgates of life were shut in eternal rest." In his sixteenth year he had read some of the plays of Shakespeare, the works of Pope and Addison, and of the Scottish poets Ramsay and Fergusson. From the volumes of Locke, Ray, Derham, and Stackhouse, he also imbibed a smattering of natural history and theology; but his brother assures us, that until the time of his being known as an author, he continued to be but imperfectly acquainted with the most eminent of our English writers. Thanks to the songs and superstition of his native country, his genius had some fostering aliments, which perhaps the study of classical authors might have led him to neglect. His inspiration grew up like the flower, which owes to heaven, in a barren soil, a natural beauty and wildness of fragrance that would be spoilt by artificial culture. He learned an infinite number of old ballads, from hearing his mother sing them at her wheel; and he was instructed in all the venerable heraldry of devils and witches by an ancient woman in the neighbourhood, "*the Sybilline nurse of his muse*," who probably first imparted to him the story of Tam o'Shanter. "Song was his favorite and first pursuit." "The song-book," he says, "was my vade mecum: I pored over it constantly, driving my cart, or walking to labour." It would be pleasing to dwell on this era of his youthful sensibility, if his life had been happy; but it was far otherwise. He was the eldest of a family, buffeted by misfortunes, toiling beyond their strength, and living without the support of animal food. At thirteen years of age he used to thresh in his father's barn; and, at fifteen, was the principal labourer on the farm. After the toils of the day, he usually sunk in the evening into dejection of spirits, and was afflicted with dull headachs, the joint result of anxiety, low diet, and fatigue. "This kind of life," (he says) "the cheerless gloom of a hermit, and the toil of a galley-slave, brought me to my sixteenth year, when love made me a poet." The object of his first attachment was a highland girl, named Mary Campbell, who was his fellow-reaper in the same harvest-field. She died very young; and when Burns heard of her death, he was thrown into an ecstasy of suffering much beyond what even *his* keen temperament was accustomed to feel. Nor does he seem ever to have forgotten her. His verses "To Mary in Heaven;" his invocation to the star that rose on the anniversary of her death; his description of the landscape that was the scene of their day of love and parting vows, "where flowers sprang wanton to be press'd;" the whole luxury and exquisite passion of that strain, evince that her image had survived many important changes in himself.

From his seventeenth to his twenty-fourth year he lived, as an assistant to his father, on another farm in Ayrshire, at Lochlea, to which they had removed from Mount Oliphant. During that period his brother Gilbert and he, besides labouring for their father, took a part of the land on their own account, for the purpose of raising flax; and this speculation induced Robert to attempt establishing

blishing himself in the business of flax-dressing, in the neighbouring town of Irvine. But the unhealthiness of the business, and the accidental misfortune of his shop taking fire, induced him, at the end of six months, to abandon it. Whilst his father's affairs were growing desperate at Lochlea, the poet and his brother had taken a different farm on their own account, as an asylum for the family in case of the worst; but, from unfavourable seasons and a bad soil, this speculation proved also unfortunate, and was given up. By this time Burns had formed his connexion with Jane Armour, who was afterwards his wife, a connexion which could no longer be concealed, at the moment when the ruinous state of his affairs had determined him to cross the Atlantic, and to seek his fortune in Jamaica. He had even engaged himself as assistant overseer to a plantation. He proposed, however, to legalise the private contract of marriage which he had made with Jane; and, though he anticipated the necessity of leaving her behind him, he trusted to better days for their being re-united. But the parents of Jane were unwilling to dispose of her to a husband who was thus to be separated from her, and persuaded her to renounce the informal marriage. Burns also agreed to dissolve the connexion, though deeply wounded at the apparent willingness of his mistress to give him up, and overwhelmed with feelings of the most distracting nature. He now prepared to embark for Jamaica, where his first situation would, in all probability, have been that of a negro-driver, when, before bidding a last adieu to his native country, he happily thought of publishing a collection of his poems. By this publication he gained about 20*l.*, which seasonably saved him from indenting himself as a servant, for want of money to procure a passage. With nine guineas out of this sum he had taken a steerage passage in the Clyde for Jamaica; and to avoid the terrors of a jail, he had been for some time skulking from covert to covert. He had taken a last leave of his friends, and had composed the last song which he thought he should ever measure to Caledonia*, when the contents of a letter, from Dr. Blacklock of Edinburgh, to one of his friends, describing the encouragement which an edition of his poems would be likely to receive in the Scottish capital, suddenly lighted up all his prospects, and detained him from embarking. "I immediately posted," he says, "to Edinburgh, without a single acquaintance or letter of introduction. The baneful star, which had so long shed its blasting influence on my zenith, for once made a revolution to the nadir."

Though he speaks of having had no acquaintance in Edinburgh, he had been previously introduced in Ayrshire to lord Daer, to professor Stewart, and to several respectable individuals, by the reputation which the first edition of his poems had acquired. He arrived in Edinburgh in 1786, and his reception there was more like an agreeable change of fortune in a romance, than like an event in ordinary life. His company was every where sought for; and it was soon found, that the admiration which his poetry had excited was but a part of what was due to the general emi-

* "The gloomy night is gathering fast."

nence of his mental faculties. His natural eloquence, and his warm and social heart expanding under the influence of prosperity—which, with all the pride of genius, retained a quick and versatile sympathy with every variety of human character—made him equally fascinating in the most refined and convivial societies. For a while he reigned the fashion and idol of his native capital.

The profits of his new edition enabled him, in the succeeding year, 1787, to make a tour through a considerable extent both of the south and north of Scotland. The friend who accompanied him in this excursion gives a very interesting description of the impressions which he saw produced in Burns's mind from some of the romantic scenery which they visited. "When we came" (he says) "to a rustic hut on the river Till, where the stream descends in a noble waterfall, and is surrounded by a woody precipice, that commands a most beautiful view of its course, he threw himself on a heathy-seat, and gave himself up to a tender, abstracted, and voluptuous indulgence of imagination." It may be conceived with what enthusiasm he visited the grave of king Robert Bruce.

After he had been caressed and distinguished so much in Edinburgh, it was natural to anticipate that among the many individuals of public influence and respectability, who had countenanced his genius, some means might have been devised to secure to him a competent livelihood in a proper station of society. It was probably with this hope in his mind that he returned to Edinburgh after his summer excursion; and, unfortunately for his habits, spent the winter of 1788 in accepting a round of convivial invitations. The hospitality of the north was not then what it now is. Refinement had not yet banished to the tavern the custom of bumper-toasts, and of pressing the bottle; and the master of the house was not thought very hospitable unless the majority of his male guests, at a regular party, were at least half intoxicated. Burns was invited and importuned to those scenes of dissipation; and beset at least as much by the desire of others to enjoy his society when he was exhilarated, as by his own facility to lend it, he probably deluded his own reflections, by imagining that in every fresh excess he was acquiring a new friend, or attaching one already acquired. But with all the admiration and declarations of personal friendship which were lavished on him, the only appointment that could be obtained for him, was that of an officer of excise. In the meantime he had acquired a relish for a new and over-excited state of life. He had been expected to shine in every society; and, to use his own phrase, "had been too often obliged to give his company a slice of his constitution." At least he was so infatuated as to think so. He had now to go back to the sphere of society from which he had emerged, with every preparatory circumstance to render him discontented with it, that the most ingenious cruelty could have devised.

After his appointment to the office of a gauger, he took a farm at Ellisland, on the banks of the Nith, and settled in conjugal union with his Jane. But here his unhappy distraction between two employments,

ployments, and his mode of life as an exciseman, which made the public-house his frequent abode, and his fatigues a temptation to excesses, had so bad an influence on his affairs, that at the end of three years and a half he sold his stock, and gave up his farm. By promotion in the excise, his income had risen to 70*l.* a year, and with only this income in immediate prospect, he repaired to Dumfries, the new place of duty that was assigned to him by the board of commissioners. Here his intemperate habits became confirmed, and his conduct and conversation grew daily more unguarded. Times of political rancour had also arrived, in which he was too ardent a spirit to preserve neutrality. He took the popular side, and became exposed to charges of disloyalty. He spurned, indeed, at those charges, and wrote a very spirited explanation of his principles. But his political conversations had been reported to the board of excise, and it required the interest of a powerful friend to support him in the humble situation which he held. It was at Dumfries that he wrote the finest of his songs for Thomson's "Musical Collection," and dated many of the most eloquent of his letters.

In the winter of 1795 his constitution, broken by cares, irregularities, and passions, fell into a rapid decline. The summer returned; but only to shine on his sickness and his grave. In July his mind wandered into delirium; and, in the same month, a fever, on the fourth day of its continuance, closed his life and sufferings, in his thirty-eighth year.

Whatever were the faults of Burns, he lived unstained by a mean or dishonest action. To have died without debt, after supporting a family on 70*l.* a year, bespeaks, after all, but little of the spendthrift. That income, on account of his incapacity to perform his duty, was even reduced to one half of its amount, at the period of his dying sickness; and humiliating threats of punishment, for opinions uttered in the confidence of private conversation, were among the last returns which the government of Scotland made to the man, whose genius attaches agreeable associations to the name of his country.

His death seemed to efface the recollection of his faults, and of political differences, still harder to be forgotten. All the respectable inhabitants of Dumfries attended his funeral, whilst the volunteers of the city, and two regiments of native fencibles, attended with solemn music, and paid military honours at the grave of their illustrious countryman.

Burns has given an elixir of life to his native dialect. The Scottish "Tam o' Shanter" will be read as long as any English production of the same century. The impression of his genius is deep and universal; and, viewing him merely as a poet, there is scarcely any other regret connected with his name, than that his productions, with all their merit, fall short of the talents which he possessed. That he never attempted any great work of fiction or invention, may be partly traced to the cast of his genius, and partly to his circumstances and defective education. His poetical temperament was that of fitful transports, rather than steady inspiration. Whatever he might have written, was likely to have been fraught with passion.

There is always enough of *interest* in life to cherish the feelings of a man of genius; but it requires knowledge to enlarge and enrich his *imagination*. Of that knowledge which unrolls the diversities of human manners, adventures, and characters to a poet's study, he could have no great share; although he stamped the little treasure which he possessed in the mint-age of sovereign genius. It has been asserted, that he received all the education which is requisite for a poet: he had learned reading, writing, and arithmetic; and he had dipped into French and geometry. To a poet, it must be owned, the three last of those acquisitions were quite superfluous. His education, it is also affirmed, was equal to Shakspeare's: but, without intending to make any comparison between the genius of the two bards, it should be recollected that Shakspeare lived in an age within the verge of chivalry, an age overflowing with chivalrous and romantic reading; that he was led by his vocation to have daily recourse to that kind of reading; that he dwelt on the spot which gave him constant access to it, and was in habitual intercourse with men of genius. Burns, after growing up to manhood under toils which exhausted his physical frame, acquired a scanty knowledge of modern books, of books tending for the most part to regulate the judgement more than to exercise the fancy. In the whole tract of his reading, there seems to be little that could cherish his inventive faculties. One material of poetry he certainly possessed, independent of books, in the legendary superstitions of his native country. But with all that he tells us of his early love of those superstitions, they seem to have come home to his mind with so many ludicrous associations of vulgar tradition, that it may be doubted if he could have turned them to account in an elevated work of fiction. Strongly and admirably as he paints the supernatural in "Tam o' Shanter," yet there, as every where else, he makes it subservient to comic effect. The fortuitous wildness and sweetness of his strains may, after all, set aside every regret that he did not attempt more superb and regular structures of fancy. He describes, as he says, the sentiments which he saw and felt in himself and his rustic compeers around him. His page is a lively image of the contemporary life and country from which he sprung. He brings back old Scotland to us with all her homefelt endearments, her simple customs, her festivities, her sturdy prejudices, and orthodox zeal, with a power that excites, alternately, the most tender and mirthful sensations. After the full account of his pieces which Dr. Currie has given, the English reader can have nothing new to learn respecting them. On one powerfully comic piece Dr. Currie has not disserted, namely, "The Holy Fair." It is enough, however, to mention the humour of this production, without recommending its subject. Burns, indeed, only laughs at the abuses of a sacred institution; but the theme was of unsafe approach; and he ought to have avoided it.

He meets us, in his compositions, undisguisedly as a peasant. At the same time, his observations go extensively into life, like those of a man who felt the proper dignity of

of human nature in the character of a peasant. The writer of some of the severest strictures that ever have been passed upon his poetry* conceives, that his beauties are considerably defaced by a portion of false taste and vulgar sentiment, which adhere to him from his low education. That Burns's education, or rather the want of it, excluded him from much knowledge, which might have fostered his inventive ingenuity, seems to be clear; but his circumstances cannot be admitted to have communicated vulgarity to the tone of his sentiments. They have not the sordid taste of low condition. It is objected to him, that he boasts too much of his own independence; but, in reality, this boast is neither frequent nor obtrusive: and it is in itself the expression of a manly and laudable feeling. So far from calling up disagreeable recollections of rusticity, his sentiments triumph, by their natural energy, over those false and fastidious distinctions which the mind is but too apt to form in allotting its sympathies to the sensibilities of the rich and poor. He carries us into the humble scenes of life, not to make us dole out our tribute of charitable compassion to paupers and cottagers, but to make us feel with them on equal terms, to make us enter into their passions and interests, and share our hearts with them as with brothers and sisters of the human species.

He is taxed, in the same place, with perpetually affecting to deride the virtues of prudence, regularity, and decency; and with being imbued with the sentimentality of German novels. Any thing more remote from German sentiment than Burns's poetry could not easily be mentioned. But is he depraved and licentious in a comprehensive view of the moral character of his pieces? The overgenial freedom of a few assuredly ought not to fix this character upon the whole of them. It is a charge which we should hardly expect to see preferred against the author of "The Cotter's Saturday Night." He is the enemy, indeed, of that selfish and niggardly spirit which shelters itself under the name of prudence; but that pharisaical disposition has seldom been a favourite with poets. Nor should his maxims, which inculcate charity and candour in judging of human frailties, be interpreted as a serious defence of them, as when he says,

"Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentlier sister woman,
Though they may gang a kennan wrang;
To step aside is human.

Who made the heart, 'tis he alone
Decidedly can try us;
He knows each chord, its various tone,
Each spring its various bias."

It is still more surprising, that a critic, capable of so eloquently developing the traits of Burns's genius, should have found fault with his amatory strains for want of polish, and "of that chivalrous tone of gallantry, which uniformly abases itself in the presence of the object of its devotion." Every reader must recall abundance of thoughts in his love songs, to which any attempt to superadd a tone of gallantry would not be

* Critique on the character of Burns, in the Edinburgh Review. Article, *Cromek's Reliques of Burns.*

"To gild refined gold, to paint the rose,
Or add fresh perfume to the violet,"

but to debase the metal, and to take the odour and colour from the flower. It is exactly this superiority to "abasement" and polish which is the charm that distinguishes Burns from the herd of erotic songsters, from the days of the trobadours to the present time. He wrote from impulses more sincere than the spirit of chivalry; and even lord Surrey and sir Philip Sidney are cold and uninteresting lovers in comparison with the rustic Burns.

The praises of his best pieces I have abstained from re-echoing, as there is no epithet of admiration which they deserve which has not been bestowed upon them. One point must be conceded to the strictures on his poetry, to which I have already alluded, that his personal satire was fierce and acrimonious. I am not, however, disposed to consider his attacks on Rumble John, and Holy Willie, as destitute of wit; and his poem on the clerical settlements at Kilmarnock, blends a good deal of ingenious metaphor with his accustomed humour. Even viewing him as a satirist, the last and humblest light in which he can be regarded as a poet, it may still be said of him,

"His style was witty, though it had some gall;
Something he might have mended—so may all."

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

THE remark with which we introduced this portion of the New Annual Register last year, applies with equal justice and truth to the year 1819. Travels are a more numerous species of publications than works of any other description. Besides more general and permanent causes and reasons which would operate to produce this circumstance, there are others of a particular and temporary nature, of which we shall take a slight and cursory notice. In the first place, for nearly a quarter of a century the inhabitants of this empire could not indulge that fondness for visiting foreign countries, for which they have always been distinguished: the revolutionary war with France, so different in its nature from all preceding wars, absolutely precluded them from visiting France, or any part of the continent over which France exercised authority; or, if it did not absolutely preclude them, it at least rendered travelling dangerous, or highly uncomfortable and unsafe; and deprived it of most of those sources of pleasure or information for which it is usually undertaken. Hence travels abroad were rare during the revolutionary war, whereas travels in Britain and Ireland were more frequent and common. The consequence was, that our own country, particularly the more remote and less known parts of it, such as the Highlands of Scotland, were often visited; and an acquaintance was formed with them, to which, to our shame be it spoken, the greater portion of the inhabitants of the more southern and more highly favoured districts of Britain had hitherto been strangers.

In the second place, after the termination of the revolutionary war, a strong curiosity and interest were naturally excited to ascertain by personal observation, inquiry, and survey, what actual changes had been brought about in France, and in those countries which she had overrun, by the new principles and practice of government to which they had been so long subject. From this cause it happened, that immediately after the peace, and, indeed, almost to the present time, such immense crowds of people have passed over to the continent, particularly to France.

Lastly, (not to enumerate other causes, so obvious that they need not be pointed out,) the habits and facilities of composition, which nearly all people above the lowest classes now enjoy; and the corresponding habits of reading, which are now spread over nearly the whole surface of society, have contributed essentially to inundate the literary world with books of travels. The very facility of com-

position, by which the present age is distinguished, united with the universal fondness for reading, for which it is equally distinguished, has rendered writers and readers much less fastidious than they used to be: a century ago, to publish a book was a presumptuous and arduous undertaking; now, almost every body — especially, every body who has travelled — deems himself fully adequate to the task. A century ago, if as many books had been published as are at present, readers would not have been found for them. It is not, however, exactly true on this subject, as it is with respect to merchandize produced by bodily labour, that the demand for books has been increased by the greater cheapness of the article; for the price of books has increased almost in the same ratio as their number.

It might be supposed and expected, that the present age, having been favoured with so many books of travels in almost every part of the world, would now be perfectly acquainted with almost every part; especially when we take into account the facilities and advantages (pointed out in our last volume) which travellers of the present day enjoy over those of any preceding period. We of this age certainly are better acquainted with every part of the world than our forefathers were; but not nearly so much more as the great increase of books of travels would naturally lead us to suppose. The remark that has been applied to books of the present age generally, may be applied with peculiar propriety and force to books of travels; few of them seem destined to become standard works: they are generally published in a splendid and expensive manner in quarto, and sold at a very high price. The quarto edition is principally bought by those who adorn and fill their libraries with such books. A second edition, in the more humble and less expensive form of octavo, is then published; but, with few exceptions, this edition satisfies the public curiosity, so that within a very few years, the work is as little heard of or asked for, as if it had been published half a century.

What is the cause of this? With respect to books of travels, there is, perhaps, a cause peculiar to them, as well as the cause which operates on them in common with nearly all the works of the present age. They are written by men not qualified for the task:—a person has been abroad for a few months; he went, most probably ignorant of the language of the country into which he travelled, and uninformed of the points on which he ought to make observations and inquiries, and also of what had been previously written on it. Thus destitute of the necessary preparation, he adds to his incompetency by the rapidity with which he travels, by trusting to what he hears, instead of his own observations; and, on his return, he enlarges his few, scanty, and erroneous notes into the bulk of a good sized volume, by consulting and extracting from the works of previous travellers.

We are therefore, notwithstanding books of travels are issuing from the press in such constant and regular succession, as almost to render it impossible, even for the man who has nothing else to do, to read them diligently and attentively, still without standard books of travels in many interesting

ing parts of the world. It may seem unjust, fastidious, and even absurd, to contend, that even with respect to Italy, our books of travels are deficient; and yet, in our opinion, it is so. We have, to be sure, information as minute and various as it possibly can be, on the subject of the antiquities and paintings of Italy; but there are still materials for a very good work on its statistics, agriculture, and the habits and manners, and political condition of its inhabitants. Indeed the points to which we have alluded, in reference to Italy, are those which, with natural history in its most comprehensive sense, would constitute a rich harvest for travellers in almost every country of the world. None of these—statistics, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, habits, manners, political condition, natural history, particularly geology, mineralogy, and climate,—have been attended to by travellers as their importance demands.

Notwithstanding all the books of travels in France, which have been poured from the press in such abundance within these last five years, we have not one that can be compared, either with respect to the information it conveys, or to the interesting manner in which that information is given, to Arthur Young's Travels in 1787, 8, and 9. We have another standard book of travels regarding Spain—we allude to Townshend's Travels in Spain. So far as information goes, it is nearly equal to Young's Travels in France, though it is in a great measure destitute of that interest, which Mr. Young has infused into his work, by his lively manner, and the insight which he has given his readers into his own feelings and sentiments.

The two great and characteristic faults of modern travels consist in the trifling incidents which they relate, and the almost entire exclusion of some or all of the topics to which we have already alluded. It is true, that national as well as individual character often appears more distinctly and forcibly in trifling acts and common situations, than on more important and rare occasions; but it requires great judgement and good sense to select only such trifling acts and common situations as do illustrate character; and it requires no every day talents to draw from them, when thus selected, only what does illustrate character. In many cases, the attempt fails, and then tediousness is the natural and unavoidable consequence. In short, before a traveller is qualified to write a really good book of travels, he ought to possess (independent of scientific information) two qualifications:—he ought to have an excellent tact of selecting what is interesting and important, and into what he does select, he ought to be able to infuse such a portion of life and spirit, as will induce his reader to believe that he is the companion of his travels.

The following are the principal voyages and travels which have appeared during the year 1819: Dr. Clarke's Travels, last part.—Ross's Voyage of Discovery.—Macmichael's Journey from Moscow to Constantinople.—Bowdich's Mission to the Kingdom of Ashantee.—Fitzclarence's Journey overland from India.—Dodwell's Tour in Greece.—First Impressions, or a Tour upon the Con-

tinent, by Marianne Baillie.—Travels in various Countries in the East, by Sir Wm. Ousely; and Hall's Travels in France.

We shall reserve what we have to say on such of these works as we intend to give extracts from, and, at present, confine our remarks to the others.

Dr. Clarke's Travels, last part. The merits and defects of Dr. Clarke's Travels must be well known to our readers, as it is now nearly ten years since the first part was published. That they possess considerable merit is evident from the circumstance that they seem to enjoy a greater chance of becoming a standard work than most of the books of travels, or, indeed, we might add, than most works published since the time when the first volume appeared. The information they contain is extremely various, in general accurate, told in an interesting manner, and adds very much to our knowledge of the countries through which he travelled. The principal fault of the work is its extreme bulk; and this might have been avoided, had Dr. Clarke not entered more than was necessary, and more than will be interesting to the generality of his readers, on topics of antiquarian research, and not unfrequently dilated on topics interesting in themselves, till they pall on the appetite, and weaken the attention of the reader. In one most important respect Dr. Clarke excels most travellers; he brought to his travels a mind well informed on almost every subject which could possibly attract his attention while travelling; hence there is more science and learning united, brought to bear on the countries he visited, than are to be found in the generality of travellers: he resembles some of our old travellers with respect to learning, but he far excels them, as indeed might be expected, in science. He is not equal to Humboldt in genius and philosophical speculation; but if not so daring, he is, on the other hand, a safer guide.

Ross's Voyage of Discovery disappointed most people; partly because it was thought he had returned when he was very near what probably was the great object of his voyage, and partly because his work did not afford much information with respect to the countries that he actually visited. We must confess, however, that we cannot agree with those who attach much importance to discoveries, either near the North Pole, or in the centre of Africa. Even if a passage were discovered into the Pacific Ocean near the Pole, it would not be practicable except for a very short period each year, and even then it would be extremely dangerous and difficult. With regard to the central parts of Africa, the sandy deserts, the climate, the untameable savageness of the inhabitants, all present obstacles which we do not think we are justified in endeavouring to overcome, unless some much greater benefits to commerce or science will probably ensue, than at present appear.

So much has been written on Greece, its antiquities, and every topic connected with or illustrative of its ancient history, that that author must possess a rare excellence, who would display any novelty when treating on this country. This excellence Mr. Dodwell's work on Greece possesses: his

his views and descriptions of the antiquities are most luminous, and convey a much better idea of them than is to be gained in any other work; while on most other topics which we would wish to see treated by a traveller in a country with which our earliest as well as our noblest associations are connected, he is equally attractive and instructive.

The First Impressions of Mrs. Baillie is a work of no pretensions: it is in fact what its title indicates, the thoughts and feelings of a candid, acute, and intelligent person, who never before had visited the countries she describes, and it is impossible that a work written by such a person should not be interesting as well as instructive.

Sir William Ousely's Travels in various Countries of the East contains a description, as far as his own observation extended, of the state of the countries of the east, more particularly Persia, in 1810, 1811, and 1812; and also the illustration of many subjects of antiquarian research, history, geography, philology and miscellaneous literature, with extracts from rare and valuable oriental manuscripts. This volume contains, besides descriptions of extraordinary ceremonies and remarkable objects, anecdotes of eminent personages, relations of public occurrences and private adventures, and observations on men and manners. Sir William went with his brother sir Gore Ousely to Persia in 1810, as his private secretary: this circumstance, united to the oriental learning which he possesses, gives to this work a considerable degree of merit and interest, which however are lessened by the complacency and prolixity with which he dwells on trivial adventures of his own. In short, there is too much egotism, and too great a fondness for learned trifling in the work. Some degree of egotism is not only pardonable but even interesting in a book of travels, so far as it tends to introduce the reader to the traveller, display his character, and connect them together; but in this work there is by far too much of it.

We must confess we have been much disappointed in Hall's Travels in France: we had read a very interesting work of his, Travels in America, in which he gave a lively picture of American manners and society: we therefore naturally expected that in travelling through France, the same topics would have engaged his attention: unfortunately however, both for himself and his readers, he has chosen to occupy himself principally about Paris, and not about the inhabitants there, but the buildings, paintings, &c. In this he did wrong, for these subjects have been exhausted by writers better qualified to treat of them than captain Hall; whereas the state of society, manners, and habits, political constitution, and opinions of France, especially of the people in the country, are yet very imperfectly known; and we are sure, from what captain Hall has done for America on these topics, that he could have produced an equally interesting book on France.

A Jour-

A Journey from Moscow to Constantinople; with a Continuation of the Route to Jerusalem, the Dead Sea, Petra, Damascus, Balbec, Palmyra, &c. in the Years 1817 and 1818.

[By William Macmichael, M.D. &c. 4to.]

THE first portion of this volume, containing the journey from Moscow to Constantinople, is very amusing, from the insight it affords into the manners of the different nations inhabiting this tract of country; and it is written in a lively and pleasant manner. Perhaps if there had been an infusion of more science, or if the traveller's time had permitted him to render his observations and inquiries more extensive and particular, the substantial merit of the work would have been increased. The second portion is uncommonly interesting: it introduces us almost to a new world,—to a world of which we had hitherto heard much but learned little: the information it contains respecting the Dead Sea, and the discoveries made at Petra, particularly deserves this character. We do not know any discovery so curious and interesting, since that of Palmyra and Balbec, as that of Petra.

The Gypsies of Moldavia.

The Moldavian boyars were exhibiting themselves in the streets of Kichenu in their most showy equipages. For our own part we were serenaded by a band of gypsies, tall, swarthy fellows, who accompanied very discordantly with their voices, five violins, on which they played various plaintive Moldavian airs. As this extraordinary race of people forms a very considerable part of the population of Moldavia and Wallachia, and we had frequent opportunities of observing them afterwards, a slight notice of their present condition, &c. may not be without interest. The Cynganis are stated to equal in number the native peasantry of Moldavia; and it seems now pretty generally agreed to consider them of Indian extraction. This opinion rests chiefly on similarity of language, and some analogies, perhaps rather fanciful, that are conceived to exist between the habits of the lower class of Hindus and those of the wandering tribes of gypsies. Of the latter resemblances the chief are a fondness for red dresses, the stone anvil used in their favourite occupation of blacksmiths, the voluptuous dances of their women, and their trade of fortune-telling; all of them customs and propensities that are said to prevail equally among the Pariahs of Hindostan. They first made their appearance in Germany in 1417, from whence they have spread over the whole continent of Europe. Slaves of the boyars, in Moldavia, under the degrading appellation of *Bajarest*, they are not employed in cultivating the soil; but, like some of the serfs in Russia, obtain permission from their masters, on paying an annual contribution, or *obroc*, to wander about the country, and exercise different mechanical arts.

The

The amount of this yearly tax is eighteen piastres for each chief of a family, and they travel in troops of fifty or sixty tents, carrying along with them all they possess, encamping, with their cattle feeding round them, and chiefly exercising the trade of tinkers. This is the mode of life of the greater proportion of the gypsies; but there is another class that is fixed in the towns, where they become carpenters, masons, tailors, shoemakers, and musicians. These latter, who have permanent residences, are said to speak only "*Wallak*," like the natives of the country; but the others who rove about, have a dialect peculiar to themselves; and it is from an attentive comparison of various words in this jargon with the language spoken by a people in Hindostan, that the chief argument has been drawn respecting their common origin. A rich Moldavian noble will possess some hundred gypsies, whom he considers as so many cattle, obstinately refusing to sell them to a stranger, but occasionally effecting an exchange of a few individuals with a neighbouring boyar. The pilfering and roguish dispositions observable among them in England, characterize them also in Moldavia; but the horrid stories of their being cannibals, and fond of the flesh of children, whom they stole for the purpose of afterwards devouring, and of which they were accused in Hungary, and, in consequence, executed in the reign of Maria Theresa, are idle, and utterly without foundation.

ACCOUNT of newly discovered ANTIQUITIES in ARABIA PETRÆA, derived from the personal Inspection of a recent BRITISH TRAVELLER.

MR. BANKES, who has visited some of the most celebrated scenes in Arabia, intends, it is understood, to publish, on his return home, an account of his excursion to Wadi Moosa (the valley of Moses), with engravings of the drawings which he made of the hitherto undescribed excavated temples there; as well as of the ruins of Jerrasch, which excel in grandeur and beauty even those of Palmyra and Balbec.

This gentleman, in company with several other English travellers, left Jerusalem for Hebron, where they viewed the mosque erected over the tomb of Abraham.

They then proceeded to Karrac, along the foot of mountains, where fragments of rock-salt indicated the natural origin of that intense brine, which is peculiarly descriptive of the neighbouring waters of the Dead Sea.

Karrac is a fortress situated on the top of a hill. The entrance is formed by a winding passage cut through the living rock. It may be described as a mass of ruins. The inhabitants of the place are a mingled race of Mahomedans and Christians, remarkably hospitable, and living together in terms of freer intercourse than at Jerusalem. The women are not veiled, nor seemed to be subject

subject to any particular restraints. They passed into the valley of Eliasar, where they noticed some relics of antiquity, which, they conjectured, were of Roman origin. They pursued their journey partly over a road paved with lava, and which was evidently a Roman work, to Shubac. In the neighbourhood of this place they encountered some difficulties from the Arabs. The travellers, however, after some captious negotiation, at last obtained permission to pass; but not to drink the waters. On crossing a stream, they entered on the wonders of Wadi Moosa.

The first object that attracted their attention was a mausoleum, at the entrance of which stood two colossal animals, but whether lions or sphinxes they could not ascertain, as they were much defaced and mutilated. They then, advancing towards the principal ruins, entered a narrow pass, varying from 15 to 20 feet in width, overhung by precipices, which rose to the general height of 200, sometimes reaching 500 feet, and darkening the path by their projecting ledges. In some places, niches were sculptured in the sides of this stupendous gallery, and here and there rude masses stood forward, and bore a remote and mysterious resemblance to the figures of living things, but over which time and oblivion had drawn an inscrutable and everlasting veil. About a mile within this pass, they rode under an arch, perhaps that of an aqueduct, which connected the two sides together; and they noticed several earthen pipes, which had formerly distributed water.

Having continued to explore the gloomy windings of this awful corridore for about two miles, the front of a superb temple burst on their view. A statue of Victory, with wings, filled the centre of an aperture in the upper part, and groups of colossal figures, representing a centaur, and a young man, stood on each side of the lofty portico. This magnificent structure is entirely excavated from the solid rock, and preserved from the ravages of the weather by the projections of the overhanging precipices. About 300 yards beyond this temple they met with other astonishing excavations; and, on reaching the termination of the rock on their left, they found an amphitheatre, which had also been excavated, with the exception of the proscenium, and this had fallen into ruins. On all sides the rocks were hollowed into innumerable chambers and sepulchres; and a silent waste of desolated palaces, and the remains of constructed edifices, filled the area to which the pass led.

These ruins, which have acquired the name of Wadi Moosa, from that of a village in their vicinity, are the wreck of the city of Petra, which, in the time of Augustus Cæsar, was the residence of a monarch, and the capital of Arabia Petræa. The country was conquered by Trajan, and annexed by him to the province of Palestine. In more recent times, Baldwin I. king of Jerusalem, having made himself also master of Petra, gave it the name of the Royal Mountain.

The travellers having gratified their wonder with the view of these stupendous works, went forward to Mount Hor, which they ascended,

ascended, and viewed a building on the top containing *the tomb of Aaron;* a simple stone monument, which an aged Arab shows to the pilgrims. They finally proceeded to view the ruins of Jerrasch, which greatly exceed in magnitude and beauty those of Palmyra.

A grand colonade runs from the eastern to the western gates of the city, formed on both sides of marble columns of the Corinthian order, and terminating in a semi-circle of sixty pillars of the Ionic order, crossed by another colonade running north and south. At the western extremity stands a theatre, of which the proscenium remains so entire, that it may be described as almost in a state of undecayed beauty. Two superb amphitheatres of marble, three glorious temples, and the ruins of gorgeous palaces, with fragments of sculpture and inscriptions, mingled together, form an aggregate of ancient elegance, which surpasses all that popery has spared of the ancient grandeur of Rome.

The same source, says the same publication, that has supplied us with the interesting conversational notices of the antiquities of Arabia, has furnished the facts which constitute the basis of the following observations:—

It has been ascertained that, between the first and second cataracts of the Nile, there is a caste of the inhabitants, who do not consider themselves as the aborigines of the country. They do not resemble the other inhabitants in appearance, and they not only possess many customs peculiar to themselves, but even speak a language which has no affinity to that of Arabic; speaking also that language, but in a broken and rude dialect. This people possess a tradition among them, that their ancestors were led from their homes by a great king, with whom they conquered the country, and were left behind to keep it in possession: and they look forward to their native king coming again and resuming his authority.

We should not omit to mention that the head, said to be that of Memnon, now in the British Museum, did not belong to that celebrated statue. The real head of Memnon is so defaced as not to be worth the trouble of sending home, even if it were easily practicable, for it has been computed to weigh about 450 tons. We are likely soon however to be gratified with the possession of the foot of Memnon, which is about two yards in length; and, among other curiosities, we also understand, the entire hand and arm of the same statue to which the gigantic fist already in the museum belongs, may be soon expected in Britain.

But what we regard as one of the most curious of all the discoveries, is the result of a visit lately made to the holy island of Flowers, the Coptic name of which we do not recollect; but the island is situated in the Nile, between Philæ and Elephantine. In this sequestered spot, no stranger is permitted to enter except as a pilgrim. Here a number of unburied mummies are still to be seen, without coffins, and placed only in their cerements, as if denied the rites of sepulture. We do therefore conceive, that it was from the custom of burying the good in this island, that the story of

of Charon, and the ferrying of the river Styx, took its rise. Hitherto the fable has been supposed to refer to an island in the Lake Mareotis.

MISSION from CAPE COAST CASTLE to ASHANTEE, with a statistical Account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other Parts of the INTERIOR of AFRICA. By Mr. BOWDICH.

THE account given in this work of the Ashantees is extremely curious; their country is within a week's journey of our settlement at Cape Coast Castle, and yet none of the people were ever seen till the year 1807, and the country was never visited till Mr. Bowdich's mission. The Ashantees differ from and far excel all the other savage nations of Africa in many particulars; especially in the wonderful splendour, arising in many cases to actual magnificence, with which they adorn their habitations and also conduct their solemn and other public meetings. They have been justly compared to the inhabitants of Mexico, at its first invasion; nearly rivalling them in their manual skill, their general courtesy, their regular government, their powerful armies, and their immense treasures. Indeed so me of Mr. Bowdich's descriptions strike us with something like a feeling of distrust, there is such a splendour and magnificence about them, and we fancy we are reading The Arabian Nights', Entertainment, rather than a grave and sober book of travels. But we hardly think the author's talents are equal to the invention, or even the embellishment of such scenes as he describes. The book, indeed, is ill written; and we are continually interrupted and disgusted by the vanity and egotism of the author, which leads him to make very unfair and invidious remarks on Mr. James, the superior of the mission. With these drawbacks, the work may fairly be pronounced as one of the most curious and interesting that has appeared on Africa for a very long period.

ASHANTEE CUSTOMS.

The yam custom is annual, just at the maturity of that vegetable, which is planted in December, and not eaten until the conclusion of the custom, the early part of September. All the caboceers and captains, and the majority of the tributaries, are enjoined to attend, none being excused, but such as the kings of Inta and Dagwumba, (who send deputations of their principal caboceers,) and those who have been dispatched elsewhere on public business. If a chief or caboceer has offended, or if his fidelity be suspected, he is seldom accused or punished until the yam custom, which they attend, frequently unconscious and always uncertain of what may be laid to their charge. The yam custom

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is like the Saturnalia; neither theft, intrigue, nor assault are punishable during its continuance, but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to its passions.

On Friday the 5th of September, the number, splendour, and variety of arrivals, thronging from the different paths, was as astonishing as entertaining; but there was an alloy in the gratification, for the principal caboceers sacrificed a slave at each quarter of the town on their entry.

In the afternoon of Saturday, the king received all the caboceers and captains in the large area, where the Dankara canons are placed. The scene was marked with all the splendour of our own *entré*, and many additional novelties. The crush in the distance was awful and distressing. All the heads of the kings and caboceers whose kingdoms had been conquered, from Sai Tootoo to the present reign, with those of the chiefs who had been executed for subsequent revolts, were displayed by two parties of executioners, each upwards of a hundred, who passed in an impassioned dance, with some of the most irresistible grimace, some with the most frightful gesture; they clashed their knives on the sculls, in which sprigs of thyme were inserted, to keep the spirits from troubling the king. I never felt so grateful for being born in a civilized country. Firing and drinking palm-wine were the only *divertissemens* to the ceremony of the caboceers presenting themselves to the king: we left the ground at ten o'clock; the uproar continued till four in the morning, just before which the king retired. I have attempted a drawing, it is by no means adequate, yet more so than description could be.

On the left side of the drawing is a group of captains dancing and firing, as described in our *entré*. Above is the fanciful standard of a chief, who is preceded and followed by numerous attendants; he is supported round the waist by a confidential slave, and one wrist is so heavily laden with gold, that it is supported on the head of a small boy; with the other hand he is saluting a seated caboceer, sawing the air by a motion from the wrist. His umbrella is sprung up and down to increase the breeze, and large grass fans are also playing; his handsomest slave girl follows, bearing on her head a small red leather trunk, full of gold ornaments, and rich cloth; behind are soldiers and drummers, who throw their white-washed drums in the air, and catch them again with much agility and grimace, as they walk along. Boys are in the front, bearing elephants' tails, fly-flappers, &c.; and his captains, with uplifted swords, are hastening forward the musicians and soldiers. Amongst the latter is the stool, so stained with blood that it is thought decent to cover it with red silk. Behind the musicians is Odumata, coming round to join the procession in his state hammock lined with red taffeta, and smoking under his umbrella, at the top of which is a stuffed leopard. Under the next umbrella is the royal stool thickly cased in gold. Gold pipes, fans of ostrich wing-feathers, captains seated with gold swords, wolves' heads and snakes as large as life of the same metal depending

from the handles, girls bearing silver bowls, body guards, &c. &c. are mingled together, till we come to the king seated in a chair of ebony and gold, and dressed much in the same way as described at the first interview. He is holding up his two fingers to receive the oath of the captain to the right, who, pointing to a distant country, vows to conquer it. On the right and left of the state umbrella are the flags of Great Britain, Holland, and Denmark. A group of painted figures are dancing up to the king in the most extravagant attitudes, beating time with their long knives on the sculls stuck full of thyme. On the right of the king is the eunuch who superintends the group of small boys, the children of the nobility waving elephants' tails, (spangled with gold,) feathers, &c.; behind him are the abovementioned captain and other chiefs dressed as in the left end of the drawing. Musicians, seated and standing, are playing on instruments cased or plated with gold. The manner of drinking palm-wine is exhibited in the next group: a boy kneels beneath with a second bowl to catch the droppings, (it being a great luxury to suffer the liquor to run over the beard), whilst the horns flourish, and the captains halloo out the strong names. The Moors are easily distinguished by their caps and preposterous turbans. The back of the whole assembly is lined with royal soldiers, and the commoner ones are ranged in front, with here and there a captain and a group of musicians, who, some with an old cocked hat, some with a soldier's jacket, &c. &c. afford a ludicrous appearance.

The next morning the king ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans, in various parts of the town; the crowd pressing around, and drinking like hogs; freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, and trampling each other under foot, pushed head foremost into the pans, and spilling much more than they drank. In less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen.

About a hundred persons, mostly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed, in different quarters of the town, at this custom. Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within, (fresh and putrified), to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed and place it on the hole.

The royal gold ornaments are melted down every yam custom, and fashioned into new patterns, as novel as possible. This is a piece of state policy very imposing on the populace and the tributary chiefs who pay but an annual visit.

About ten days after the custom, the whole of the royal household eat new yam for the first time, in the market place, the king attending. The next day he and the captains set off for Sarrassoo before sunrise, to perform their annual ablutions in the river Dah. Almost all the inhabitants follow him.

Journey overland from India in 1817—1818.

[By Lieut.-Col. FitzClarence.]

Visit to the Pyramids.

THE officers in the British army have largely and honourably participated in the very generally diffused love for literature and science. For many years past they have had excellent opportunities of displaying this feeling,—and they have not neglected them, since much of our information respecting foreign countries is derived from their writings.

Lieut.-col. FitzClarence follows in the path thus chalked out in a manner highly creditable to himself; he has given to the public a lively and interesting book, which proves how much may be acquired by an accurate and attentive observer, and by one who suffers no opportunity to pass by,—even while his journey is necessarily very rapid, and attended with such difficulties and dangers as create a constant demand on his time and thoughts.

"I now determined to ascend the great pyramid, and we walked together to the entrance, which is on the north side, where, leaving Mr. Salt and Belzoni, I started with a few Arabs to undertake the difficult task. It was by the north-east angle that I climbed up, for the stones which form the steps are from three to four feet high; but after mounting a considerable way, I was completely fatigued; and, added to this, a violent north wind blew the sand from the desert continually over me. If I looked down, I was affected with sickness, and I had no companion to stimulate me by emulation; but my perseverance, which was about to take its flight, rallied afresh on my recollecting the regret I should feel did I not overcome the difficulties; and after many halts to rest, and a good deal of assistance from the Arabs, whom I caused to take hold of each arm, I at last gained the summit.

This pyramid by geometrical measurement is 577 feet high, from its base to its summit. This is somewhat more than if the Monument were placed on the highest summit of St. Paul's; and when an inhabitant of London is told that the area on which it stands is about the extent of Lincoln's-inn-fields, he will form a fair and adequate conception of the sort of object which it exhibits. About 2-3ds up the north-east angle of the pyramid, there is a small cave or hole, about twelve feet deep and high, which appears to have been formed by removing several large stones. The view from the top is extraordinary; and far from this building ending in a point, which it appears to do at a distance, there is a space of at least 20 feet square. It looks, indeed, as if it had never been finished.—I observed the pyramids of Sacarrah at a distance, towards the south-east, and think there must be more than twenty of them, of which I understand the greater number have not been opened. The two causeways spoken of by Herodotus take a direction from the pyramids, one to the north-east, and the other considerably to the eastward of

south-east, and are astonishing works. I followed them with my eye towards the Mokuttum mountain, till lost in the distance.

The line which bounds the cultivation and the desert is seen most perceptibly from this height, and the crop of green corn is not two yards from the burning sand; thus marking the utmost extent of the yearly inundation. The desert extends to the westward, till, in the horizon, it is blended with the sky. As it has been customary for travellers to inscribe their names on the summit, I chose a place for mine on the same stone on which lord Belmore had inscribed his, that of his lady, and that of his lordship's brother, capt. Corry. There was also the name of Rosa on the stone, which I concluded was that of some enterprising damsel, and gave her all due credit for her successful attempt; but have since learnt that it was the cognomen of her ladyship's lap-dog. The calcareous stone is very soft, and I found great facility in carving mine, though a very long one. I looked for the names of the various persons who had previously visited it.—I found that of lord Hutchinson, with the date 1801. Several French names with the date, An 9, of the republic. I also saw that of Chateaubriand, and somebody has taken the pains to engrave under "*il n' étoit pas ici*," which I was assured is really the fact. It was my wish to have dated some letters I intended for India, from the top of the great pyramid; but I found the Arabs had only brought up my memorandum-book and pencil.

In descending, which I much dreaded, being always affected with giddiness in looking down from a height, I found it extremely easy; the reason I know not, except my being aware that the alternative was to remain the rest of my days upon the top of the pyramid, or of continually looking down during my descent; and I had no return of my usual complaint. I found my companions at the entrance, and after resting a short time, was accompanied by Belzoni through the interior, which is a most distressing and fatiguing perambulation. So much has been said by all travellers of this pyramid, that I should have passed it over, had it not been for the late discovery of capt. Caviglia. The extreme heat of the interior is not to be described; and what with climbing, scrambling, and advancing up the steep passage, particularly after my previous fatigue, I do not recollect of ever being so distressed.

I am happy to have it in my power to vindicate the character of a British officer in the campaign of 1801, who has been accused of being the first defacer of the sarcophagus in this pyramid; for it is stated by Tavernier, who visited Egypt 100 years before any English soldier set his foot here, that it was customary for travellers to break off pieces and carry them away. He adds, the stone, &c. of which it is formed is very hard, and very neat when polished, which induces many to break off pieces to make seals of; but it requires a strong arm and a good hammer to knock off a bit. The individual above alluded to was a gallant officer of Highlanders, who has been loaded with the epithets Goth, Vandal, sacrilegious destroyer, for having broke off a piece of this monument,

ment, and when I viewed the injury I felt equally ready to disapprove of his violation; but having met this passage in Tavernier, I think it right to do away a false impression."

NARRATIVE of the EXPEDITION to the ORINOCO and APURE, in 1817.

[By Col. HIPPESLEY.]

THIS work, as well as that of capt. Brown (from which we shall also give extracts), is interesting, more because it introduces us to a country and a people of whom we know little, but who at the present moment are objects of great interest, than from the mass of information it conveys, or the manner in which it is written. Indeed, even if the abilities of the authors of these works had been much greater than they really are, the disappointment and vexation they experienced must have occupied their mind so completely as to have precluded the possibility of making many inquiries or observations.

VENEZUELAN PORTRAITS AND CHARACTERS.

PAEZ. — Paez, the commander in chief of the cavalry, is in stature somewhat below the middle size; muscular, and even brawny; his complexion is fair, and his countenance open, mild, and engaging: his usual dress is extremely plain, consisting of a dark blue jacket, a sabre, and a cocked hat with a silver rose or cockade.

He is self-taught, and sprang up all of a sudden, from nothing, during the revolution, before which he was scarcely heard of. When it broke out, he was soon found at the head of a numerous body, avowedly for the purpose of aiding the cause of the republic. His courage, intrepidity, repeated successes, and the number of his followers, speedily gained him a name. The quickness of his movements, the rapidity with which he pursued the flying enemy, the personal conflicts in which he had been engaged, and the conquests he had made, both collectively and individually, rendered him the admiration of his adherents and the dread of his enemies, into whom his very name struck terror, as they advanced to the plains and savannahs to encounter him. His followers, too, were all so many Paezes, looking up to their general as a superior being, to whose mandate upwards of 4000 brave men paid implicit obedience. On the parade, or in the field, Paez was their general and supreme. In the hours of rest from the fatigues of a long and rapid march, or from conquest over the enemy, and the retaliation rigidly executed, Paez would be seen dancing with his people, in the range formed for that purpose, smoking with them, drinking from the same cup, and lighting the fresh segar from the one in the mouth of his brother soldier.

On intelligence (for he kept his videttes on the alert, and never was surprised on his post,) of the approach of the enemy, the words "Come away, my brave boys!"

uttered in Spanish, were sufficient; in a few minutes all were ready, and, with this hero at their head, they were invincible; and it is asserted that Paez never lost a battle wherein he commanded, though under the orders of Bolivar he had been beaten.

General Paez is uncommonly active. He will, for amusement, as he did before some English officers, single out a wild bull from the herd of the cattle, and ride him down, pass his lance through, and thus slay him; or gallop up to the animal's rear, and grasping the tail firmly in his hand, twist it so suddenly and so strongly as to throw the beast on his side, when, if some of his followers do not come up at the moment to pierce him, he will, by a cut of his sabre, hamstring and leave him, until the arrival of his people puts the finishing stroke to life, and the flesh is prepared for cooking.

BOLIVAR.—The smallness of Bolivar's stature, and the meanness of his figure and physiognomy, would rather create contempt than respect; nor would he seem entitled to command obedience to his orders, if the fire of his eyes, in sudden gusts of passion, and moments of displeasure, did not tell you, that Bolivar himself knew and felt that he could not only threaten but execute vengeance. He possesses neither gratitude, honour, liberality, sympathy, nor humanity; yet he pretends that his heart and disposition are congenial to all those sentiments, and constantly act in unison.

Personal courage he is gifted with, even to a fault. He has, however, never yet achieved any action worthy of renown, or equal to the real intrepidity with which he is endowed; because reason, judgement, and even necessary discretion, have been wanting.

He has neither talent nor abilities for a general, and especially for a commander in chief. The numerous mistakes he has made throughout the whole of his campaigns for the last eight years, have nearly desolated the provinces, and annihilated the population. The repeated surprises he has experienced from the enemy, (already seven,) prove my assertion, and bear me out in declaring, that any of them would have disgraced a corporal's guard.

The final slaughter of the prisoners, after the battle or during the retreat, is completely acquiesced in by Bolivar, who has himself condescended to witness this scene of butchery and infamy: yet it must be admitted that Morillo more than keeps pace in the sanguinary system of warfare, the example of which was first set by the royalist troops, and became to the latest moment a measure of retaliation, and, without doubt, will continue so, until mutual ideas of humanity invest the minds of the contending parties.

Bolivar would willingly ape the great man. He aspires to be a second Buonaparte in South America, without possessing a single talent for the duties of the field or the cabinet. He would be king of New Granada and Venezuela, without genius to command, consequence to secure, or abilities to support the elevated station to which his ambition most assuredly aspires. In victory—in transient prosperity—he is a tyrant, and displays the feelings and littleness of an upstart. He

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gives way to sudden gusts of resentment, and becomes in a moment a madman, and, (pardon the expression,) a blackguard; throws himself into his hammock, (which is constantly slung for his use,) and utters curses and imprecations on all around him, of the most disgusting and diabolical nature. In defeat, in danger, in retreat, he is perplexed, and contemptible even to himself—weighed down by disasters, which he has neither skill nor strength of mind to encounter, to enlighten, or to remove. In this state he appeared to me at the retreat to and from San Fernando, when he looked the image of misery and despair.

MODE of CATCHING WILD ANIMALS in VENEZUELA.

[From the same.]

A DESCRIPTION of the mode of catching beeves may be interesting to the British reader. The numerous herds of black cattle which run wild in the interior are so completely in a state of nature, and so savage in disposition, that it is dangerous to approach them unarmed and on foot. The South American employed to catch them is attended by a companion, each mounted on horseback, with a coil of rope held in the right hand, having a running noose at one end, and the other either made fast to a ring under the cantle of the saddle, or fastened close to the dock of the horse's tail. Thus prepared, the pursuer rides up to the herd of cattle, and having singled out the animal he intends to take, he, in a most ready and dexterous manner, throws the noose of the rope over its head, and then turns his horse in the direction he wishes to go. The superior strength of the horse forces the bullock after him; yet if the man finds him vicious, and too untractable to follow, so lightly trammelled, he rides up to the nearest tree, and taking a circle round the trunk once or twice, draws the unwilling and savage beast close up to it. His assistant then comes up; and whilst the other, by a turn or two more, compels the head of the bullock to the foot of the tree, the second thrusts a piece of hard wood through the cartilage of the nose, to the ends of which he affixes a smaller piece of rope, and making a knot where it forms a triangle, by holding the ends together, ties the remaining part to the coil above the head; then undoing the coil from the trunk of the tree, proceeds with his horse the road he wishes to go. The beast is easily dragged along, smarting with pain, and nearly in a state of madness; and should it, which is very often the case, run at the horse, the rider makes a sudden turn, and with the jerk throws it on its side. It afterwards follows, roaring with pain, and furiously attacks either man or dog passing by within the limits of the coil.

TRANSACTIONS AT ANGOSTURA.

"Whilst residing at Angostura, I heard the particulars of its capture, and learned that it was taken by the independent gene-

ral, Piar; to whose exertions general Bolivar was indebted for the present possession of the whole province of Guyana. Piar, who was a black, a native of St. Domingo, and had come over from thence to join the patriot cause, had conquered the country and its capital, whilst Bolivar was a wanderer, and without an army to command. The position of Old Guyana (the key to the Orinoco), of which Bermudez had obtained possession, and the surrender of New Guyana, or Angostura, to Piar, completed the chain of good fortune on this part of the peninsula. Yet, when Bolivar arrived, it was suggested to him that Piar was influenced only for the success of the black natives, and their immediate descendants in colour, and that he wished to hold the territory for that cast alone. Bolivar gave him the form of a court-martial, by which he was tried, and condemned to be shot; and the sentence was carried into execution two months previous to our arrival. The chair on which the unfortunate general sat, when shot, is left as a memento for public inspection. The bones, too, of many of the unfortunate royalists who fell in the contest, and from starvation, remain still unburied, not only at one end of the cathedral, but in the wells at the upper part of the city near the fort, which are rendered nauseous and unwholesome by the putrid human carcases thrown into them at the time the city was besieged.

The ladies of Angostura are in general tolerably handsome; their figures airy, light, and rather elegant; their dresses are rich, and they have abundance of fine lace, of which they wear a profusion. They are, with very few exceptions, prodigal of their favours, and so fond of smoking segars, that the usual compliment of the morning, when they are visited, is to hand one. If an additional compliment is intended, the lady will light that which she means to offer, by putting the end in her own mouth, and inflaming it from the one she had herself been smoking. Another way still more affectionate presents itself. When the lady has given you a segar, she places her own in her mouth, and having by two or three good whiffs thoroughly lighted her own, the gentleman approaches, and placing the end of his segar on the blazing end of hers, they both whiff until each has a segar in full flame, when the parties separate with a smile and a bow, or sit and continue their chat.

VENEZUELA.

CAPTAIN Brown, late of the Venezuelan brigade of light artillery, has published an account of the expedition which sailed from England in 1817, to assist the Independents in the war against Morillo. The book is written in a desultory style, but it contains important information respecting the leaders of the Independents, and the severe disappointments and privations which fall

fall to the lot of the British auxiliaries. Suffering from ill health and disgusted with the treatment he had received, the author solicited his discharge, and a passport for the island of St. Thomas, which having with difficulty obtained, he returned to England in June last. We extract part of his account of the passage up the Orinoco, in which some interesting occurrences are detailed, and facts are stated which leave no doubt of the wretched state of the country, and of the difficulties the hostile parties, but particularly the foreign enemy, must experience in drawing from it any resources for the prosecution of the contest:

Our remaining small stock of bread and rum was on board the large boat, which we called the head-quarters; and it was agreed that we should halt at stated periods in order to take our frugal meals. Our portion of beef, which had been killed before distribution, we had on board our own boat; it was cut into long pieces about three pounds weight and a yard long, according to the custom of the Indians. Thus prepared, it is hung up in different parts of the boat, exposed to the sun, where it shortly putrifies, and in a few days becomes quite dry. Salt was an article at that time too valuable and scarce to be given to us. The first day we kept up with the larger boats, being favoured with a smart breeze, and went alongside the head-quarters to dinner, where we received a biscuit each, which was all we could expect until the next day; we were likewise advised to be careful, as there was remaining only sufficient for three days, and to make it last that time would require great economy. The soldiers received their whole allowance at the rate of a biscuit and a half per day, with a fair division of rum. In the same boat with me was an officer of Col. P—'s, who had the charge of the baggage of that corps, with a small detachment of men: his company was a source of great consolation, during a voyage of unprecedented suffering up that tremendous river; for from the time of our embarking on board the gunboats do I date the commencement of our hardships, which have occasioned the death of many, and considerably impaired my constitution. Unfortunately for us, the wind began to die away, and the other boats, from having a greater number of sweepers*, were now considerably before us, and towards evening we entirely lost sight of them; as we knew that they must halt during the night in case they had no wind, we hoped to come up with them by continuing to row to a late hour. Our efforts were unavailing; for they had got so far a-head since the wind fell, that there was now no hope of coming up with them. Our situation during the night was very unpleasant; for, it being impossible to bring up the boat in the rapidity of the stream, we were obliged to run her in among the

* A name given to the Indians, who, with a small paddle about four feet long, propel the boat. They hold this paddle perpendicularly in their hands, immersing it constantly in the water, on which it acts as an oar.

trees

trees and make her fast to them, while the rowers took their repose. For us to sleep was impossible, as we were pestered with millions of musquitoes, that prevented our opening either eyes or mouth, and stung us so severely through our apparel, that we we were almost maddened with torture. The Indians were greatly amused to observe the decided preference manifested by these venomous insects to Europeans and new-comers: but our distress was considerably increased, when the tigers and alligators gave us notice that they were at no great distance from us, the former animals roaring in the most dreadful manner in the woods, and the latter blowing and splashing round our boat, which was not higher than ten inches above the surface of the water. This was a situation so novel to all of us, that it excited in us the greatest apprehensions for our safety. The tiger of South America is rather small, but, if possible, more ferocious than the royal tiger; and if prompted by long fasting, will frequently attack the alligator when it meets it on shore, and the only means the latter has of escaping, is by making a precipitate retreat to its watery abode with its antagonist, who having once fastened on its throat or belly, (the only penetrable place,) will not let go its hold. Thus the tiger in turn becomes the prey of this terrible amphibious animal, who after a short struggle drowns him. The Indians, when alone in their canoes, are very much on their guard against the alligator, who will frequently attack a boat, on observing a probable advantage; and in order to secure its victim, will raise itself cautiously out of the water and place its fore-feet on the canoe, which is instantly overset, and the poor Indian quickly meets a most horrible death in the voracious jaws that are open to receive him.

"It may be supposed we could not pass a very agreeable night, from our momentary dread of being sprung upon by a tiger from the bank, or taken out of the boat on the other side by an alligator. Never was a reprieve more welcome to a poor wretch at the gallows, than the return of day to us; although we had the gloomy prospect still before us of being obliged to pass many more nights in the same situation, with the aggravation of suffering additional misery from our deficiency of provision, especially as there was no prospect of arriving at any Indian hut or village until it had been long expended. We now cast off our rope from the trees and set forward. This current is so rapid in some places that a man is obliged to swim on shore 20 or 30 times a day, and make his way along the side of the wood to the distance of 100 yards, in order to make fast a rope to some tree, which is immediately hauled in by those on board. The rapid torrent, so often met with during the day, is occasioned by the abrupt windings and creeks of the river, and by large rocks, raised flat and descending gradually to the water. On these places the alligators are generally seen basking in the sun, with their mouths wide open, until they are filled with all kinds of insects; the animal then lets fall its upper jaw, as instantaneously

stantaneously as one would shut the lid of a box. The alligators have the appearance of logs of wood, and have been often fatally mistaken; the general size is from eight to thirteen feet, the head and mouth being nearly a fourth of the length of the body. This day we finished the half biscuit we had left, and commenced upon the meat, which had now become much tainted and very offensive. I had a small carbine on board, and my companion a rifle, with which we amused ourselves by firing at the monkeys and parrots that were in great plenty in the trees, and as we were obliged to keep within a few yards of the shore to avoid the strength of the current, we always had a good mark; but not being provided with a small canoe, we could not secure our game. Even with a canoe it would have been very difficult to find them in the thick underwood into which they must drop.

This night was passed in circumstances equally disagreeable as on the former: and at the return of daylight we again continued our laborious voyage. We were not favoured by a breath of wind, and were therefore obliged to propel the boat by main strength; and this toil so exhausted the Indians, that we were often obliged to take their places for a few hours to let them sleep. They are the most lazy wretches imaginable, and, if not at last forced to resume their labour, would, rather than use any extraordinary exertion, leave the boat to the mercy of the torrent.

This day we experienced some dreadful tropical showers, which wet through every thing we had about us. In order to reserve one dry covering for the night, Lieutenant W—— and myself stood up in the boat with our backs to the rain, and holding a blanket folded up under our coats, wrapped ourselves up in the other, as well as the length of it would admit: this kept the water out for some time; but the rain continuing 6 hours, we were perfectly soaked through, and were obliged to have recourse to our last blanket, which was shortly in the same state as the other; yet we hoped that the shower would be over, and we could then dry them in the sun in an hour. To prevent getting wet is of the greatest consequence to an European on coming into hot climates, and a negligence of this precaution is generally attended with fatal consequences; as soon as the shower was over, the sun burst out again with the most scorching heat. We took this opportunity of drying our blankets, and got every thing right again for night. We halted two or three times during the day, at the bank or rocks, to dress our miserable victuals, which were now quite putrid. The manner in which we prepared this food was, first to wash it in the river, and having spitted a small piece on a stick, to roast or rather burn it in the fire; we again moistened the meat by dipping it at every mouthful in the water. How acceptable at this moment would have been the hardest crust, and a little salt to qualify this nauseous meal! Our prospect was now dreadful, for we had still 100 miles to the first Indian village, and if we had not more wind than at present, must undoubtedly

ly starve. It rained incessantly during the night; and the musquitoes being thus deprived of the free use of their wings, swarmed from the wood and got under our blankets, where they tortured us to that degree, that our hands were constantly enployed in taking them from off our eyes and faces, where they most annoyed us. During our voyage the next day we were overjoyed at discovering a small canoe coming towards us, which was recognised by the Indian captain of our boat to belong to the Commodore, or largest gun-boat, on board of which was my colonel; the canoe had only one Indian to guide it, and he brought a slip of paper directed to me from Col. G—— stating that he was the bearer of a bottle of rum, 3 biscuits, and a small piece of salt meat, which was what had been saved as the share of Lieut. W—— and myself; and the Indian informed us, that they were now in a most miserable state on board the other boats.

This supply, though small, was joyfully received by us; and we determined to be very sparing of our three biscuits, dividing one of them into four parts and making it serve us both a day.

I will pass over many days of severe suffering that we sustained, from the oppressive heat of the sun by day, the continual rains during the night, and the necessity of subsisting on the most disgusting meat, which was now completely alive from putrefaction, and from which even the Indians turned with disgust. Suffice it to say, we arrived at an Indian village, named Sanchapa, in the morning of the eighth day from the time we had left the *Spartan*. We were here reinforced by two large boats, on board one of which was Commodore Dias, a Creole Spaniard, who commanded the whole of the Patriot gunboats; he gave us the intelligence that the troops had stayed at Sanchapa during the night, and were now only a few miles in advance of us, and that he had been anxiously waiting our coming to hasten us on; for it was expected that eight of the royalist gunboats were lying in ambush for us, as on the preceding day a schooner, laden with mules from Angostura, had been boarded by them and made a prize.

The people in these two boats presented, if possible, a more savage and fantastic appearance than those of our own. They were of both sexes, entirely naked, their bodies and long straight hair were daubed all over with red ochre, their arms and legs were bound round with string made of the fibres of the cocoa-tree, and plaited in a variety of figures. This is done while in their infancy, and occasions their limbs to swell above the bandage, which produces a very singular appearance. Sanchapa is a small village, built with rough branches of trees, and covered with the plaintain and cocoa-leaf; it contains about 200 inhabitants, most of whom use this red ochre. They are a set of timid and cowardly people; their chief support is fish and beef, which they kill in the plains, where the cattle run wild; they also hunt the tiger for the sake of its skin, which during the time they were under the royalist government, they disposed of to the merchants that traded

traded up the Orinoco. They are armed with long bows and arrows, which they make and use very skilfully.

We here received a fresh supply of beef, though not sufficient to last us to the next town, for we were again deceived as to the distance; and we were assured that a further supply would be sent to meet us before we had been two days out.

We then commenced our voyage, and shortly came within sight of the other boats; and, as we hourly expected to meet with the enemy, we prepared for action, and cleared away our small gun. Our force at this time consisted of six boats; the two that had been despatched for the troops on board the *Favourite*, joining the rest at Sanchapa, at which place the river branches off in two directions.

As we had now a favourable wind, we were enabled to keep within a mile of the rest during the whole of this day; but towards night we lost sight of them, and again ran in among the trees to await the return of day-light.

In the morning we cast off our rope and continued our course, yet, under great apprehensions of encountering the enemy's boats in a situation where we could have no hopes of escaping.

At the expiration of four days we arrived at an island situate in the Orinoco, named Tortola, after enduring many hardships from the incessant and dreadful rain, and from want of nourishment; as the small quantity of provision we had from Sanchapa became so bad and offensive, after being exposed to the sun and rain 24 hours, that it was with the greatest loathing we ate of this carrion food, to mollify the cravings of nature.

Tortola is a delightful and romantic place, and is at present inhabited by Indians, and a few Creoles, whose huts extend for two miles along the banks at the distance of 50 or 60 yards from each other.

Angustura, and the fortress of Old Guyana, now chiefly depend on this place for their scanty supplies of plantains, cassava*, and papillon, or sugar; this is the only spot for many hundred miles up the Orinoco where they continue to cultivate the earth during the time of a cruel and exterminating warfare, and forward their produce in small canoes some hundred miles up the river. Our Indians received a small quantity of sugar-cane from the natives, of which they proffered us a part, that proved very refreshing and delicious after our disgusting diet: but we could not prevail upon the people to let us have a quantity of it in exchange for some of our apparel. I suppose their refusal was in consequence of their obligation to send certain supplies to the above-mentioned places.

We had left Tortola two days ere we arrived at Old Guyana, where we found that the rest of the boats had arrived

* This root when dug up is of the most poisonous and malignant nature; but after it has been well washed, and has undergone some other preparations known to the natives, it is scraped through a grater, and the powder, placed damp on a hot iron slab, is afterwards exposed to the sun. This they prefer to bread; but to Europeans it has but a dry and unsavoury taste.

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the preceding day. At this place we disembarked, for the purpose of resting ourselves on shore one night. We received in addition to our beef, a small quantity of cassava, sufficient for two days, and were to re-embark the next morning for Angostura. The fortress of Old Guyana is situated on the banks of the Orinoco, more than 300 miles from La Boca de los Narvios, or Grand Mouth. The town contains about 200 tolerable houses, and the rest are miserable huts scattered about the rocks. The inhabitants were then in a most deplorable state, starving and perishing for want. Two-thirds of them are Indians, and the remainder Creoles; they have a house in the square where the priest celebrates mass. These ecclesiastics have the greatest dominion over the people, and in the missions govern them entirely; though in the province of Guyana very few now remain, as they were indiscriminately massacred, wherever found, by the Patriots.

There are two forts above the town, which command two branches of the Orinoco: yet their situation is not the best, as they are capable of being annoyed greatly by a small yet very high island, in the middle of the river, about three quarters of a mile distant. The principal fort is built of stone, and can only be entered by a long ladder that is lowered from the wall for that purpose. It mounts six heavy guns, and is of such importance to the Patriots, that they have generally 200 of their regular troops stationed at this place. The other is built of brick and earth, and mounts 8 guns, but is in no respect so fine a fort as the former; the entrance to it is also by a ladder. This place was taken by admiral Brion, in conjunction with the land troops under general Bermudas, and is the strongest fort belonging to the Patriots in the province of Guyana; it is the key from the colonies to Santo Tome, or Angostura, and all vessels coming up the river are obliged to anchor a certain time within gun-shot of it, in order to be examined.

The troops that we found here presented the most miserable appearance, the greater part of the privates being not more than 13 or 14 years of age, and tottering under the weight of their muskets; they were principally blacks, some of them wearing an uniform, and others having only a piece of linen round the loins. They had obtained these uniforms from the military stores brought by the brig *Hunter*, from England. The motto on their caps, *vencor o morir*, did not seem well calculated for such a wretched-looking set of beings.

Colonel Gillmore, in company with admiral Brion, whom we found here on our arrival, and who had been here some days, departed for Angostura the same morning, in a gun-boat fitted up for them; the best provisions, &c. that could be procured being put on board, which, with what the admiral had brought from the *Victoria*, would enable them to live very well.

I was now left in command of the artillery establishment, with orders to place myself under the direction of colonel P——, until my arrival at Angostura: and different arrangements were made for us on board the boats.

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At this place we buried one of our artillery-men, who died on the same day he landed from the baggage-boat, in consequence of the severe hardships he had endured with us, the sun having affected his brain and produced a raging fever, which carried him off in a few hours.

The next morning we embarked in the following order:—Colonel P——, with part of his officers and men, in one boat; myself, lieut. C——, with five of the rifle officers, and a party of men, in the second or former baggage-boat; the remainder of the men and officers on board the third and fourth. We were agreeably surprised, on embarking, to find a small space in the stern of the boat covered with an awning of bullock's-hide, which would in some measure protect us from the sun and rain; but we soon found that this, instead of meliorating our situation, considerably increased our distresses; for it was there we were obliged to lay our meat, which in two days became putrid and alive. The vermin, together with that which adhered to the ox's hide (put in the boat as soon as stript off the body of the animal), were every minute falling amongst us, and rendered our present situation equally bad with the former. We arrived in three days at San Miguel's, which is situated about two miles from the banks of the river; and as we expected to get a supply of beef to last us to Angostura at this place, I, in company with several officers, went on shore to see the village. It is delightfully situated upon a very high eminence, and has a large square, in which is a very fine building, formerly a monastery, and now occupied by the governor of these missions: there is a fine chapel or church built of wood, connected with the monastery, which I with difficulty procured permission to see. It is supported by two rows of lofty yet slender pillars, painted with a variety of colours, intermixed and winding upwards in a spiral direction. There are a few pictures remaining on the walls, and some gilt ornaments on the altar, which have escaped the hands of the plunderer, most probably because they were deemed not likely to repay the trouble of carrying them away. The houses are built opposite the church in a very regular and pleasing order, and have an air of great neatness. There are three ranges, from the outside of which the spectator can see in a direct line through at least 20 houses, the doors being merely openings in the wall at each side, exactly in a line with each other. The appearance within does not correspond with that of the exterior; for the families that reside in them are a most filthy set of people. The chief employment of the women and old men is to make hammocks of the bark and fibres of the cocoa-tree, which when finished resemble a fishing-net. They never walk to any great distance without one of these at their backs: when tired, they sling it to the branches of the first convenient tree, for the purpose of taking their rest. They likewise in time of peace salt a great deal of *tasajo*, or beef, cut up in the manner I have already described, which they export, together with hides, to the colonies and United States.

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I was greatly surprised at not meeting with any men in their houses, but learnt that they repair into the plains during the day to catch the cattle, which they effect by means of a long rope of green hide, coiled up and fastened by one end to the horse. The other end, which is formed into a noose, they throw with amazing dexterity and precision over the head or horns of the animal to be caught, and drawing it tight, gallop off immediately with their prize.

At this place we gathered a few green oranges, which we boiled on shore with our meat. This dish, though very bad, was some change, and we mixed a little of the juice with water, which made an agreeable beverage; but of which we, in our weak state, were afraid to drink much. We received our supply of meat, and the next morning continued our voyage. The scenery now gradually opened a pleasing prospect to us, who had hitherto seen nothing but thick woods on either hand. The beautiful and diversified features of the landscape that now presented itself, appeared like a multitude of cities and castles scattered in every direction, with numberless lakes intersecting the neighbouring mountains.

This part of the voyage, in any other circumstances and in the dry season, would have been most delightful; but our condition on board these boats was so miserable, that all sensation of pleasure in contemplating the surrounding beauties was dead within us.

Towards the close of the sixth evening from leaving San Miguel's, we were within a few miles of Angostura, and met with a boat that had brought us a live ox and a bottle of rum, by the direction of colonel Gillmore, who had arrived at the head-quarters. Although we had not eaten any thing that day, we were still unwilling to have the beast killed, as we were aware, that while the Indians had any thing to eat, we could not expect to get on any further: therefore, against our own feelings, we prevented them from stopping to cook the meat, until they should have rowed to a late hour. It was on this condition that we permitted the ox to be killed.

The next day in the afternoon we arrived at the end of our voyage, and with great satisfaction set our feet on shore.

We now left the boats; and after seeing my detachment settled in their quarters, which was a large ruined house, I repaired to my colonel, and found him in possession of a good house, situated close to the banks of the Orinoco.

He, seeing that lieutenant C— and myself were unable to use any further exertion that day, kindly invited us to remain with him until we should have rested ourselves a day or two. We were given to understand that our situation here would not be much bettered, excepting that we should have a house to shelter us during the night: but as for rations, we were to receive nothing but beef.

Santo Tome, or Angostura, is built on the left bank of the Orinoco, as you approach it from the Grand Mouth. There is a fine

fine row of houses built of stone in the Spanish style, extending along a bank which is considerably elevated above the water. The most striking building in this range is admiral Brion's house, and that of the then adjutant-general, Soublette, a native of Caraccas. Leaving this house, in a direct line from the water, you cross over the principal street, and still continuing the same direction, enter the square, where the principal buildings that deserve attention are the palace of the supreme chief, general Bolivar, which is always guarded by a strong detachment of men. There is a large square brick building which incloses a great space of ground at the extremity of the square opposite the palace, which was intended for a church; but owing to the continual warfare that has disturbed this province, it has been left in its present unfinished state. Near it is the prison, where are confined about 300 royalist prisoners who are condemned to slavery. These poor wretches are destitute of all covering, except a piece of sackcloth round their middle; and in this manner exposed to the burning sun, they perform the most laborious work. They have a heavy chain on one foot, and are constantly attended by a still more wretched guard, who upon every trivial occasion embitter their misery by the most wanton cruelty. As I had often occasion to go on duty into this prison, I had opportunities of frequently observing the punishment inflicted on these men. In the yard are various machines for the purpose: one of these is particularly horrible in this climate, being an immense piece of timber divided into two, in the manner of stocks, with a great number of holes: the upper part is lifted up by five or six men, and the unfortunate man is placed with his neck in one of the holes; his feet are then put into corresponding ones, and in this manner he is suspended horizontally, sometimes for 48 hours, without nourishment, and suffering the most excruciating torture from the dreadful heat, his head being close to this immense timber frame, and without a possibility of turning it one way or other. The only remaining building worthy of notice in this square is that where the priest celebrates mass; it has formerly been a convent; the greater part of it is now laid out for the residence of the native officers of high rank, the priests reserving apartments for themselves, and a long room with an organ in it, where they perform their holy functions. From this square there are two streets, at the back of Bolivar's house, parallel to each other, which lead up to the magazine, and to the gates that open into the country. At this place a few temporary works were thrown up by the Spaniards, and a platform was raised in the space of a night, 30 feet from the ground, capable of containing 200 infantry. It has the appearance of an observatory, and a breastwork of plank is raised on the top, of sufficient strength to resist a musket ball. The ascent is by a step ladder; and from this place there is a most charming view: the Orinoco is seen winding in different directions for miles, and sometimes a few gun-boats and canoes are observed paddling towards

the city, which add much interest to the scene. On turning towards the interior, the spectator beholds boundless plains, and here and there the ruins of batteries and religious houses, with a few Indian huts and orange groves.

In this square, close against the gate, was a chair, in which general Paer was shot; and as an account of this event may not prove uninteresting, I shall briefly relate the principal particulars.

This general was a mulatto, and second in command in the Patriot army: he was considered the most clever officer in the Independent cause, but was not without his enemies; he was accused of treason, and a plot of endeavouring to raise the mulattos and Indians in his favour, for the purpose of massacring all the whites, and usurping the supreme command. How far this may be true I am not able to determine; but he was tried at Angostura by the chief generals and admiral Brion, and condemned to suffer death. He was the bosom-friend of Bolivar, who with the most agonizing feelings was compelled to sign his death-warrant. On being conducted to the place of execution, he passed the palace of the supreme chief, who was standing at the window to take a last look at his friend: the mournful procession so affected Bolivar's feelings that he hastily turned away, and, with an apparent emotion, audibly exclaimed, 'Adieu, my poor friend!'

General Paer was then led to the gates, where he with great firmness of mind took his seat in the fatal chair, and, uncovering his breast, waved his hand as a signal to the soldiers, who lodged seven balls in different parts of his body, two of them passing through his stomach into the wall behind him. This general was a brave man, a good officer, and universally beloved by the Independent troops; and his death, which took place a short time previous to our arrival, was an irreparable loss to the Patriot cause.

Two days after we had arrived, lieutenant C—— and myself were introduced by our colonel to general Bolivar, who received us very graciously, and, taking each by the hand, expressed his pleasure at our joining the standard of liberty. Bolivar is of the middle stature, and of a commanding figure; his countenance is sallow, and strongly marked with anxiety: his eyes are uncommonly penetrating. He is of a noble family, and was one of the richest men in the Caraccas.

He received his education in Europe, over the greater part of which he has travelled; and is altogether an accomplished man. He is versed in several languages, including the English, though he never makes a practice of speaking the latter, as he would be continually troubled by officers, who, when they have not a knowledge of the Spanish tongue, cannot prefer their complaints.

Sketch of Canada.

THE name of Canada was originally applied by Europeans to all the land on the south-west shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and on both sides of that river from its mouth to some distance above Quebec. The river St. Lawrence itself was called "La Grande Riviere de Canada." The name was afterwards extended to all the countries which were explored by adventurers from the settlements along the river. The whole of the French possessions in North America were latterly comprehended under the name of New France. Canada, as it is understood at the present day, is bounded to the east by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and country on the Labrador coast, annexed in 1809 to the government of Newfoundland; to the north by the territory of the Hudson's Bay company; to the west by undefined boundaries, but which may be supposed to extend (by virtue of occupation by the fur traders, and the discoveries of M'Kenzie,) to the Pacific Ocean; to the south it is bounded by unexplored countries, and the United States of America, viz. the north-west territory, the Michigan territory, the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, the district of Maine, and by the British province of New Brunswick. The division line on the south, from the Grande Portage on Lake Superior, runs through the great lakes, and down the St. Lawrence to latitude 45, and thence along that line to the Connecticut river; from thence it follows the highlands which separate the waters running into the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, until it reaches due north of the St. Croix river, the boundary between the United States and New Brunswick.

British and American commissioners are now employed, ascertaining the correctness of this boundary line, and on their decision much will depend, in the event of a rupture with the United States. The whole of this extent of country, as far as it was then explored, was from 1774 to 1791 under the government of the province of Quebec. It was then divided into Upper and Lower Canada, by a boundary line, commencing at Pointe au Bodet, on Lake St. Francis, about 55 miles above Montreal; and running in a northerly direction to the Ottawa river, and up that river to its source on Lake Zomiscaming, and then due north to the Hudson's Bay boundary. Lower Canada lies between the 45th and 50th degrees of north latitude, and the 62d and 82d degrees of west longitude from Greenwich. The eastern half of the country is mountainous, and generally uncultivable. On the south shore of the St. Lawrence, the mountains do not recede considerably from the river, till within about 60 miles below Quebec; they then run in a south-westerly and southern direction, until they reach Lake

Champlain. On the western side of this lake they extend north-westerly in the direction of the Great Rapids of the St. Lawrence. On the north shore they can hardly be said to leave the river, till they leave Quebec, from which they extend in a western and southern direction, till they again appear in sight of the mountains on the south shore, towards the above Rapids.

The country lying within these mountains, comprising an extent of above 200 miles from east to west, and 180 from north to south, at the broadest part, is level, with the exception of the isolated mountains of Montreal, Beliel, and Chambley. Nearly in the middle of this tract of land flows the St. Lawrence, varying from a mile to upwards of 20 miles in width; navigable for vessels of 300 tons, 600 miles from the sea, and receiving on the north the waters of the Ottawa, L'Achigan, the St. Maurice, the Batiscan, the St. Anna, and the Jacques Cartier; and on the south the Chambley, the Ganaska, the St. Francis, the Nicolet, the Besancour and the Chaudiere; all of which in Europe would be ranked as rivers of great magnitude. The sources of all these, excepting the Ottawa and Chambley, lie considerably to the east of their embouchures. They have generally high banks, along which the soil, and growth of timber, are inferior to that of the country further back. All of them, excepting where they are nearly on a level with the St. Lawrence, have a second bank, at some distance from that which now contains their waters: the same thing is observable of the St. Lawrence. The waters of none of these rivers are clear, excepting the Saint Lawrence itself, which, before its junction with the Ottawa, consists of the most transparent water in the world. The soil on both sides of the St. Lawrence, in the western portion of the tract of country above described, is, for the most part, clayey without stones, excepting here and there globular masses of granite lying on the surface: nearly already it is invariably covered with a dark mould, produced by dissolved vegetable substances. As you approach the mountains, the soil is more light, and loamy; these lands are the easiest to be cleared, and are at first very productive. Towards Quebec the soil is poorer, frequently stony, and shingley, and there are large tracts of sandy soil covered with only a very slight coating of vegetable mould: the mountains generally consist of granite, though there are, throughout the country, extensive strata of limestone, and not unfrequently stones having the appearance of volcanic production. The part of the country in cultivation consists of from one to five leagues back, on both banks of the St. Lawrence, and of the rivers which empty into it; there are also settlements along the boundary of the United States from the Connecticut river to the St. Lawrence, at St. Regis. On the Ottawa there is a settlement of naval and military men, who, since the last war with America, have taken up grants of land, and are rapidly settling and improving as fine and fertile a tract of country as any in the world: they have

have the advantage of a good water conveyance to Montreal, and have an immense barrier of impenetrable woods between them and the United States. The rest of the country to the very tops of the mountains is covered with timber of a species and growth congenial to the soil. The climate of Canada resembles that of the countries of the continent of Europe situate from 10 to 15 degrees further north. The temperature, upon Fahrenheit's scale, varies at present from 30 below zero, and the heat from 80 to 90. About 60 or 70 years ago the extreme of cold used to be stated at 30 degrees below freezing of Reaumur, or 36 below 0 of Fahrenheit. The variation in a few minutes in the winter season has been known to be upwards of 50 degrees: it is frequently in a few hours 30. A remarkable instance of variation happened on the 18th of January 1810, when the thermometer stood a few degrees below temperate, and was almost immediately down below zero. The change of climate in summer is sometimes very abrupt, and is generally accompanied by a change of wind, only two of which can be said to prevail in the country, easterly and westerly. Small storms of easterly wind, and almost at every other time the upper strata of clouds when visible are moved by a westerly wind. In the winter the easterly wind inclines more to the north-east, and the westerly to the north-west. Throughout the whole extent of Lower Canada a slight degree of frost sometimes happens in the summer months. There is a material difference of temperature between the eastern and western divisions of the country, which is discernible at about 20 and 30 leagues above Quebec; beyond that to the eastward, agricultural labour may be prosecuted, and vegetation is active during seven months in the year; round Quebec it is rarely for more than six, at the expiration of which the soil is frozen, or covered with snow, and vegetation dormant. The period for the western division is from the 15th of November to the 15th of April; for the eastern, from the 1st of November to the 1st of May.

About a month after the renewal of vegetation, the apple-trees are in blossom, and the verdure of the wheat-fields waving in the wind. All sorts of grain are sown in the spring, the wheat first, and then peas and oats; the sort of wheat generally sown is ripe in four months from the time of sowing: there is, however, another species, a bearded wheat, which ripens in four months, the time oats require. Fair and foul weather were formerly more distinct than they are at present; cold and warm weather less intermixed, and the winds less variable: this alteration is not considered in Canada as an improvement of the climate. All the vegetable productions which thrive in Europe (in the same latitudes) prosper in Canada, wherever they have been introduced and cultivated with judgement and care.

The excess of heat in summer makes up for the loss of time in winter. Melons are brought to maturity in the open air, without the aid of superficial heat. Wheat is the chief agricultural production of Lower Canada; it affords the principal vegetable food of its

inhabitants: hitherto it has been cultivated more in that view than as an article of foreign trade. The many accidents to which this grain is liable, require that a quantity sufficient to afford a supply in the event of a bad year be sown every year. When a good year happens, there is then a great surplus; and it is of the production of such years that the most extensive exportations have been made. There is besides no certainty of an extensive foreign demand; Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies are the most steady markets: the natural disadvantages Canada labours under prevent her standing in competition in these markets with the United States. It must be observed, however, that the quantity of wheat sown by each farmer is generally to the extent of his present means. These can only be increased by more enlarged views, which would lead to greater efforts, and judicious improvements in his system of cultivation. In 1802 the quantity of wheat exported amounted to 1,010,038 bushels: there were besides exported that year 28,901 barrels of flour, and 22,051 cwt. of biscuit. An estimate of the value of the exportation from the St. Lawrence, in 1810, has been made by mercantile men, and amounts to 1,200,000*l.* sterling, including disbursements of ships employed in the trade, the number of which was 661, 6,578 men, and 149,833 tons, and also the value of 5,896 tons of new ships built in the province. A considerable portion of the produce of the United States, and all the furs obtained in the Indian countries, are, however, included in the general amount.

The population of Canada, at the time of the conquest, was about 60,000 souls, including the whole of the settlements to Detroit. In 1811, the population of Lower Canada only was estimated at 400,000, about 7-8ths of which are of French descent, and profess the Roman catholic religion; the other eighth is composed of English, Irish, Scots, Germans, Americans, and their descendants: of these *the Americans* are now the most numerous: the next the Scotch; until recently the latter have carried on all the exterior trade of Canada; they now divide it with the Irish, English, and Americans: instances are rare of the French descendants, who are almost exclusively called Canadians in the country, being engaged in the external trade, but they share largely in the internal and retail. There are as yet no manufactories of any note in Canada: those of leather hats and paper are, however, now introduced, and the clothing of the farmers is, in general, made in their own families. The landholders in Lower Canada are mostly Canadians, or of Canadian extraction; very few of them hold upon lease: they are the owners of the soil, subject to an inconsiderable annual rent to the seigneur, or person holding immediately from the crown, and a fine of a twelfth on a change of proprietor, by sale, or act equivalent to a sale; one-fourth of which twelfth is usually deducted upon steady payment. The other conditions are by no means burdensome; they consist chiefly in having their corn ground at the seigneurial mill, paying one-fourteenth for grinding, and in making and

and repairing the high-ways passing through their lands, and assisting in the by-roads necessary for the use thereof. Lands held by Roman catholics are likewise subject to a tithe of a 26th part of all grain for the use of the curate, and to assessments for the building and repair of churches and parsonage houses. The trades-people principally consist of Canadians, and British settlers since the conquest, and their descendants; the mass of the population of the lower province may, however, be said to be agriculturists. There is not a happier people in the world: their labour affords them the necessaries of life, no part of it is taken from them but what they consider to be for their own use. Amongst them, ambition and vanity rarely create unreal wants; neither does envy sour real enjoyments. In the ordinary state of human happiness, they are cheerful and lively; and to evils beyond their control they submit with resignation. Strongly attached to their religion, their country, laws, customs, and manners, they are utterly averse to all innovations. They partake of the French character; something in the same manner the New Englanders partake of that of Englishmen; both have been modified by circumstances, and now differ from their origin. Where there is plenty of land to cultivate, the man who lives by labour depends only on the Almighty and himself. In America the independent spirit of Englishmen frequently degenerates to licentious coarseness, and the servility of Frenchmen disappears. The Canadian peasant acknowledges superiors; to them he is respectful, but he expects a corresponding attention in return; an omission in this respect is not easily forgiven. To his equals he is polite and obliging; inferiors he knows of none: what he possesses he owes to his labour, and every well-disposed person enjoys the same means. If one of them serve the other, he is one of the family.

The Canadian farmer is social to a vice: much of his time is sacrificed to this quality. In his person he is of the middle size, firmly made, and active: there are no people capable of bearing greater fatigue and privation; in these, the Canadian is singularly supported by the gaiety of his disposition; his mind is unimproved, his ideas confined, but his capacity excellent; in worldly concerns he reasons and acts only from his own experience, his feelings, or some long received maxims. He is extremely distrustful of what he reads or hears, particularly when it does not come from one of his own class. In spiritual concerns he is guided entirely by his curate, who, if he wishes to stand well with him, must meddle with nothing else.

The sovereign legislative authority of the Canadas is in his majesty and the two houses of parliament; this authority is again limited by the capitulations and its own acts, the most remarkable of which is the act 18th Geo. III., which declares that no taxes shall be imposed on the colonies but for the regulation of trade; and that the proceeds of such taxes shall be applied to, and for the use of, the province, in such manner as shall be directed by any law or laws which may be made

by his majesty, his heirs or successors, by and with the advice and consent of the legislative council, and assembly of the province. The provincial legislature erected by the aforesaid act of 31 Geo. III. (in the year 1791) consists of his majesty, acting by the governor, or person administrating the government for his majesty; of a legislative council of not less than 15 members, appointed by his majesty for life under some exceptions; of a house of assembly of not less than 50 members elected for four years by his majesty's subjects resident within the province, and possessed for their own use and benefit in the country of real property of the annual value of 40*s.* sterling, in the towns of the yearly value of 5*l.*, or paying rent to the amount of 10*l.*: it is empowered to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government of the province, such laws not being repugnant with the above act. The governor in his majesty's name assembles, prorogues, and dissolves the two houses; but they must be called together once in every 12 calendar months. All questions arising in either of the two houses are decided by a majority of members present. The governor gives, withholds, and reserves for the further signification of his majesty's pleasure, the royal sanction to all bills proposed by the two houses; laws assented to by the governor may be disallowed by his majesty within two years. His majesty cannot assent to any act or acts affecting the employment of the dues of the clergy of the church of Rome, or affecting the establishment of the church of England, or the provisions made for the same, or the exercise or enjoyment of any religious form of worship; or creating penalties, burdens, disabilities, or disqualifications on that account; or granting, or imposing any new duties in favour of any minister of any particular form of worship; or affecting the prerogative touching the granting of the waste lands of the crown, without such acts having been thirty days before both houses of the British parliament, and neither of the houses having addressed his majesty not to sanction the same. The laws in force are, 1st the acts of the British parliaments which extend to the colonies; 2d, capitulations and treaties; 3d, the laws and customs of Canada, founded principally on the customs of Paris, the edicts of the French kings and their colonial authorities, and the Roman civil law; 4th, the criminal law of England, as it stood in 1774, and as explained by subsequent explanatory statutes; 5th, the ordinances of the governor and council, established by the act of that year; and, 6th, the acts of the provincial legislature since 1793. These laws are executed in his majesty's name, and in virtue of his commission and instructions by the governor, or person administering the government, by the means of a number of inferior officers, all of whom (with a few exceptions) he appoints during pleasure.

The governor likewise possesses all those powers and prerogatives which his majesty may legally enjoy, and delegate to him. The judiciary consists of a chief-justice of the province, and three puisne justices for the district of Quebec;

Quebec; a chief-justice and three puisne judges for Montreal; a provincial judge for the Three Rivers, and one for Gaspar. The police is administered by justices of the peace. J. M.

SKETCH of the UNITED STATES.

STEAM NAVIGATION,—WESTERN COMMERCE.—FUTURE POPULATION of the UNITED STATES.

THE following steam-boats are now in operation on the river Mississippi, and its tributary streams:—

	Tons.
Vesuvius	390
Etna	390
Buffalo	300
James Monroe	90
Washington	400
Constitution	75
Harriot	40
Kentucky	80
Governor Shelby	120
Madison	200
Ohio	443
Napoleon	332
Volcano	250
General Jackson	200
Eagle	70
Hecla	70
Henderson	85
Johnston	80
Cincinnati	120
Exchange	200
Louisiana	54
James Ross	320
Frankfort	320
Tamerlane	320
Cedar Branch	250
Experiment	40
St. Louis	220
Vesta	100
Rifleman	250
Alabama	200
Rising States	150
General Pike	250
Independence	300
Paragon	400
Maysville	150
	7,259

There are now building the following steam-boats:—

2 at Pittsburgh, of 180 tons	360
2 at Wheeling, 500 and 100	600
2 at Steubinville	90
1 at Marietta	130
1 at Maysville	110
2 at Cincinnati	720
2 at ditto, 115 and 250	365
2 at Newport	500
1 at Jeffersonville	700
1 at Portland (Kentucky)	300
3 at New Albany, 220 each	660
4 at Clarksville	500
1 at Salt River	160
1 at Vevay	110
1 at Madison	120
1 at Rising Sun	90
1 on the Wabash	80
2 at New Orleans, 200 each	400
Tons	13,257

It appears there have been lost, by accidents of different kinds, the following steam-boats:—The Orleans, 400 tons; Comet, 15; Enterprise, 45; Despatch, 25; Franklin, 125; Pike, 25; New Orleans, 300.

The

The importance of steam navigation is now universally admitted; but in the United States of America it is of much greater value than in any other part of the world. Prior to this invention, several eminent European writers, and among them some profound philosophers, were of opinion that the immense tract of territory lying to the west of the Allegany mountains were destined to remain for ages in a state of barbarism, or to be very partially cultivated, in consequence, as they supposed, of insuperable difficulties to an intercourse with the States bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. These difficulties have vanished since the discovery of steam-navigation. By a recent geographical survey, we find, that all the great rivers of the United States may be connected with facility by a few canals. Of these works, the highest in importance is the great canal now cutting in the state of New York, from the Hudson river to the Western lakes. When this stupendous undertaking is finished (in about 7 years) a steam-boat may ascend from the city of New York to the Lakes, pass through those vast interior seas, enter the Misissippi, and, after performing an internal navigation of several thousand miles, descend into the Gulf of Mexico.

The vast tract of fertile lands adjacent to the lakes, and the immense space of territory through which the mighty Misissippi and Missouri roll their waters, are destined, ere long, to become the abode of millions of human beings. Forty-eight years ago, the foot of civilized man had never trod those regions which now constitute the States of Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, Tenessee, and Indiana. Those new States now contain more than 1,600,000 inhabitants; and towns and villages, agriculture and commerce, have sprung up as if by the power of magic, and spread with a rapidity through those forests, that has no parallel in any part of the earth.

The beautiful region of Louisiana, under the dominion of Spain, far from yielding any revenue, cost the Spanish government many hundred thousand dollars per annum, which were sent from Mexico merely to retain the Spanish sovereignty over this province. Its inhabitants were sunk in apathy; commerce was almost unknown to them; and the population was so inconsiderable, that the whole country presented only the features of a wilderness. Look at what it has become in the short space of sixteen years under the government of the United States. Look at what it is likely to become at the close of the present century, when all the immense territory lying on the waters which discharge themselves into the Misissippi shall become thickly settled. The city of New Orleans appears destined to become the greatest emporium of trade in the western world.

The distance from New Orleans on the Misissippi, to Pittsburgh on the river Ohio, is above 2,600 miles. Prior to the use of steam navigation it required 6 months to perform that voyage. A steam-boat may now perform that distance in from 22 to 25 days. The river Misissippi is navigable to the falls of St. Anthony, distant from New Orleans about 2250 miles; and even above the falls, boats

boats of a smaller burden may be navigated to within a few leagues of the great western lakes. The river Missouri forms a confluence with the Mississippi at the town of St. Louis, distance about 1,800 miles from the ocean. The Missouri is navigable for boats of large burden more than 2,800 miles. The innumerable streams that have their origin in New Mexico, and which have their only debouchée into the Missouri, are many of them of greater magnitude than the largest in Europe.

The immense mass of waters is conveyed by the Mississippi and its branches to the Gulf of Mexico. What a vast internal commerce must result from this extended internal navigation! When we reflect that the population of the United States is rapidly rolling to the south and to the west, over regions blessed with a benign climate, and a soil far more fertile than the country bordering on the Atlantic, we may, without the gift of prophecy, foresee that the States to the south and west will become by far the most populous parts of the republic.

A military expedition, sent by the American government, is at this time ascending the river Missouri in steam-boats, for the purpose of establishing military posts at the sources of the Missouri (at the foot of the Rocky Mountains or Northern Andes). By making a good turnpike-road of a few leagues across those mountains, we open a route to the river Columbia, which descends to the Pacific Ocean. At the mouth of this river, the United States have a settlement as yet in its infancy; but there has recently gone there a great number of artisans and agriculturists, and in a very few years that settlement will become the great emporium of commerce for all California and the north-west coast of America. It will become the great depôt of the fur trade.

A new communication with Asia will thus be established; and in less than 10 years from this date we shall see the productions of China and the eastern world brought to the mouth of Columbia river, carried up that river in steam-boats, taken over the rocky mountains to the river Missouri, and by the latter circulated over the western territories.

These views of the growing importance of the American republic may not be agreeable to a certain class of society in the Old World. They may displease certain statesmen and politicians who have been in the habit of proposing chimerical plans to cripple the strides of the republic; and they certainly will not please many of the travellers who have recently published their superficial and illiberal statements of that country; but the few plain facts contained in this paper may, perhaps, yield some pleasure to the philanthropist of every nation. He will perceive in the forests of the west, an asylum for that portion of European society which is at present immersed in a state of ignorance, wretchedness, and discontent, that appear to menace the existence of the civil institutions of Europe.

One of the great objects of the writers before mentioned is to stop the tide of emigration to the United States; but unfortunately for them, it appears that the more they write against it, the stronger

is

is the desire among the people of Europe to visit the western world. All the gloomy pictures that have been drawn, aided by governmental and municipal regulations, appear to be ineffectual to check this spirit to emigrate.

It is not now the indigent labourer, or the fugitive from justice, that seeks to reach the United States; but it is the capitalists and artisans of Europe who are daily arriving on our shores with views of permanent residence. Within the last 33 years the population of the United States has increased from 4,000,000 to near 11,000,000. No doubt European emigration has contributed much to produce this extraordinary augmentation, and every thing in Europe seems to indicate that the following 33 years will produce nearly as great, and perhaps a greater influx of foreigners to the United States than the last 33 years.

Thomas Jefferson (late president of the United States) advanced, about 35 years ago, the assertion, that the inhabitants of the United States would double their numbers every 25 years, even without the aid of emigration. At the time the assertion was made it was considered by many persons as the dream of a prejudiced imagination. Results have not only demonstrated its correctness, but have proved that a much less number of years will produce that increase. According to that ratio, the population must continue to swell, until *subsistence becomes precarious*. When society in the United States becomes as dense as in Europe or Asia, and when the products of the soil become barely sufficient to support the inhabitants, then the population will become stationary; but whoever will take a view of the vast uncultivated regions of the west, will perceive that ages must roll away before the American population can become so crowded as to render subsistence precarious. The calculation, therefore, of the numbers doubling every 25 years, appears to be founded on data that cannot be controverted. On this calculation, let us examine what may be the result at the close of the present century.

The population of the United States, according to the latest and most correct accounts, was

at least	10,500,000
it will be	21,000,000
it will be	42,000,000
it will be	84,000,000

on the 1st January		1819
on the 1st	Do.	1844
on the 1st	Do.	1869
on the 1st	Do.	1894

This immense population is destined to speak *one language*. Whatever may have been the diversity of their ancestors, or their political prejudices, the youth of America are all taught the *English tongue* in every public and private school: of course the *English language* must predominate in their posterity. They are likewise imbued with affection and respect for a representative and republican form of government. Almost every mountain and valley in the country has its printing press. The active commerce of the United States with every part of the Old World brings information every revolving hour of what is passing throughout the other regions

regions of the earth. This intelligence is spread by newspapers and other cheap periodical publications over every part of the country. This moral circulation is analogous to that of the blood in the human frame. It does not merely act on the noble and vital parts, but it diffuses vigour and animation to all the inferior parts of the system. It prevents that morbid apathy and discontent inseparable from a state of ignorance. When knowledge is thus diffused through the lower orders of society, we cannot use them as automatons.

To keep the multitude in profound ignorance has been the favourite doctrine of the governments of the Old World for many thousand years past. Hence the people have been used as mere instruments to promote the views of a few ambitious mortals: and hence, history records little else than a tissue of dreadful revolutions and crimes, as far back as we can trace its pages.

The political institutions of the United States inculcate an opposite doctrine: they make every member of society feel his rank in the social scale. The system of government is predicated on the principle, that the more human knowledge is spread, the less danger is to be feared of civil convulsions. The framers of the American constitution well knew that every thing human was mutable, and that the science of government was still far from being perfect; they therefore have wisely provided for any change in the form of government which the lessons of experience may suggest to future generations to adopt.

The KAFFERS.

FROM "An Account of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with a View to the Information of Emigrants"—a work which, within a small compass, contains a useful digest of all the important facts which have hitherto been made known relative to this part of Africa, we extract the following account of the Kaffer tribes:—

The Kaffers are a native race, on the east of the Cape, whose habits and history will be so far interesting to the emigrant, as a war with them is occasionally a serious affair to the whole colony. If the tide of emigration be directed eastward, too, as it is generally supposed that it will, their character may soon be, to the British settler, that of the most important plunderers upon earth.

These tribes are supposed to be of Arabic origin. They call themselves Kaussis. Like the Hottentots, they are a singularly insulated race. We are persuaded, from a diligent comparison of the best accounts, that also, like the Hottentots, they are a greatly injured people, and have been goaded, by the bad usage of many generations, to the outrages they are still found to commit.

The practice of the rite of circumcision alone seems to connect them with the history of the world.

world. This they perform, like the Mahomedans, in the 12th or 13th year, but connect it with no religious ceremonies or notions, except that of respect to their ancestors. If they have any sort of religion beside, it is unaccompanied with any public rites. Their language is soft and harmonious, and differs much from that of the Hottentots, although the names of their mountains and rivers are evidently of Hottentot origin.

The dwellings of these people resemble bee-hives, constructed on a wooden frame, and plastered both within and without with a composition of clay and the dung of cattle. They are then neatly covered with a kind of matting.

Every Kaffer bears arms, not as a profession, but as the exigence of his affairs seems to demand it. They are all both shepherds and warriors, as have been the greatest and the best of mankind; they evidently prefer the former mode of life, and there seems no just foundation for attributing to them a cruel or sanguinary disposition; their moderation towards the colonists, in a variety of instances, directly indicates the contrary. And of treachery they have not a shade in their character. 'Le Caffre,' says M. Vaillant, 'cherche toujours son ennemi face à face; il ne peut lancer sa hassagai, qu'il ne soit à découverte; le Hottentot, au contraire, caché sous une roche, ou derrière un buisson, envoie la mort sans s'exposer à la recevoir: l'un est le tigre perfide, qui fond traitreusement sur la proie; l'autre est le lion généreux, qui s'annonce, se montre, attaque, et périt s'il n'est pas vainqueur.'

His principal weapons are the hassagai, or *umkontoo*, as he calls it, a sort of spear with an iron head of a foot long, fixed to a tapering shaft of about four feet in length; and the *keerie*. The former he throws with wonderful dexterity, seldom failing of his mark, at the distance of 50 or 60 paces. The keerie is used either in a close engagement or at a distance. It is a club about two feet and a half long, and at one end nearly three inches in diameter. To these we may add a shield of an oval shape, made of the thickest part of a bullock's hide, which he carries to defend himself against the darts and arrows of his enemy. Unlike his neighbours, the Hottentots and Bosjesmans, he does not use poison on his weapons, and rarely attacks by surprise.

The Kaffers are more attached to a pastoral than an agricultural life; though their soil, as far as it is known, and particularly to the east, offers great facilities for cultivation, and is so extremely fertile, that, with a very little labour, it might be made to produce the finest grain and fruits of the colony. So extremely negligent are they of these advantages, that a large species of water melon and millet are their principal culinary plants. They likewise cultivate some tobacco and hemp, both of which they use for smoking. They rarely kill any of the cattle for food, except to show hospitality to a stranger. Milk is their ordinary diet, which they always use in a curdled state: berries of various descriptions, and the seeds of plants, which the natives call plantains, are also eaten, and a few of the gramineous roots with which the woods and

and the banks of the rivers abound. Occasionally, too, the palm-bread of the Bosjesmans is found among them. Their total ignorance of the use of ardent spirits and fermented liquors, and their general temperance and activity, preserve them from the ravages of many disorders which abound amongst the other native tribes, to say nothing of the value of their independence.

Their wealth consisting solely of their cattle, they devote the principal part of their time to the management of them, which is conducted with great regularity; and even the affairs of the dairy are superintended wholly by the men. By a sharp whistling sound, made either artificially with a piece of bone or ivory, or by means of the hand applied to the mouth (as our English boys frequently make it), they contrive to inure their cattle to a sort of mechanical training. One signal of this kind disperses them in the morning to their pastures; another separates the cows from the herd to be milked, and a third collects them all for marching. Among their oxen many resemble the black cattle of the highlands, others are as remarkable for their size, and are not unlike the Alderney cow. Some are used for riding, as they have no horses among them; and the horns of these they twist into a variety of fantastic shapes. The constructing their habitations, the breaking up of the ground, and preparing it for the seed, and the gathering in of their harvest, fall to the lot of the women, who also manufacture a coarse earthenware for boiling their food, and very neat reed baskets, which serve as milk pails.

The commerce of this people is divided between the Dutch farmers and their eastern neighbours the Tambookies. To the former they bring their cattle in exchange for small pieces of copper and iron, glass beads, and other trifles; from the Tambookie nation they procure their wives. Previous courtship is not considered necessary to marriage.

When a man once selects the object of his wishes, nothing remains but to strike a bargain with the father; the amount of which is generally an ox or a couple of cows; and the damsel resigns herself to her fate, without emotion or surprise. The Tambookie wives however are thought rather a dear commodity; they are rarely obtained but by the chiefs; and among the common people this custom of purchasing wives renders polygamy, though allowable, not frequent, as they can seldom afford the price of more than one. Their marriages are celebrated with feasts and dancing, which not unfrequently last for weeks together. 'A Kaffer woman,' Mr. Barrow says, 'is only serious when she dances; and at such times her eyes are constantly fixed on the ground, and her whole body seems to be thrown into convulsive motions.'

The government of the Kaffers is monarchical, but administered by various subordinate chiefs, who are distinguished from the people at large by a brass chain suspended on the left side of the head, from a wreath of copper beads. The regal honour descends from father to son, in default

default of the latter to a nephew; and in default of both, it becomes elective, and this is an occasion when it occurs of considerable strife.

Their rulers seem to have no control, however, over the lives or properties of those they govern. Their laws, apparently suggested by natural principles, are very few and simple. If the death of a fellow creature be the effect of accident, a fine is paid to the relatives of the deceased; but premeditated murder is visited with instant death. Of imprisonment for any crime they have no conception; restitution is the punishment inflicted for theft; and the same laws, in cases of their delinquency, are applied equally to the chiefs and to their subjects.

Mr. Barrow, in the course of his first expedition into Kafferland, penetrated to the capital, which is not far east of the Fish river, and conducted a negotiation with their king Gaika, of which he gives a very interesting account. Having waited for some time in conversation with the mother of this chief, about 35, and his queen, a very pretty girl of 15, the king made his appearance on an ox in full gallop, attended by five or six of his people. Business commenced with little ceremony under the shade of a mimosa. Anticipating, with great promptitude and ease of manner, the general object of the visit, he began by observing, that none of the Kaffers who had passed the frontier were to be considered as his subjects. He said they were chiefs as well as himself, and entirely independent of him; but that his ancestors had always held the first rank in the country, and their supremacy had been acknowledged by the colonists on all occasions; that all those Kaffers and their chiefs who had a long time been desirous to enter under the protection of his family had been kindly received, and that those who chose rather to remain independent had been permitted to do so without being considered in the light of enemies. He then entered as freely into the history of his family. 'He informed us,' continues Mr. Barrow, 'that his father died, and left him when very young, under the guardianship of Zembei, one of his first chiefs, and his own brother, who had acted as regent during his minority; but that having refused to resign to him his rights on coming at years of discretion, his father's friends had showed themselves in his favour, and by their assistance he had obliged his uncle to fly; that this man had then joined Khootar, a powerful chief to the northward, and with their united power had made war upon him: that he had been victorious, and had taken Zembei prisoner.' Instead of a cruel death which we should have imagined the uncle now to have been exposed to, he was treated, it seems, with great lenity and respect: his wives and children were returned to him; and he was only so far considered a captive, as never to be suffered to leave the village in which the king resided.

They have some singular practices in the interment of their dead. The bodies of their children are deposited in ant-hills which have been excavated by the ant-eater. On their chiefs only is bestowed the honour of a grave,

grave, which is generally dug very deep in the places where their oxen stand during the night; the rest of their dead are thrown promiscuously into a ditch, and left without covering to be devoured by the wolves, whom the Kaffers never attempt to destroy, from a consideration of their services. With this apparent neglect of their bodies, a Kaffer not only cherishes great respect for his deceased relatives; but to swear by their memory is to take the most sacred oath.

The Kaffer women possess cheerful and animated countenances, are modest in their carriage, lively and curious, but not intruding; and though of a colour nearly approaching to black, their well constructed features, their beautifully clean teeth, and their eyes dark and sparkling, combine to render many comparatively handsome. They have neither the thick lips nor the flat noses of African negroes. As the females of a nation but partially civilized, they are remarkable for a sprightly and active turn of mind, and in this respect are totally different to their neighbours the Hottentots. In point of general figure, however, the latter seem to have the advantage in their youth.

The men are tall, muscular, and robust, of an open countenance, and manly graceful figure. Good nature and intelligence are depicted in their features, which never betray any signs of fear or suspicion. Their hair, which is short and curling, and their skin, which is nearly black, are rubbed over with a solution of red ochre; and though a few wear cloaks of skin, most of them go quite naked. The women wear cloaks that extend below the calf of the leg; and their head-dress, which is a leather cap, is adorned with beads, shells, and polished pieces of iron or copper.

Discovery of a new Region in the East Indies.

[From the Calcutta Gazette.]

THE low country of Coimbetore is separated from Malabar and Wynaud by a mountainous region of 30 miles in length, and 16 in breadth, and contains about 500 square miles. It is divided into three naads or countries, the Paungnaad, the Todiernaad, and Maiknaad. The name given to the whole by the Lowlanders is "Nilgamis," or the Blue Mountains; this name, however, properly belongs but to one part of the range, and is by the Highlanders peculiarly applied to a high peak, the "Runga Sawmy Coil," or "Aligerry." Two gentlemen having visited this region early in last year, and having surprised their friends by the accounts they gave of it, particularly of the extreme coldness of the climate, a party was formed, who set out to repeat the tour on the 2d of January.

The average range of the thermometer at six a. m. was about 40, and it did not rise more than 10 degrees higher at two p. m. The freezing of the water, in the night,

night, more than once, produced ice three quarters of an inch thick. On these occasions the thermometer was at 33 and 36.

In Hindoostan, when the thermometer sinks to the freezing point, the extremes of heat and cold are often felt in the same day; but there appears to have been no example in this part of the globe of a temperature so cool and so even, for a continuance, so long as that which is shown from the register of the thermometer given in the report.

The travellers could not ascertain the exact height of their situation in this mountainous region, but they considered themselves to be at least three times as high as the highest part of Mysore; and, if this calculation is correct, they conceived that the elevation would be from nine to ten thousand feet above the level of the sea. In looking over Mysore on one side, and the low country of Coimbettore on the other, it was hard to distinguish the country above, from the country below the Ghauts, they were so much higher than both. The party were on their legs most part of the day, and generally walked ten or twelve miles, up and down steep hills, from ten o'clock in the morning until sunset, without experiencing the least inconvenience from heat, often indeed seeking the sunshine as a relief from cold. With the exception of two slight ague fits, there was no sickness amongst the followers, notwithstanding the intense cold of the nights and mornings, and the little protection they had against it.

In every part of the high country, they found raspberries, both red and white, and strawberries growing in the greatest luxuriance; they found also a fruit in shape resembling a medlar, but of much smaller size, and in taste not to be distinguished from the gooseberry—its interior arrangement was also the same. White roses, marigolds, and balsams, were seen in abundance and in full flower; they found specimens also of cinnamon and black pepper, and a tree yielding a beautiful yellow dye.

The country is inhabited by three classes of people, whose language, manners, and customs are entirely distinct, viz. Todevies, Koties, and Bergies. The two first are considered the aborigines of the hills, and the Todevies to be a superior cast of the Koties. The Todevies are exclusively herdsmen; they have no fixed habitation, but wander with their herds of buffaloes from pasture to pasture. Their huts are of a semi-circular form, strongly built with bamboos and mud, having a hole near the ground, sufficiently large for their own ingress, and for the egress of the smoke from their fires. Only one marriage is permitted amongst the males of a family, and if it should consist of ten or more persons, they have a wife in common! The lady is exempt from household cares and duties; she is served by the men, whose duty it is to prepare and cook the victuals—and it is her privilege also to be carried on the shoulders of her husbands, when she makes visits or journeys. She selects whom she pleases of the family as her companion at bed and board, and this freedom of choice produces no interruption of domestic harmony!—It is necessary that all the

the men of a family should agree in the choice of a wife; and if there should be a dissentient voice amongst brethren when a lady is submitted for their approbation, she is forthwith sent back to her relations.

Many of the men, seen by the travellers, measured above six feet, robust and athletic.

The Koties, in appearance, have no resemblance to the Todevies; they are cultivators and artisans, as well as musicians and dancers, and their dance, to an instrument in sound like a bagpipe, appeared to an *amateur* of the party, to be either the *original*, or a *copy* of the famed "*quadrille!*" Had the travellers remained longer among the Koties, perhaps they might have discovered the original of the *waltz!*

BELLES LETTRES AND ANTIQUITIES.

THE only work of great and deserved celebrity on that multifarious and not easily defined subject, the Belles Lettres, which has appeared during the year 1819, is Campbell's Specimens of the British Poets—to which we have already alluded. The Essay on English Poetry, which is prefixed to these Specimens, and occupies the whole of the first volume, must be an exquisite treat to all who have a relish and understanding for profound thought, the poetry of imagination and feeling, united in a prose composition to a degree in which they seldom are seen united in poetry, and for pure and eloquent style. It may be, that some of Mr. Campbell's general principles, and some of his particular criticisms, may not be acceded to by the reader; but all must give him credit for having produced a work which will live, and be appealed to, as a standard work on this most interesting but difficult subject.

THE OLD DRAMATISTS.

[From CAMPBELL'S ESSAY on ENGLISH POETRY.]

"Massinger is distinguished for the harmony and dignity of his dramatic eloquence. Many of his plots, it is true, are liable to heavy exceptions. The fiends and angels of his Virgin Martyr are unmanageable tragic machinery; and the incestuous passion of his Ancient Admiral excite our horror. The poet of love is driven to a frightful expedient, when he gives it the terrors of a maniac passion breaking down the most sacred pale of instinct and consanguinity. The ancient admiral is in love with his own daughter. Such a being, if we fancy him to exist, strikes us as no object of moral warning, but as a man under the influence of insanity. In a general view, nevertheless, Massinger has more art and judgement in the serious drama than any of the other successors of Shakespeare. His incidents are less entangled than those of Fletcher, and the scene of his action is more clearly thrown open for the free evolution of character. Fletcher strikes the imagination with more vivacity, but more irregularity, and amidst embarrassing positions of his own choosing. Massinger puts forth his strength more collectively. Fletcher has more action and character in his drama, and leaves a greater variety of impressions upon the mind. His fancy is more volatile and surprising, but then

then, he often blends disappointment with our surprise, and parts with the consistency of his characters even to the occasionally apparent loss of their identity. This is not the case with Massinger. It is true that Massinger excels more in description and declamation than in the forcible utterance of the heart and in giving character the warm colouring of passion. Still, not to speak of his one distinguished hero* in comedy, he has delineated several tragic characters with strong and interesting traits. They are chiefly proud spirits. Poor himself, and struggling under the rich man's contumely, we may conceive it to have been the solace of his neglected existence to picture worth and magnanimity breaking through external disadvantages, and making their way to love and admiration. Hence his fine conceptions of Paris, the actor, exciting by the splendid endowments of his nature the jealousy of the tyrant of the world; and Don John and Pisander, habited as slaves, wooing and winning their princely mistresses. He delighted to show heroic virtue stripped of all adventitious circumstances, and tried, like a gem, by its shining through darkness. His Duke of Milan is particularly admirable for the blended interest which the poet excites by the opposite weaknesses and magnanimity of the same character. Sforza, duke of Milan, newly married and uxoriously attached to the haughty Marcelia, a woman of exquisite attractions, makes her an object of secret but deadly enmity at his court, by the extravagant homage which he requires to be paid her, and the precedence which he enjoins even his own mother and sisters to yield her. As chief of Milan, he is attached to the fortunes of Francis the First. The sudden tidings of Charles the Fifth, in the campaign which terminated with the battle of Pavia, soon afterwards spread dismay through his court and capital. Sforza, though valiant and self-collected in all that regards the warrior or politician, is hurried away by his immoderate passion for Marcelia; and, being obliged to leave her behind, but unable to bear the thoughts of her surviving him, obtains the promise of a confidant to destroy her, should his own death appear inevitable. He returns to his capital in safety. Marcelia, having discovered the secret order, receives him with coldness. His jealousy is inflamed; and her perception of that jealousy alienates the haughty object of his affection, when she is on the point of reconcilement. The fever of Sforza's diseased heart is powerfully described, passing from the extreme of dotage to revenge, and returning again from thence to the bitterest repentance and prostration, when he has struck at the life which he most loved, and has made, when it is too late, the discovery of her innocence. Massinger always enforces this moral in love;—he punishes distrust, and attaches our esteem to the unbounded confidence of the passion. But while Sforza thus exhibits a warning against morbidly-selfish sensibility, he is made to appear, without violating probability, in all other respects a firm, frank, and prepossessing charac-

* Sir Giles Overreach.

ter. When his misfortunes are rendered desperate by the battle of Pavia, and when he is brought into the presence of Charles V., the intrepidity with which he pleads his cause disarms the resentment of his conqueror; and the eloquence of the poet makes us expect that it should do so. Instead of palliating his zeal for the lost cause of Francis, he thus pleads—

I come not, emperor, to invade thy mercy
By fawning on thy fortune, nor bring with me
Excuses or denials; I profess,
And with a good man's confidence, even this instant
That I am in thy power, I was thine enemy,
Thy deadly and vow'd enemy; one that wish'd
Confusion to thy person and estates,
And with my utmost power, and deepest counsels,
Had they been truly follow'd, further'd it.
Nor will I now, although my neck were under
The hangman's axe, with one poor syllable
Confess but that I honour'd the French king
More than myself and all men.

After describing his obligations to Francis, he says—

He was indeed to me as my good angel,
To guard me from all danger. I dare speak,
Nay *must* and *will*, his praise now in as high
And loud a key as when he was thy equal.
The benefits he sow'd in me met not
Unthankful ground. * * * *
* * * * If then to be grateful
For benefits received, or not to leave
A friend in his necessities, be a crime
Amongst you Spaniards, Sforza brings his head
To pay the forfeit. Nor come I as a slave,
Pinion'd and fetter'd, in a squalid weed,
Falling before thy feet, kneeling and howling
For a forestall'd remission—that were poor,
And would but shame thy victory, for conquest
Over base foes is a captivity,
And not a triumph. I ne'er fear'd to die
More than I wish'd to live. When I had reach'd
My ends in being a duke, I wore these robes,
This crown upon my head, and to my side
This sword was girt; and, witness truth, that now
'Tis in another's power, when I shall part
With life and them together, I'm the same—
My veins *then* did not swell with pride, nor *now*
Shrink they for fear.

If

If the vehement passions were not Massinger's happiest element, he expresses fixed principle with an air of authority. To make us feel the elevation of genuine pride, was the master-key which he knew how to touch in human sympathy; and his skill in it must have been derived from deep experience in his own bosom.

The theatre of Beaumont and Fletcher contains all manner of good and evil. The respective shares of those dramatic partners, in the works collectively published with their names, have been stated in a different part of these volumes. Fletcher's share in them is by far the largest; and he is chargeable with the greatest number of faults, although at the same time his genius was more airy, prolific, and fanciful. There are such extremes of grossness and magnificence in their drama, so much sweetness and beauty interspersed with views of nature either falsely romantic, or vulgar beyond reality; there is so much to animate and amuse us, and yet so much that we would willingly overlook, that I cannot help comparing the contrasted impressions which they make, to those which we receive from visiting some great and ancient city, picturesquely but irregularly built, glittering with spires and surrounded with gardens, but exhibiting in many quarters the lanes and hovels of wretchedness. They have scenes of wealthy and high life which remind us of courts and palaces frequented by elegant females and high-spirited gallants, whilst their noble old martial characters, with Caractacus in the midst of them, may inspire us with the same sort of regard which we pay to the rough-hewn magnificence of an ancient fortress.

Unhappily, the same simile without being hunted down will apply but too faithfully to the *nuisances* of their drama. Their language is often basely profligate. Shakespeare's and Jonson's indelicacies are but casual blots; whilst theirs are sometimes essential colours of their painting, and extend, in one or two instances, to entire and offensive scenes. This fault has deservedly injured their reputation; and, saving a very slight allowance for the fashion and taste of their age, admits of no sort of apology. Their drama, nevertheless, is a very wide one, and "*has ample room and verge enough*" to permit the attention to wander from these, and to fix on more inviting peculiarities—as on the great variety of their fables and personages, their spirited dialogue, their wit, pathos, and humour. Thickly sown as their blemishes are, their merit will bear great deductions and still remain great. We can never forget such beautiful characters as their Cellide, their Aspatia and Bellario, or such humourous ones as their La Writ and Cacafogo. Awake they will always keep us, whether to quarrel or to be pleased with them. Their invention is fruitful; its beings are on the whole an active and sanguine generation, and their scenes are crowded to fulness with the warmth, agitation, and interest of life.

In thus speaking of them together, it may be necessary to allude to the general and traditionary understanding, that Beaumont was the graver and more judicious genius of the two. Yet the plays

in which he may be supposed to have assisted Fletcher, are by no means remarkable either for harmonious adjustment of parts, or scrupulous adherence to probability. In their Laws of Candy, the winding up of the plot is accomplished by a young girl commanding a whole bench of senators to descend from their judgement-seats, in virtue of an ancient law of the state which she discovers; and they obey her with the most polite alacrity. Cupid's Revenge is assigned to them conjointly, and is one of the very weakest of their worst class of pieces. On the other hand, Fletcher produced his "Rule a Wife and have a Wife," after Beaumont's death, so that he was able, when he chose, to write with skill as well as spirit.

Of that skill, however, he is often so sparing as to leave his characters subject to the most whimsical metamorphoses. Sometimes they repent, like methodists, by instantaneous conversion. At other times they shift from good to bad, so as to leave us in doubt what they were meant for. In the tragedy of Valentinian we have a fine old soldier, Maximus, who sustains our affection through four acts, but in the fifth we are suddenly called upon to hate him, on being informed, by his own confession, that he is very wicked, and that all his past virtue has been but a trick on our credulity. The imagination, in this case, is disposed to take part with the creature of the poet's brain against the poet himself, and to think that he maltreats and calumniates his own offspring unnaturally. But for these faults Fletcher makes good atonement, and has many affecting scenes. We must still indeed say scenes; for, except in the "Faithful Shepherdess," which unlike his usual manner is very lulling, where shall we find him uniform? If "The Double Marriage" could be cleared of some revolting passages, the part of Juliana would not be unworthy of the powers of the finest tragic actress. Juliana is a high attempt to pourtray the saint and heroine blended in female character. When her husband Virolet's conspiracy against Ferrand of Naples is discovered, she endures and braves for his sake the most dreadful cruelties of the tyrant. Virolet flies from his country, obliged to leave her behind him; and falling at sea into the hands of the pirate duke of Sesse, saves himself and his associates from death, by consenting to marry the daughter of the pirate (Martia), who falls in love and elopes with him from her father's ship. As they carry off with them the son of Ferrand, who had been a prisoner of the duke of Sesse, Virolet secures his peace being made at Naples; but when he has again to meet Juliana, he finds that he has purchased life too dearly. When the ferocious Martia, seeing his repentance, revenges herself by plotting his destruction, and when his divorced Juliana, forgetting her injuries, flies to warn and to save him, their interview has no common degree of interest. Juliana is perhaps rather a fine idol of the imagination than a probable type of nature; but poetry, which "accommodates the shews of things to the desires of the mind*," has a right to the highest possible vir-

* Expression of Lord Bacon's.

tues

tues of human character. And there have been women who have prized a husband's life above their own, and his honour above his life, and who have united the tenderness of their sex to heroic intrepidity. Such is Juliana, who thus exhorts the wavering fortitude of Virolet on the eve of his conspiracy,

Virolet. * * Unless our hands were cannon
To batter down his walls, our weak breath mines
To blow his forts up, or our curses lightning,
Our power is like to yours, and we, like you,
Weep our misfortunes. * * * *

She replies—

* * * Walls of brass resist not
A noble undertaking—nor can vice
Raise any bulwark to make good a place
Where virtue seeks to enter.

The joint dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher, entitled "Philaster" and the "Maid's Tragedy," exhibit other captivating female portraits. The difficulty of giving at once truth, strength and delicacy to female repentance for the loss of honours, is finely accomplished in Evadne. The stage has perhaps few scenes more affecting than that in which she obtains forgiveness of Amintor, on terms which interest us in his compassion, without compromising his honour. In the same tragedy *, the plaintive image of the forsaken Aspatia has an indescribably sweet spirit and romantic expression. Her fancy takes part with her heart, and gives its sorrow a visionary gracefulness. When she finds her maid Antiphila working a picture of Ariadne, she tells her to copy the likeness from herself, from "the lost Aspatia."

Asp. But where's the lady?
Ant. There, madam.
Asp. Fie, you have miss'd it here, Antiphila;
These colours are not dull and pale enough
To show a soul so full of misery
As this sad lady's was. Do it by me—
Do it again by me, the lost Aspatia,
And you shall find all true. Put me on the wild island.
I stand upon the sea-beach now, and think
Mine arms thus, and my hair blown by the wind
Wild as that desert, and let all about me
Be teachers of my story. * * *
* * * * Strive to make me look
Like Sorrow's monument, and the trees about me,
Let them be dry and leafless; let the rocks
Groan with continual surges, and behind me
Make all a desolation. See, see, wenches,
A miserable life of this poor picture.

* The Maid's Tragedy.

The

The resemblance of this poetical picture to Guido's Bacchus and Ariadne has been noticed by Mr. Seward in the preface to his edition of Beaumont and Fletcher. In both representations the extended arms of the mourner, her hair blown by the wind, the barren roughness of the rocks around her, and the broken trunks of leafless trees, make her figure appear like Sorrow's monument.

Their masculine characters in tragedy are generally much less interesting than their females. Some exceptions may be found to this remark; particularly in the British chief Caractacus and his interesting nephew, the boy Hengo. With all the faults of the tragedy of Bonduca, its British subject and its native heroes attack our hearts. We follow Caractacus to battle and captivity with a proud satisfaction in his virtue. The stubbornness of the old soldier is finely tempered by his wise, just, and candid respect for his enemies the Romans, and by his tender affection for his princely ward. He never gives way to sorrow till he looks on the dead body of his nephew Hengo, when he thus exclaims—

* * * Farewell the hopes of Britain!
Farewell thou royal graft for ever! Time and Death,
Ye have done your worst. Fortune, now see, now proudly
Pluck off thy veil, and view thy triumph.
* * * * * O fair flower,
How lovely yet thy ruins show—how sweetly
Ev'n death embraces thee! The peace of heaven,
The fellowship of all great souls, go with thee!

The character must be well supported which yields a sensation of triumph in the act of surrendering to victorious enemies. Caractacus does not need to tell us, that when a brave man has done his duty, he cannot be humbled by fortune—but he makes us feel it in his behaviour. The few brief and simple sentences which he utters in submitting to the Romans, together with their respectful behaviour to him, give a sublime composure to his appearance in the closing scene.

Dryden praises the gentlemen of Beaumont and Fletcher in comedy as the true men of fashion of "the times." It was necessary that Dryden should call them the men of fashion of the times, for they are not in the highest sense of the word gentlemen. Shirley's comic characters have much more of the conversation and polite manners which we should suppose to belong to superior life in all ages and countries. The genteel characters of Fletcher form a narrower class, and exhibit a more particular image of their times and country. But their comic personages, after all, are a spirited race. In one province of the facetious drama they set the earliest example; witness their humourous mock-heroic comedy, the Knight of the burning Pestle.

The memory of Ford has been deservedly revived as one of the ornaments of our ancient drama; though he has no great body of poetry, and has interested us in no other passion except that of love; but in that he displays a peculiar depth and delicacy of romantic

mantic feeling. Webster has a gloomy force of imagination, not unmixed with the beautiful and pathetic. But it is "beauty in the lap of horror:" he caricatures the shapes of terror, and his Pegasus is like a night-mare. Middleton, Marston, Thos. Heywood, Decker, and Chapman, also present subordinate claims to remembrance in that fertile period of the drama.

Shirley was the last of our good old dramatists. When his works shall be given to the public, they will undoubtedly enrich our popular literature. His language sparkles with the most exquisite images. Keeping some occasional pruriencies apart, the fault of his age rather than of himself, he speaks the most polished and refined dialect of the stage; and even some of his over-heightened scenes of voluptuousness are meant, though with a very mistaken judgement, to inculcate morality*. I consider his genius, indeed, as rather brilliant and elegant than strong or lofty. His tragedies are defective in fire, grandeur, and passion; and we must *select* his comedies, to have any favourable idea of his humour. His finest poetry comes forth in situations rather more familiar than tragedy and more grave than comedy, which I should call sentimental comedy, if the name were not associated with ideas of modern insipidity. That he was capable, however, of pure and excellent comedy will be felt by those who have yet in reserve the amusement of reading his Gamester, Hyde-park, and Lady of Pleasure. In the first and last of these there is a subtle ingenuity in producing comic effect and surprise, which might be termed attic, if it did not surpass any thing that is left us in Athenian comedy.

I shall leave to others the more special enumeration of his faults, only observing, that the airy touches of his expression, the delicacy of his sentiments, and the beauty of his similes, are often found where the poet survives the dramatist, and where he has not power to transfuse life and strong individuality through the numerous characters of his voluminous drama. His style, to use a line of his own, is "studded like a frosty night with stars;" and a severe critic might say, that the stars often shine when the atmosphere is rather too frosty. In other words, there is more beauty of fancy than strength of feeling in his works. From this remark, however, a defender of his fame might justly appeal to exceptions in many of his pieces. From a general impression of his works I should not paint his Muse with the haughty form and features of inspiration, but with a countenance, in its happy moments, arch, lovely, and interesting both in smiles and in tears; crowned with flowers, and not unindebted to ornament, but wearing the drapery and chaplet with a claim to them from natural beauty. Of his style I subjoin one or two more examples, lest I may not have done justice to him in that respect in the body of the work.

* The scene in Shirley's Love's Cruelty, for example, between Hippolito and the object of his admiration, act IV. scene i. and another in The Grateful Servant, between Belinda and Lodwick. Several more might be mentioned.

Cleona

Cleona informed by the page Dulcino of Foscari, whom she had thought dead, being still alive.

From The Grateful Servant.

Cleona. The day breaks glorious to my darken'd thoughts.
He lives, he lives yet! cease, ye amorous fears,
More to perplex me. Prithee speak, sweet youth:
How fares my lord? Upon my virgin heart
I'll build a flaming altar, to offer up
A thankful sacrifice for his return
To life and me. Speak, and increase my comforts.
Is he in perfect health?
Dulcino. Not perfect, madam,
Until you bless him with the knowledge of
Your constancy.—
Cleon. O get thee wings and fly then:
Tell him my love doth burn like vestal fire,
Which with his memory, richer than all spices,
Dispersed odours round about my soul,
And did refresh it, when 'twas dull and sad
With thinking of his absence——
——Yet stay,
Thou goest away too soon; where is he? speak.
Dul. He gave me no commission for that, lady;
He will soon save that question by his presence.
Cleon. Time has no feathers—he walks now on crutches.—
Relate his gestures when he gave thee this.
What other words? Did mirth smile on his brow?
I would not, for the wealth of this great world,
He should suspect my faith. What said he, prithee?
Dul. He said what a warm lover, when desire
Makes eloquent, could speak—he said you were
Both star and pilot.
Cleon. The sun's loved flower, that shuts his yellow curtain
When he declineth, opens it again
At his fair rising: with my parting lord
I closed all my delight—till his approach
It shall not spread itself.

Foscari, in his melancholy, announcing to Father Valentio his resolution to become a Monk.

From the same.

Foscari. There is a sun ten times more glorious
Than that which rises in the east, attracts me
To feed upon his sweet beams, and become
A bird of Paradise, a religious man,
To rise from earth, and no more to turn back
But for a burial.

Valentio.

Valentio. My lord, the truth is, like your coat of arms,
Richest when plainest. I do fear the world
Hath tired you, and you seek a cell to rest in;
As birds that wing it o'er the sea, seek ships
Till they get breath, and then they fly away.

The Duke of Florence to his murderer, Lorenzo.

From The Traitor.

* * * For thee, inhuman murderer, expect
My blood shall fly to Heaven, and there inflamed,
Hang a prodigious meteor all thy life:
And when, by some as bloody hand as thine,
Thy soul is ebbing forth, it shall descend,
In flaming drops, upon thee. O! I faint!
Thou flattering world, farewell. Let princes gather
My dust into a glass, and learn to spend
Their hour of state—that's all they have—for when
That's out, Time never turns the glass again.

From the same.

* * When our souls shall leave this dwelling,
The glory of one fair and virtuous action
Is above all the scutcheons on our tomb,
Or silken banners over us.

Fernando describing his mistress to Francisco.

From the comedy of The Brothers.

Fern. You have, then, a mistress,
And thrive upon her favours——but thou art
My brother: I'll deliver thee a secret:
I was at St. Sebastian's, last Sunday,
At vespers.
Fran. Is it a secret that you went to church?
You need not blush to tell 't your ghostly father.
Fern. I prithee leave thy impertinence: there I saw
So sweet a face, so harmless, so intent
Upon her prayers; it frosted my devotion
To gaze upon her, till by degrees I took
Her fair idea, through my covetous eyes,
Into my heart, and know not how to ease
It since of the impression.
* * * * * * *
Her eye did seem to labour with a tear,
Which suddenly took birth, but, overweigh'd
With its own swelling, dropp'd upon her bosom,
Which, by reflection of her light, appear'd
As Nature meant her sorrow for an ornament.

After,

After, her looks grew cheerful, and I saw
A smile shoot graceful upward from her eyes,
As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief;
And with it many beams twisted themselves,
Upon whose golden threads the angels walk
To and again from heaven.

The contempt which Dryden expresses for Shirley might surprise us, if it were not recollected that he lived in a degenerate age of dramatic taste, and that his critical sentences were neither infallible nor immutable. He at one time undervalued Otway, though he lived to alter his opinion.

The Glory of Regality; an Historical Treatise of the Anointing and Crowning of the Kings and Queens of England.

[By Arthur Taylor, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.]

THERE is no subject of research more edifying, and which affords such ample materials for tracing the progress of the human mind, character, and condition, as that which describes the state of society when man was deeply interested and easily guided by show, parade and magnificence, when, in short, his senses and feelings mastered his still feeble judgement, and when authority seemed to him right, and obedience to that authority in all cases his implicit and unhesitating duty. But such topics are not only instructive and valuable to him who studies the progress of the human mind, character, and condition, but they are also highly interesting to those whose views and objects are not so deep and comprehensive; to those who feel pleasure in mixing with the manners, customs and opinions of their ancestors, and who love to be transported into the very midst of them.

To both these classes of readers this work will be a high treat: to the former class it will present ample materials for reflection and inference,—while to the latter it will prove its excellence, by making him forget, while he is perusing it, that he is in the nineteenth century, and believe himself a witness, and almost a partaker, of what he describes.

Of the Queen's Coronation.

The anthem being ended, the archbishop of Canterbury goes to the altar; and the queen arising from her chair on the south side of the area where she sat during the time the king was anointed and crowned, being supported by two bishops, goes towards the altar, attended by the ladies who bear her train, the ladies of the bedchamber, &c. and kneels before it; when the archbishop, being at the north side of the altar, says the following prayer:

(Omnipotens sempiterne Deus.)

Almighty and everlasting God, the fountain of all goodness, give ear, we beseech thee, to our prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon

upon this thy servant, whom in thy name, with all humble devotion, we consecrate our queen. Defend her always with thy mighty hand, protect her on every side, that she may be able to overcome all her enemies; and that with Sarah and Rebecca, Leah and Rachael, and all other blessed and honourable women, she may multiply and rejoice in the fruit of her womb, to the honour of the kingdom and the good government of thy church, through Christ our lord, who vouchsafed to be born of a virgin that he might redeem the world, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end.

This being done, the queen arises and goes to the faldstool, between king Edward's chair and the steps of the altar, where the groom of the stole to her majesty, and the ladies of the bedchamber, take off her circle or coronet. Then the queen kneels down, and the archbishop pours the holy oil on the crown of her head, in form of a cross, saying these words:— In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, let the anointing of this oil increase thine honour, and the grace of God's holy spirit establish thee for ever and ever. Amen. — The ladies then open her apparel for the anointing on the breast, which the archbishop also performs, using the same words. After which, he says this prayer:

(Omnipotens sempiterne Deus.)

Almighty and everlasting God, we beseech thee of thy abundant goodness pour out the spirit of thy grace and blessing upon this thy servant queen ——; that as by the imposition of our hands she is this day crowned queen, so she may, by thy sanctification, continue always thy chosen servant, through Christ our lord.

One of the ladies in attendance (having first dried the place anointed with fine cotton wool) then closes the queen's robes at her breast, and after puts a linen coif upon her head; which being done, the archbishop puts the ring (which he receives from the master of the jewel house) on the fourth finger of her right hand, saying

Receive this ring, the seal of a sincere faith, that you may avoid all infection of heresy, and by the power of God compel barbarous nations, and bring them to the knowlege of the truth.

His grace then takes the crown from off the altar, and reverently sets it upon the queen's head*, saying

Receive the crown of glory, honour, and joy; and God, the crown of the faithful, who by our episcopal hands, though most unworthy, hath this day set a crown of pure gold upon thy head, enrich you with wisdom and virtue, that after this life you may meet the everlasting bridegroom our lord Jesus Christ; who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

The queen being crowned, all the peeresses put on their coronets; the archbishop then puts the sceptre into her majesty's right hand, and the ivory rod into her left, and says the following prayer:

* In the Greek empire the empress was crowned by the emperor her husband, who received the crown from the patriarch.

(Omnium

(Omnium Domine fons bonorum.)

O Lord, the fountain of all good things, and the giver of all perfection, grant unto this thy servant ——— our queen, that she may order aright the high dignity she hath obtained, and with good works establish the glory thou hast given her, through Christ our lord. Amen.

The queen being thus anointed and crowned, and having received all her royal ornaments, the choirs sing an anthem, commonly from Psalm xlv. ver. 1, "My heart is inditing of a good matter," &c. As soon as this is begun, the queen rises from her faldstool, and, being supported by the two bishops and attended as before, goes up to the theatre; as she approaches the king, she bows herself reverently to his majesty sitting upon his throne *, and so is conducted to her own throne on the left hand of the king, where she reposes till the anthem is ended.

OF THE ROYAL FEAST IN WESTMINSTER-HALL.

While the office of the coronation is performing in the church, preparation is made in the great hall of the palace for a sumptuous royal feast, with which their majesties entertain the nobility and the public officers who have attended the ceremony. The table at which their majesties are to dine is covered by the sergeant and gentlemen of the ewry: and the officers of the pantry set the king's salt of state and cadinet on the table, with another cadinet for the queen.

Besides the royal table, which is at the upper end of the hall on the raised floor, there are usually tables along each side of the hall. The first on the west side is for the dukes of Normandy and Aquitain, the great officers, the dukes, duchesses, marquisses, and marchionesses; the second of the same side for earls and viscounts, and their ladies; the third for the barons and baronesses. The first table on the east side of the hall is for the archbishops, bishops, barons of the cinque-ports, judges, the king's antient sergeant, attorney and solicitor general; the second for the sergeants at law, masters in chancery, six clerks, lord mayor, aldermen, and twelve citizens of London; and the third for the kings of arms, heralds, and pursuivants.

When the procession arrives at the hall, the noble and illustrious persons who compose it are conducted by officers of arms to their respective tables, and the king and queen pass up the hall and retire to the court of wards, leaving the canopies which have been borne over them with the barons of the cinque-ports, who retain them as their fee. The heralds then retire to places appointed for them, and the king's trumpeters and musicians are stationed in a gallery at the lower end of the hall.

Dinner being ready, his majesty, with his crown on his head and the sceptre and orb in his hands, preceded by the lord great chamberlain, and the swords being borne before him, comes out of the court of wards, and seats

* *Ejus majestatem, ut decet, adorando, &c."—Liber Regalis.* This custom, like many others, may be traced to the Greek empire:—see Codinus and Cantacuzenus.

himself

himself in his chair of state at the table. Immediately after, the queen, with her crown on her head, and the sceptre and ivory rod in her hands,—preceded by her chamberlain and followed by the ladies of the bedchamber,—comes through the court of wards, and seats herself in her chair of state at the table, on the left hand of the king.

The FIRST COURSE of hot meat is then served up to their majesties' table in the manner following:—The lords the sewers go to the dresser of the kitchen, and the sergeant of the silver scullery calls for a dish of meat, wipes the bottom of the dish, and also the cover, takes assay of it, and covers it; and then it is conveyed to their majesties' table in the following order, the trumpets sounding from the gallery.

Two clerks comptrollers, in velvet gowns trimmed with gold lace, with black velvet caps in their hands.

Two clerks of the green cloth.

Master of the household. Cofferer.

Six sergeants at arms, with their maces.

Three great officers, in their robes of estate and their coronets on their heads, mounted on goodly horses; *viz.*

Earl marshal, with his staff. Lord high steward, with his white staff. High constable, with his staff.

Six sergeants at arms, with their maces.

Comptroller of his majesty's household. Treasurer of his majesty's household.

Assistant to the queen's sewer. Her majesty's sewer.

Assistant to the king's sewer. His majesty's sewer.

The dishes of hot meat brought up by the gentlemen pensioners, two and two: followed by the mess of pottage or gruel called *dillegrout*, which is brought to the table by the lord of the manor of Addington in Surrey.

Two clerks of the kitchen in black satin gowns, with velvet caps in their hands.

Dinner being placed on the table by the king's and queen's carvers and sewers, with their assistants, the lord great chamberlain and his majesty's cupbearer and his assistants go to the king's cupboard; and having washed, the lord great chamberlain, preceded by the usher of the black rod, attended by the cupbearer, and followed by his assistants before mentioned, brings up the great bason and ewer for his majesty to wash: whereupon the king rises, and having delivered the sceptre to the lord of the manor of Worksop and the orb to one of the bishops, the cupbearer pours out the water upon the king's hands; and the lord of the manor of Heydon in Essex (having accompanied the cupbearer from the cupboard) holds the towel to the king. The like ceremony is used with regard to her majesty's washing; after which, the dean of the chapel royal says grace, and their majesties sit down to dinner, as do likewise the peers, peeresses, and others at the tables below.

On the king's right hand stand

the noblemen who carry the four swords, holding them naked and erected all dinner time; nearer the king stand the lords who hold the orb and sceptre, and on his left hand the lord great chamberlain. On the queen's left hand stand her chamberlain and vice-chamberlain, who bear her sceptre and ivory rod.

The lord of the manor of Addington now presents to his majesty the mess called *dillegrout*, which he had brought in with the first course, in obedience to the tenure of his manor. After which, the lord of the manor of Wimondley, chief cupbearer, being attended by the king's cupbearer and his assistants, goes to the cupboard, and brings his majesty the first cup of drink in a silver bowl gilt, which he presents to the king on his knee; and his majesty having drunk thereof, returns the cup to him, which he receives for his fee.

The CHALLENGE.—Before the second course is brought in, the king's champion, who holds that office with the manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, enters the hall completely armed

"——————— in guise
Of warriors old, with ordered spear and shield,"

mounted upon a goodly horse richly caparisoned, and attended as follows:

Two trumpets, the champion's arms on their banners.
The sergeant trumpeter, with his mace.
Two sergeants at arms, with their maces.
The champion's two esquires, richly habited, one on the right hand, with his lance carried upright; the other on the left, with his target, the champion's arms depicted thereon.
A herald with a paper in his hand, containing the words of the challenge.

The earl marshal in his robes and coronet, on horseback, with the staff in his hand.	The champion on horseback, with a gantlet in his right hand.	The lord high constable in his robes and coronet, on horseback, with his staff.

Four pages richly apparelled, attendants on the champion.

The passage to their majesties' table being cleared by the knight marshal, the herald with a loud voice proclaims the champion's challenge at the lower end of the hall, in the words following:

If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our sovereign lord ———, king of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. son and next heir to our sovereign lord ———, the last king deceased, to be right heir to the imperial crown of this realm of Great Britain, or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor, being ready in person to combat with him; and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed *.

The

* The words of the challenge in the reign of Henry IV. as reported by Fabian, are as follows:—he "caused an herowde to make proclamacyon, that what man wolde

The champion then throws down his gantlet; which having lain some small time, the herald takes up, and delivers it again to him. They then advance in the same order to the middle of the hall, where the herald makes proclamation as before: and lastly, to the foot of the steps, when the said herald and those who precede him going to the top of the steps, proclamation is made a third time; at the end whereof the champion casts down his gantlet, which being taken up and re-delivered to him by the herald, he makes a low obeisance to his majesty, whereupon the king's cupbearer brings to the king a gilt bowl of wine with a cover; and his majesty drinks to the champion, and sends him the bowl by the cupbearer; which the champion (having put on his gantlet) receives, and retiring a little, drinks thereof; he then makes his humble reverence to his majesty; and, accompanied as before, departs out of the hall, taking the bowl and cover as his fee.

The LARGESS. — Immediately after this, the officers of arms descending from their gallery, Garter, and the two provincial kings of arms, with their coronets on their heads, followed by the heralds and pursuivants, come to the lower end of the hall, and making their obeisance to his majesty, procede to the middle of the hall, where they make a second obeisance, and a third at the foot of the steps; and having ascended, Garter cries out three times *Largess* *: his majesty's largess is then given, which Garter proclaims aloud as follows:

Serenissimi, potentissimi, et excellentissimi monarchæ ———, *Dei gratiâ, Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris*, Largess.

Du tres-haut, tres-puissant, et tres-excellent monarque ———, *par la grace de Dieu, roy de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, defenseur de la foy*, Largess.

Of the most high, most mighty, and most excellent monarch ——, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, *Largess*.

After each of these proclamations they all make their obeisance, and descending, go backwards to the middle and lower end of the hall, crying *Largess* thrice in each place, with the king's style in Latin, French, and English, as before. And lastly,

wolde say that kynge Henry was not ryghtfull enherytour of the crowne of Englande and rightfully crowned, he was there redy to wage with hym batayle." Grafton, under Richard III. has it "that whosoever woulde saye that kynge Richard was not laufully kynge he woulde fighte with hym at the utteraunce."

* The custom of giving a largess to the officers of arms is not peculiar to the time of a coronation, being observed also at the feast of an investiture of the Garter at Windsor, where the donation is made by the new knights as well as the sovereign. It was formerly usual at banquets of state. See Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 294, or Dallaway's *Inquiries*, p. 148. The form of crying largess will be somewhat illustrated hereafter in the coronation of Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII.: but the most perfect commentary upon our text will probably be found in the humbler festivities of a harvest home.

The following notice of the amount of a royal largess at coronations is said to be from a roll of the time of Richard II.:—"*Quant le roy est coroné—de auncient accustomez aux roys de armes et heroldes appertient notable et plentereuse largesse, cynq de c. l.*" &c.—Thynne's Discourse; see Dallaway's *Inquiry*, p. 142, 147.

coming to the lower end of the hall in the same order, they again cry the *Largess* in like manner: they then repair to their table, and sit down to dinner.

The SECOND COURSE is now carried up to their majesties' table by the gentlemen pensioners, with the same solemnities as the former. Then the lord of the manor of Nether Bilsington in Kent presents to his majesty three maple cups, by reason of the tenure of the said manor: after which the king's cupbearer brings up the mayor of Oxford as assistant (with other burgesses of that city) in the office of botelry, who presents to the king, on his knee, a gilt cup of wine covered; and his majesty bestows on him the maple cups which he had just before received.

Lastly, the lord of the manor of Liston in Essex brings up a charger of wafers to their majesties' table; and the lord mayor of London, being accompanied by the king's cupbearer, comes from the cupboard (where he attends with twelve of the citizens to assist the chief butler of England), and presents to the king (when their majesties are eating the wafers) a bowl of wine in a gold cup; and his majesty having drunk thereof, returns the cup to the lord mayor as his fee.

Their majesties having dined, rise from the table, and water being brought as before dinner, they wash: grace being then said by the clerk of the closet, they take again the regalia which have been held near them all dinner-time, and, attended as before, they withdraw into the court of wards, where the crowns, orb, and sceptres are delivered to the dean of Westminster and the master of the jewel house.

CHRONICLE OF ENGLISH CORONATIONS FROM RICHARD III. TO ELIZABETH.

Richard III., having first been duly proclaimed on the 20th of June, was conducted on the 5th of July, 1483, from the Tower to Westminster with great state and attendance. "The duke of Buckingham," says Buck, "was of most eminent note in that day's bravery; his habitt and caparison of blue velvett embrothered with golden naves of carts burninge, and the trappings supported by footemen in brave and costly garments suteable to the rest."

On the following day, as we learn from Grafton, "the king, with queen Anne his wife, came downe out of the white hall into the great hall at Westminster, and went directly to the Kinges Benche. And from thence the king and queene goyng upon raye cloth barefooted*, went unto Saint Edward's shrine†, and all his nobilitie goyng with him, euery

* That is, with boots or buskins only, of cloth or silk, and without sandals over them. Such was the ancient practice; Richard II., as we have lately seen, came forth on the morning of his coronation "*caligis tantummodo calciatus*," as the *Forma Coronationis* ascribed to his reign also directs; "*princeps coronandus, tantummodo caligis sine sotularibus calcietur*:—the *sotulares* or *subtalares* being soles or sandals.

† It is evident from what follows, as well as from Hall's account of the ceremony, that the shrine of St. Edward is here mentioned by mistake; it should be merely that he went to the church. Mr. Dart in his History of the abbey adopts this erroneous statement.

lorde

lode in his degree. And first went the trompets and then the heraultes of armes in their rich cotes, and next folowed the crosse with a solempne procession, the priestes hauyng fine surplesses and gray amysses upon them. The abbottes and bishops mytred and in riche copes and euery of them caryed their crosiers in their handes: the bishop of Rochester bare the crosse before the cardinall."

Being now come into the church, "forthwith there came up before the king and the queene both priests and clarkes, that song most delectable and excellent musick." The usual ceremonies were then performed, "and so in order as they came they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their chambers for a season: during which time the duke of Norffolke came into the hall, his horse being trapped to the ground in cloth of golde, as high marshall, and voyded the hall.

"About foure of the clock the king and queene entred the hall, and the king sate in the middle, and the queene on the left hande of the table, and on every side of her stoode a countesse holding a cloth of pleasaunce when she list to drinke." "At the ende of dynner," our author concludes, "the maier of London served the king and queene with ipocras, and had of eche of them a cup of golde with a cover of golde. And by that tyme all was done it was darke night; and so the king and queene returned to their chambers, and every man to his lodging."

The concourse of nobility at this coronation was, as Walpole observes, extraordinarily great; it is remarkable that three duchesses of Norfolk were present. But of the circumstances attending it, that which more particularly claims our notice relates to the unfortunate young prince whose pretensions to the throne had just been set aside. Arrangements were certainly made for Edward himself and his attendants to appear in the procession: whether or no he really attended the solemnity, we have not the means of learning; but the official record of his "apparel and array," as delivered from the great wardrobe, is no unimportant part of the mysterious history of his life*.

In this reign, as in some former ones, we have a vague report of a second coronation: the king having made a progress to York shortly after his accession to the throne, is said to have been "the second tyme crowned by doctor Rotheram archbishopp of Yorke, in the cathedrall church, with greate solempnity;" when "his sonne alsoe was invested in the principallitye of Wales." So sir George Buck: Fabian, however, hath nothing to this effect; nor Hall, whose account of the circumstance is probably a correct one.

Henry VII., the leader of a successful rebellion, having obtained the crown by force and the favour of a malignant faction in the state, was confirmed in his power by a parliament of his attainted adherents, and crowned on the 30th of October 1485. The ceremony was performed by cardinal Bourchier, Henry being the

* See Walpole's *Historic Doubts*, p. 65, and the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. i. p. 28.

third king who was consecrated at his hands. With respect to other particulars little can now be collected; for although a *Devise* of the ceremonial, as arranged beforehand, hath reached the present time*, it is worthy of remark that none of the contemporary chroniclers, though they delight in extolling the glory of the reign, have left us any account of this transaction. Lord Bacon admits that Henry's marriage was celebrated "with greater triumph and demonstrations (especially on the people's part) of joy and gladnesse, then the dayes eyther of his entry or coronation†;" and it may fairly be presumed that the conduct and attendance of the solemnity could not be recorded with advantage.

Elizabeth, the queen of Henry VII. and the daughter of Edward IV., was married to him shortly after his coronation; but lest he might seem to rest too much on his supposed matrimonial title, he delayed the time of her receiving the crown till the third year of his reign‡. Her coronation took place on the 25th of November, 1487: the ceremony being performed by Morton archbishop of Canterbury. The following quotations from a curious account of this festival will perhaps be acceptable to the reader§.

"On the Friday next before St. Katerynes day, the queenes good grace, royally apparelled, and accompanyed with my ladie the kings mother, and many other great estates, bothe lordes and ladies, richely besene, came forwarde to the coronacion; and, at their coming furth from Grenewich by water, there was attending upon her there, the maior, shrifes, and aldermen of the citie, and divers and many wurshipfull comoners, chosen out of every craft, in their livereyes, in barges freshely furnished with banners and stremers of silke richely beaton with the armes and bagges of their craftes; and, in especiall, a barge called the bacheler's barge, garnished and apparelled passing all other; wherin was ordeynid a great redde dragon spowting flames of fyer into the Thamess, and many other gentlemanlie pagiaunts, well and curiously devised to do her highness sporte and pleasoure with. And her grace, thus royally apparelled and accompanied, and also furnished in every behalf with trumpettes, claryons, and other mynstrelleys as apperteyned and was fitting to her estate roiall, came from Grenewich aforesaid and landed at Towre wharfe and so enterid into the Towre; where the kings highnes welcomed her in such maner and fourme as was to all the estates and others there being present,

* This tract, which has been quoted in various parts of the present volume, was printed (very incorrectly, indeed) by the late John Ives, Esq. Suffolk herald extraordinary, in his *Select Papers relating to English Antiquities*, 4to, 1773.

† *Historie of Henry VII.* p. 16.

‡ It is remarkable that the *Litle Devise* above quoted is arranged as for the joint coronation of the king and "dame Elizabeth his wief:" if this was really composed before the event, it must have been expected that the royal marriage would take place much sooner than it did, and that the queen would be crowned with her consort.

§ *Coronacion of Queene Elizabeth*, Ives, p. 120.

present, a very good sight and right joyous and comfortable to beholde." On the following day, being apparelled in white cloth of gold, and with a circlet of gold and pretious stones on her head, "her fayre yelow heare hanging down playne behinde her back," she proceded from the Tower to Westminster, when all the streets through which her highness passed were "clensed, dressed, and besene with clothes of tapestrie and arras; and some streets, as Cheepe, hanged with riche clothe of golde, velvet, and silke; and along the streets, from the Towre to Powles, stode in order all the crafts of London in their liveries; and in divers places of the citie were ordeynid singing children, some arayed like angelles, and other like virgins, to sing sweete songes as her grace passed by."

On the morrow, the day of the coronation, being then in a kirtle and mantle of purple velvet, the queen "came furth of Westminster hall; from the which place to the pulpit in Westminster church she went upon newe bay clothe; —but, more pitie, there was so moche people inordinately pressing to cut the bay clothe that the queene went upon, that certin persones in the presse were slayne; and the order of the ladies following the queene were broken and distroubled."

The formalities of the coronation were then gone through in the usual manner and with appropriate splendour. We observe that a goodly stage was "ordeynid" in the church "wherin was the king's grace, my ladie his mother, and a goodly sight of ladies and gentlewomen attending upon her; as *my ladie Margaret Pole*, daughter to the duke of Clarence *, and many other."

The service being thus "solempnely ended," the court returned to the palace; and here also we find another "goodlie stage" for the king and my lady his mother, out of a window on the left side of the hall, "privilie and at their pleasure to see that noble feast and service." The tables were furnisht with the various productions of antient cookery: "Feisaunt royall, swan with chawdron, capons of high greece, and pike in latymer, sawse" were among the dishes served at the royal board. At the second course "as the high bourde was servid, the kings mynstrells played a song before the queene, and Garter king of armes, with other kings of armes, harawlds, and pursuyvants, did their obeysaunce, and at the presens, in the name of all the officers, gave the queene thanckings, as followeth, saying, Right high, mightie, most noble and excellent princesse, most christian queene, and all our most dreadde souveraign and liege ladie, we the officers of armes and servaunts to all nobles beseche almightie God to thanke yow for the great and abundant largesse which your grace hath geven us in the honor of your most rightuous coronacion, and to sende your grace to lyve in honor and vertue.—And that done, she was cryed, as enseweth, in five places of the hall, by the said Garter, *Largesse* three tymes, *De la treshault, trespuissant, treses-*

* Afterwards the countess of Salisbury, so barbarously put to death by Henry VIII. But *quære*, was she at this time married to Sir Richard Pole?

cellent princesse, la tresnoble royne Dangleterre, et de Fraunce, et dame de Irland, Largesse; and at every second erye, as enseweth, *Largesse*, as afore, *De la tresbault, tres puissant*, &c. That done, the officers went to the cubborde, to the erle of Arundell, great butler, and dranke. Then played the queenes mynstrells, and after them the mynstrells of other estates."—After this the queen was served with fruit and wafers, and by the mayor of London with ipocras; she then "departed with God's blessing and to the rejoycing of many a trew Englishman's hart."

Henry VIII. and Katherine of Arragon, his queen, were crowned on the 24th of June, 1509, by archbishop Warham. A short abstract of Hall's account of the festival will serve to show the prodigious splendour with which it was celebrated.

On the 21st of the month the king came from Greenwich to London: and the next day was devoted to the ceremonies of the bath. Our author then procedes: "The morowe folowyng beyng Saterdaie, his grace with the quene departed from the Tower through the citie of London, agaynst whose comming, the streates where his grace should passe were hanged with tapistrie and clothe of arras. And the greate parte of the southe side of Chepe with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred on the one side, from ouer agaynst Grace churche unto Breadstreate in Chepeside, where euery occupacion stode in their liueries in ordre, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions, and so ascendyng to the worshipfull craftes: highest and lastly stode the maior with the aldermen. The goldsmithes stalles unto the ende of the Olde Chaunge beeing replenished with virgins in white, with braunches of white waxe: the priestes and clerkes in rich copes with crosses and censers of silver, with censyng his grace and the quene also as they passed." Of the king he adds "to discrive his apparell, his grace ware in his upperst apparell a robe of crimosyn velvet furred with armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the placard embrowdered with diamondes, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones, a great bauderike about his necke of greate balasses; the trapper of his horse damaske gold with a depe purfell of armyns." The queen was borne in a litter by two white palfreys which were trapped in white cloth of gold; her person was "appareled in white satyn embroudered, her heeire hanging doune to her backe of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her head a coronall set with many riche orient stones."

"The morowe folowyng beyng Sondaie, and also Midsomer daie, this noble prince with his quene, at time convenient, under their canabies borne by the barons of the five portes, went from the saied palaice to Westminster abbey upon clothe called vulgarly cloth of ray, the whiche clothe was cut and spoyled by the rude and common people immediately after their repaire into the abbey, where, accordyng to the sacred observaunce and auncient custome, his grace with the quene were annoynted and crouned by the archebusshop of Cantorbury, with other prelates of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a greate

greate multitude of commons of the same. After the whiche solempnitie and coronacion finished, the lordes spirituall and temporall did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the quenes grace every one under their canabies, where by the lorde marshall and his tipped staves, was made rome, and every lord, and other noble men, accordyng to their tenures, before claimed and vewed, seen, and allowed by the lordes, and other of his graces counsayll, entred into suche rome and office that daie, to execute their services accordyngly." He then describes the estates of the king and queen, concluding in his usual style: "What should I speake or write of the sumpteous, fine, and delicate meates prepared for this high and honorable coronacion, provided for aswel in the parties beyond the sea as in many and sundry places within this realme, where God so abundantly hath sent suche plentie and foyson: or of the honorable ordre of the services, the cleane handelyng and breaking of meates, the ordryng of the dishes, with the plentifull abundaunce. So that none of any estate beeyng there did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull personne went unfeasted."

Our author's account of the challenge must not be omitted. "The seconde course beyng served, in at the haule doore entered a knight armed at al poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroudered, a great plume and a sumpteous of oistriche fethers on his helmet, sittyng on a great courser trapped in tissue and embroudered with tharmes of England and of Fraunce, and an herauld of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, presented hymself with humble reverence before the kynges maiestie, to whom Garter kyng of heraulds cried and said with a loude voyce, Sir knight, from whence come you, and what is your pretence? This knightes name was sir Robert Dimmocke, champion to the kyng by tenure of his enheritaunce, who answered the saied kyng of armes in effecte after this manner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether is not concernyng any matter of any place or countrey, but onely this. And therewithall commaunded his heraulde to make an Oyes: then saied the knight to the kyng of armes, Now shal ye here the cause of my commyng and pretence. Then he commaunded his awne herauld by proclamacion to saie: If there be any persone, of what estate or degree soever he be, that wil saie or prove that king Henry the eight is not the rightfull enheritor and kyng of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmocke here his champion offre my glove, to fight in his querell with any persone to thutteraunce*." The customary *largesse* and the serving with ipocras are then detailed in the conclusion of the feast, and the solemnities of this "triumphaunt coronacion" were followed by justs

* This is quite in conformity to the old mode of trial by combat in appeals. "*Tunc interrogabit eum Constabularius, Quisquam ipse sit homo qui armatus venit ad januam listarum, quod sibi nomen, et quæ causa veniendi? Et respondebit Appellans, Ego talis sum, A. de K. Appellans, qui venio ad hoc iter, &c. ad faciendum, &c.*" —Spelman, *Gloss. v. Campio.* See some further particulars relating to the champion in the Additional Notes.

and

and turnies worthy of this golden age of pageants.

Lady Anne Boleyn, the second queen of this monarch, was crowned on the 1st of June, 1533, being Whitsunday, by archbishop Cranmer. Of this coronation, as well as of the last, a long and minute account is preserved by Hall, to which, as the circumstances attending them are generally the same, I shall beg leave to refer the reader. It was preceded by a voyage from the royal manor of Greenwich, and by the customary creation of knights, who were "bathed and shryven accordyng to the old usage of England." The procession by land was enlivened, us usual, by "marvailous connyng pageauntes," in which Apollo with the muses, and Saint Anne with her children had each a conspicuous place: the Three Graces also took their stand on Cornhill, and the Cardinal Virtues in Fleet-Street: Nor is this all; a fountain of Helicon, with a courteous inconsistency, ran Rhenish wine, and its rival, the conduit in Cheap, poured forth claret. In the coronation itself there is nothing that demands our notice: the feast was celebrated with great order and marvellous good attendance. The queen was seated in the midst of the high table under a cloth of state, the countesses of Oxford and Worcester standing on either side. "At the tables ende," saith our author, "satte the archebishoppe of Cauntorbury, on the right hande of the quene, and in the myddest, between the archebishoppe and the countesse of Oxforde, stode the erle of Oxforde with a white staffe all diuer tyme." The king, with divers ambassadors, stood to behold the entertainment in a little closet which was made "out of the cloyster of S. Stephens" on the right hand side of the hall*. The largess, the wafers and ipocras, and the "voyde of spice and comfettes," concluded the royal banquet; and the lord mayor of London, having done the service of his city and "bearyng his cuppe in his hande, with his brethren went through the hal to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke†.

Of the other queens of Henry VIII. none appear to have been honoured with a coronation.

Edward VI. received the crown on Shrove-sunday, February 20, 1546-7, and was anointed by archbishop Cranmer. He was previously knighted by the duke of Somerset, protector. On the day before the coronation, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the king proceded from the Tower "in most roiall and goodly wise" towards his palace at Westminster. The line of streets through which the procession passed was adorned in the usual manner‡, and many "goodly pageants and devises" were displayed for his welcoming. At the Conduit in Cheap, Valen-

* See the coronation of Henry the Seventh's queen, where the place described is on the left hand side: probably supposing the reader to look from the door.

† The reader will not want to be reminded that Shakespeare has given us a lively account of this coronation in his *Henry the Eighth*.

‡ A most valuable representation of this royal progress, and of the decorations of the city, is preserved by an engraving publisht by the Society of Antiquaries, from an antient picture formerly at Cowdray in Sussex, but since unfortunately destroyed.

tine and Orson were exhibited; and at a certain distance from thence stood Sapience and the Seven Liberal Sciences, "which declared certaine goodly speeches," rather too long for repetition*. An epitome of the story of Jason was then produced, which was followed by a number of other shows, with more orations than the time permitted to be spoken. But the choicest spectacle of all was the exploit of an Arragosan, who descended from the battlements of Saint Paul's upon a rope made fast to an anchor at the dean's gate†, and returning up again "played certaine misteryes on the said rope," which appear to have been particularly acceptable to the young monarch and the crowd assembled.

The ceremonies were performed in the usual manner, not excepting the office of the mass, which was said by the archbishop of Canterbury‡. At the feast the king sat under his estate, and on the right hand of the same table sat the protector and the archbishop. After the feast "it was ordeyned that there should be made a certain number of knights instead of the Bath, because the time was so short that they could not be made of the Bathe according to the ceremonies thereunto apperteyning." Thus ended the ceremony; and on the morrow there were holden "royall justes against all comers."

Mary, the elder daughter of Henry VIII. and the first female sovereign of this realm, was crowned on the 1st of October, 1553. The ceremony was performed by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, both the archbishops being then prisoners in the Tower. The progress through the city was markt by similar exhibitions to those we have before noticed. In Paul's churchyard one Master Heiwood sat in a pageant under a vine, and made an oration in Latin and English: and, as if to outdo the flying Argosine at the last coronation, we have here a Dutchman standing on the weathercock of Paul's steeple, who, holding a streamer in his hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood sometimes on one foot and shook the other, and then kneeled on his knees, "to the great marvell of all people‖." On her majesty's passing Cheapside the chamberlain of London presented her with a purse of cloth of gold containing a thousand marks of gold.

The ceremonies of the inauguration were performed, it is said, according to the old custom, but we have no particular account of them. They were not fully ended "till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night, that she returned from the church."

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. and queen Anne Boleyn, was crowned on Sunday January 15, 1558-9, by Dr. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, the see of Can-

* The authority for this account will be found in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 310.

† Holinshed has the following quaint note on this circumstance: "Paul's steeple laie at anchor."

‡ The order for the ceremonial may be seen in Prynne's *Signal Loyalty*, and Burnet's *History of the Reformation*.

‖ Holinshed.

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terbury being then vacant, and Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, declining to officiate because of the change in religion. Oglethorpe, it is said, was the only prelate who could be prevailed on to assist at the solemnity, and it was performed by him according to the old rites, and bishop Bonner's vestments were borrowed for his use*. Perhaps at no former coronation were more pains bestowed to testify the loyalty of the citizens in the progress from the Tower to Westminster. The age of pageantry had not yet passed away; and the accession of a "virgin queen" gave ample scope to the fancy of those whose office it was to welcome her appearance in the capital. In the taste and character of the shows there was however a remarkable alteration. "Five and twenty years before," an elegant writer observes, "when the mother of this queen passed through London to her coronation, the pageants exhibited derived their personages and allusions chiefly from pagan mythology or classical fiction. But all was now changed; the earnestness of religious controversy in Edward's time, and the fury of persecution since, had put to flight Apollo, the Muses, and the Graces: Learning indeed had kept her station and her honors, but she had lent her lamp to other studies, and whether in the tongue of ancient Rome, or modern England, Elizabeth was hailed in Christian strains, and as the sovereign of a Christian country†." Holinshed, who describes the whole of this procession with the greatest minuteness, informs us that the companies of the city "stood along the streets one by another, inclosed with railes hanged with cloths, and themselves well apparelled with manie rich furres, and their liverie hoods upon their shoulders in comelie and seemlie maner, having before them sundrie persons well apparelled in silks and chains of gold; as wiflers and garders of the said companies, besides a number of rich hangings, as well of tapistrie, arras, cloths of gold, silver, velvet, damaske, sattin, and other silks, plentifullie hanged all the waie, as the queenes highnesse passed from the Tower thorough the citie." To crown the whole, on her arrival at Temple Bar, Gogmagog and Corineus, two giants furnisht accordingly, were seen holding above the gate a table wherein was written in Latin verse "the effect of all the pageants which the citie before had erected." It is singular that with so full an account of the preparatory solemnities we have none of the great ceremony itself: even the feast is but slightly noticed by our author; perhaps it is enough for us that it "tooke end with great joy and contentation to all the beholders."

* Camden, Burnet, and *Entire Cerem.* p. 38.
† Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Q. Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 251.

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

Sketch of the History of Alchymy.

[By W. T. Brande, Sec. R.S., and Prof. Chem. R.I.]

THE materials composing the history of alchymy being scattered through a variety of obscure publications, many of which are scarce, and others not frequently found in our libraries, it is presumed that the following account of some of their principal contents may not be wholly unacceptable to our readers, more especially as they are frequently alluded to by the chemical writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose works may occasionally be consulted with advantage, though the authors they quote are scarcely worth the trouble of perusal.

The transmutation of baser metals into gold was not only regarded as possible, but believed to have been performed, by some of the more enlightened chemists of the seventeenth century; and in perusing the history of some of these transmutations, as recorded by Helvetius, Boerhaave, Boyle, and other sober-minded men, it would be impossible to resist the evidence adduced, without the aids of modern science. Lord Bacon's sound sense has been arraigned for his belief in alchymy, though he in fact rather urges the possibility than the probability of transmutation; and considering the infant state of the experimental sciences, and of chemistry in particular, in his age, and the plausible exterior of the phenomena that the chemists were able to produce, he is rather to be considered as sceptical than credulous, upon many of the points which he discusses.

Hermes Trismegistus has generally been quoted as the oldest of the alchymists; there can however be very little doubt that the writings attributed to him are entirely spurious. The *Tractatus Aureus*, or *Golden Work*, is evidently a farrago of occult philosophy belonging to a much later period. Hermes at the outset is made to apologize for divulging the secrets of the black art. "I should never have revealed them," says he, "had not the fear of eternal judgement, or the hazard of the perdition of my soul, prevailed with me for such a concealment. It is a debt I am willing to pay to the just, even as the father of the just has liberally bestowed it upon me." After this prelude, we might

might expect to be let into some of the misteries of alchymy; but our curiosity is quickly disappointed by finding that they are only revealed to the eyes and ears of the sons of art; "not to the profane, the unworthy, and the scoffers, who, being as greedy dogs, wolves and foxes, are not to feed at our divine repast." The reader is then conducted into what is termed the *innermost chamber*, and regaled with a history and explication of various matters relating to the philosopher's stone, by means of which "through the permission of the omnipotent, the greatest disease is cured, and sorrow, distress, evil, and every hurtful thing evaded; by help of which we pass from darkness to light, from a desert and wilderness to a habitation and home, and from straitness and necessities to a large and ample estate." We are then directed "to catch the flying bird," by which is meant quicksilver; "and drown it so that it may fly no more;" this is what is afterwards termed the fixation of mercury, by uniting it to gold. It is then to be plunged into the "well of the philosophers," or *aqua regia*, "by which its soul will be dissipated, and its corporeal particles united to the red eagle," or muriate of gold.

We may, however, at once cut short these observations by remarking that all the details bear upon increasing the weight of gold by the influence of mercury, and this imaginary document of Hermes will suffice as an example of all the earliest alchymical authors.

Geber is another great name in the history of alchymy: though the exact period at which he lived is unknown, it was probably not later than the seventh century. His three books of alchymy were published at Strasburgh in 1520, and, if genuine, of which there is much doubt, contain matter that well justifies the *eloge* of Boerhaave, who considers him as a first rate philosopher of his age. In his chapter "on the Alchemie of Sol," after descanting upon the different means of refining and dissolving gold, he describes several solar medicines in language which is tolerably intelligible; they are all solutions of gold in nitro-muriatic acid, with the addition of quicksilver, nitre, common salt, and some other saline matters; and the student is directed to prepare his mind for their performance by suitable acts of piety and charity, which, if earnestly and perseveringly carried on, may, after due time, enable him, in the language of his translator, Dr. Salmon, "to change *argent vive* into an infinite solific and lunific, without the help of any thing more than its multiplication." Alembics, crucibles, and various furnaces are so fully described, and, if we may believe the MS., depicted by Geber, that he deserves to be mentioned also as the inventor of much useful apparatus.

Artephius in 1130 published several alchymistical tracts; we are told by Roger Bacon and others, that he died at the advanced age of 125, having prolonged his life by the miraculous virtues of his medicines; but his name, and that of John de Rupescissa, are now deservedly buried in oblivion.

The alchymical annals of the thirteenth century are adorned by the

the name of Roger Bacon, a native of Ilchester, in Somersetshire, and descended from an ancient and honourable family. In 1240 he returned from Paris, and became celebrated among the learned of the university of Oxford. At that time, however, the exposition of ignorance, and attempts to overthrow the dogmas of the schools, was a service of risk and danger; and to this friar Bacon, for he was a monk of the Franciscan order, laid himself fully open; he was accused of practising witchcraft, thrown into prison, and nearly starved, for exposing the prevalent immorality of the clergy; and, according to some, stood a chance of being burned as a magician.

I know of no work that strikes one with more surprise and admiration, than the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon; he stands alone like a beacon upon a waste; his expressions are perspicuous and comprehensive, such as betoken a rare and unclouded intellect; and they are full of anticipations of the advantages likely to be derived from that mode of investigation insisted upon by his great successor, chancellor Bacon. This resemblance between Roger Bacon and his illustrious namesake has scarcely been noticed by the historians of his period; it has, however, not escaped Mr. Hallam's observation, who adverts to it in his History of the middle Ages. "Whether lord Bacon," he says, "ever read the *Opus Majus*, I know not; but it is singular, that his favourite quaint expression *prærogativæ scientiarum* should be found in that work; and whoever reads the sixth part of the *Opus Majus*, upon experimental science, must be struck by it as the prototype in spirit of the *Novum Organum*. The same sanguine and sometimes rash confidence in the effect of physical discoveries; the same fondness for experiment; the same preference of inductive to abstract reasoning, pervade both works.

The alchymical work of Roger Bacon, that has been most prized, is the *Mirror of Alchymy*, but there is little either of interest or entertainment to be extracted from it.

Roger Bacon has by some been spoken of as a benefactor to mankind, by others as an enemy to the human race, inasmuch as he is plausibly considered to have invented gunpowder, an invention by which the personal barbarity of warfare has certainly been diminished, "but which, considered as an instrument of human destruction by far more powerful than any that skill had devised or accident presented before; acquiring, as experience shows us, a more sanguinary dominion in every succeeding age, and borrowing all the progressive resources of science and civilization for the extermination of mankind, appals us," says a modern writer, "at the future prospects of the species, and makes us feel, perhaps more than in any other instance, a difficulty in reconciling the mysterious dispensation with the benevolent order of Providence."

This discovery has sometimes been given to Bartholomew Schwartz, a German monk, and the date of 1320 annexed to it, a date posterior to that which may be justly claimed for friar Bacon. Upon the authority, however, of an

an Arabic writer in the Escurial collection referred to by Mr. Hallam, there seems little reason to doubt that gunpowder was introduced through the means of the Saracens, into Europe, before the middle of the fifteenth century, though its use in engines of war was probably more like that of fireworks than artillery. Many authorities might be adduced to prove the common use of gunpowder early in the fourteenth century. Edward III. employed artillery with memorable effect, at the battle of Cressy, and in the fifteenth century hand-cannons and muskets came into use, and gun-powder was in common employ.

Albert of Cologne, surnamed the Great, was a contemporary of Roger Bacon; he is celebrated as the inventor of the brazen head which was demolished by the pious zeal of his pupil, the angelical Dr. Aquinas, in consequence of his suspecting it to be an agent of the devil.

Albertus Magnus was what in our days is termed an universal genius. He is chiefly celebrated as the commentator of Aristotle; but, if we give credit to contemporary writers, he was deeply skilled in all the higher departments of alchymical philosophy.

The names of Raymond Lully of Majorca, and Arnold of Villanova, occur in this page of the history of chemical science. Their merit, like that of many modern writers, consists rather in quantity than quality. Lully died on his passage from Africa in 1315, whither he had been to preach the truths of the gospel; his body was carried to Majorca, where he was honoured as a martyr. Bruckner says, "he was more ingenious than honest." I have not thought his chemical opinions worth quotation or abstract. A specimen given in the *Biographical Dictionary* is ridiculous, from the transcriber having turned over two leaves instead of one, and curious, from the narrative being quite as intelligible as if its thread had not been thus interrupted. This I presume will suffice for Raymond Lully.

Villanova shines as a magician and astrologer. He was a renowned prophet, and predicted that the world would come to an end in the year 1376. He was shipwrecked on the coast of Genoa in 1313.

About the year 1560, a Treatise of Alchymy was published at Paris, attributed to Nicholas Flammel. The work, however, is spurious, and was merely attributed to him from his becoming suddenly, as it is said, very rich. The use he made of his wealth does his memory much credit: he founded hospitals, repaired churches, and endowed several charitable institutions; proceedings which by no means savour of alchymy.

Dr. Salmon, who in 1692 published one of the above-mentioned tracts, says, "Flammel was originally a poor scrivener, yet left so great monuments behind him, as must convince the most incredulous that he knew the secret; and performed such mighty works at his own proper cost and charges, as the most opulent prince in Europe can never do the like. I know," says he, "a gentleman who went to view those mighty buildings and their records. The archives and governors of those places,

places, he told me, own the matter of fact but deny the means, saying that Flammel was a very pious man, and went a pilgrimage to St. James of Gallicia, for a reward of which piety the holy saint bestowed that vast treasure upon him by way of miracle; thereby denying the power of art by which it was certainly effected, to establish a miracle performed by the Romish saint."

He was moreover celebrated for his hieroglyphics, of which fac-similes are given in Salmon's edition. They are much of the same cast as those that now adorn Moore's Almanack, and quite as edifying.

In Salmon's collection we find the "*Marrow of Alchymy* by George Ripley, chanon of Bridlington in Yorkshire," who was a chemist perhaps less deserving of the reputation he acquired than most of his compeers. He may be quoted as a chemical poet. His *Compound of Alchemie*, dedicated to Edward IV., is rugged enough, but not unintelligible. The following stanzas from the preface of this piece, given in Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, will afford a fair idea of Ripley's merits as a poet and philosopher:

"But into chapters thys treatis I shall devyde,
In number twelve, with dew recapytulatyon;
Superfluous rehearsalls I lay asyde,
Intendyng only to give trew informatyon,
Both of the theoryke and practycall operatyon:
That by my wrytyng who so wyll guyded be,
Of hys intente perfyctly speed shall he.

"The fyrst chapter shall be of naturall *Calcination;*
The second of *Dyssolution*, secret and phylosophycall;
The third of our elementall *Separation;*
The fourth of *Conjunction* matrimoniall;
The fyfth of *Putrefaction* then followe shall;
Of congelation *Albyficative* shall be the sixt,
Then of *Cybation*, the seaventh, shall follow next

"The secret of our *Sublymation* the eyght shall show;
The nynth shall be of *Fermentatyon:*
The tenth of our *Exaltation* I trow.
The elevent of our mervelose *Multiplycatyon*,
The twelfth of *Projection*, then *Recapitulatyon*,
And so this treatise shall take an end,
By the help of God, as I entend.

"Thus here the tract of Alchemy doth end;
Which tract was by George Ripley, Chanon, penn'd.
It was composed, writt, and signed his owne,
In anno twice seaven hundred seaventy one.
Reader, assist him, make it thy desire
That after lyfe he may have gentle fire!
Amen."

The degree of faith placed in alchymy was of course much shaken by the multiplied experiments that were undertaken during the

seventeenth century: in general, however, those who failed attributed their ill success to any rather than the real cause. Salmon's creed is that of most of his contemporaries. "As to the great and philosophic work," says he, (meaning transmutation,) "it is my opinion and belief that there is such a thing in nature. I know the matter of fact to be true, though the way and manner of doing it is as yet hid from me. I have been eye-witness of so much as is able to convince any man endued with rational faculties, that there is a possibility of the transmutation of metals; yet for all these things, will not advise any man ignorant of the power of nature and the way of operation to attempt the work, lest erring in the foundation, he should suffer loss and blame me. Without doubt it is a gift of God from above, and he that attains it must patiently wait the moving of the waters; when the destined angel moves the waters of the pool, then is the time to immerge the leprous metal, and cleanse it from all impurities."

Van Helmont says, "I am constrained to believe in the making of gold and silver, though I know many exquisite chemists to have consumed their own and other men's goods in search of this mystery; and to this day we see these unworthy and simple labourers cunningly deluded by a diabolical crew of gold and silver sucking-flies and leaches. But I know that many will contradict this truth; one says it is the work of the devil, and another, that the sauce is dearer than the meat."

Bergman, in summing up the evidence for and against the possibility and probability of transmutation, and founding his opinion upon the multitude of relations that have been handed down to us by different writers of apparent veracity, and one or two of which I shall presently quote, observes, that "although most of them are deceptive and many uncertain, some bear such character and testimony, that unless we reject all historical evidence we must allow them entitled to confidence." For my own part, the perusal of the histories of transmutation appears to me to furnish solid grounds for a diametrically opposite opinion. They are all of a most suspicious character; sometimes the fraud was open and intentional, seconded by juggling dexterity; at other times the performers deceived themselves; they purchased what is termed a *powder of projection* prepared by the adepts, containing a portion of gold; and when they threw it into the fire with mercury, and found that portion of gold remaining in their crucible, they had not wit enough to detect its source. But the cases which are quoted as least exceptionable are often exactly those which are really impossible: I mean, where the weight of the powder of projection, and of the lead or other base metal taken conjointly, was exceeded by that of the gold produced. Such is Hiernes' history of Paykul's transmutation, who with six drachms of lead and one of powder produced an ingot that was coined into 147 ducats; and many others. But the most celebrated history of transmutation is that given by Helvetius in his "Brief of the golden calf: discovering the rarest miracle in nature,

ture, how by the smallest portion of the Philosopher's Stone a great piece of common lead was totally transmuted into the purest transplendent gold, at the Hague in 1666:" and as it is a luminous epitome of all that has been done on this subject, I shall briefly abridge the proceedings.

"The 27th day of December 1666, in the afternoon, came a stranger to my house at the Hague, in a plebeick habit, of honest gravity and serious authority, of a mean stature and a little long face, black hair not at all curled, a beardless chin, and about 44 years (as I guess) of age, and born in North Holland. After salutation he beseeched me with great reverence to pardon his rude accesses, for he was a lover of the Pyrotechnian art; and having read my treatise against the sympathetic powder of sir K. Digby, and observed my doubt about the philosophic mystery, induced him to ask me if I really was a disbeliever as to the existence of an universal medicine which would cure all diseases, unless the principal parts were perished or the predestinated time of death come. I replied, I never met with an adept, or saw such a medicine, though I had fervently prayed for it. Then I said, Surely you are a learned physician. No, said he, I am a brass-founder, and a lover of chymistry. He then took from his bosom-pouch a neat ivory box, and out of it three ponderous lumps of stone, each about the bigness of a walnut. I greedily saw and handled for a quarter of an hour this most noble substance, the value of which might be somewhere about twenty tons of gold; and having drawn from the owner many rare secrets of its admirable effects, I returned him this treasure of treasures with a most sorrowful mind, humbly beseeching him to bestow a fragment of it upon me in perpetual memory of him, though but the size of a coriander seed. No, no, said he, that is not lawful; though thou wouldest give me as many golden ducats as would fill this room; for it would have particular consequences; and if fire could be burned of fire, I would at this instant rather cast it all into the fiercest flames. He then asked if I had a private chamber whose prospect was from the public street; so I presently conducted him to my best furnished room backwards, which he entered," says Helvetius, (in the true spirit of Dutch cleanliness,) "without wiping his shoes, which were full of snow and dirt. I now expected he would bestow some great secret upon me, but in vain. He asked for a piece of gold, and opening his doublet showed me five pieces of that precious metal which he wore upon a green riband, and which very much excelled mine in flexibility and colour, each being the size of a small trencher. I now earnestly again craved a crumb of the stone, and at last, out of his philosophical commiseration, he gave me a morsel as large as a rape-seed; but I said, This scanty portion will scarcely transmute four grains of lead. Then, said he, deliver it me back; which I did, in hopes of a greater parcel; but he, cutting off half with his nail, said, Even this is sufficient for thee. Sir, said I, with a dejected countenance, what means this? And he said, Even that will transmute

half an ounce of lead. So I gave him great thanks, and said I would try it, and reveal it to no one. He then took his leave, and said he would call again next morning at nine. I then confessed that while the mass of his medicine was in my hand the day before, I had secretly scraped off a bit with my nail, which I projected on lead, but it caused no transmutation, for the whole flew away in fumes. Friend, said he, thou art more dexterous in committing theft than in applying medicine; hadst thou wrapt up thy stolen prey in yellow wax, it would have penetrated and transmuted the lead into gold. I then asked if the philosophic work cost much or required long time, for philosophers say that nine or ten months are required for it. He answered, Their writings are only to be understood by the adepts, without whom no student can prepare this magistery. Fling not away, therefore, thy money and goods in hunting out this art, for thou shalt never find it. To which I replied, As thy master showed it thee, so mayest thou perchance discover something thereof to me, who know the rudiments, and therefore it may be easier to add to a foundation than begin anew. In this art, said he, it is quite otherwise; for unless thou knowest the thing from head to heel, thou canst not break open the glassy seal of Hermes.—But enough; tomorrow, at the ninth hour, I will show thee the manner of projection. But Elias never came again; so my wife, who was curious in the art whereof the worthy man had discoursed, teazed me to make the experiment with the little spark of bounty the artist had left me; so I melted half an ounce of lead, upon which my wife put in the said medicine; it hissed and bubbled, and in a quarter of an hour the mass of lead was transmuted into fine gold; at which we were exceedingly amazed. I took it to the goldsmith, who judged it was most excellent, and willingly offered fifty florins for each ounce." Such is the celebrated history of Elias the artist and Dr. Helvetius.

Sir Kenelm Digby, whose name is mentioned in this narrative, was a renowned dabbler in the mysterious art. Under the date of 7th November, 1651, in Evelyn's Diary, "he gave me," says Mr. Evelyn, "a certain powder, with which he affirmed that he had fixed mercury before the late king. He advised me to try and digest a little better, and gave me a water which he said was only rain-water, of the autumnal equinox, exceedingly rectified and very volatile; it had a taste of strong vitriolic, and smelt like aquafortis. He intended it for a dissolvent of calx of gold; but the truth is, sir Kenelm was an arrant mountebank."

Nearly all the alchymists attributed the power of prolonging life, either to the philosopher's stone, or to certain preparations of gold, imagining possibly that the permanence of that metal might be transferred to the human system. The celebrated Descartes is said to have supported such opinions; he told sir K. Digby, that although he would not venture to promise immortality, he was certain that life might be lengthened to the period of that of the Patriarchs. His plan, however, seems to have been the very

very rational one of limiting all excess of diet, and enjoining punctual and frugal meals.

The history of alchymy has been greatly enriched by the labours of the celebrated Elias Ashmole, who in 1652 published his "*Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, containing severall poeticall pieces of our famous English philosophers, who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their owne ancient language."

The most remarkable piece in this collection is the "*Ordinall of Alchimy*, by Thomas Norton," illustrated by several comical cuts. It treats in separate chapters of the objects of the occult science; of the difficulties of attaining them: of the different methods of pursuing them; of the characters of the elements; and of the five concords, of which the first is *Patience*, the second *Assistance*, the third *Instruments*, the fourth *Situation*, and the fifth *Planetary Influence*. It is difficult to select from this production any specimen capable of conveying an idea of its merits, that can come within the limits of a quotation. Perhaps the following lines, picked out of the seventh chapter, touching "the regiment of Fiers," may serve to convey some idea of the author's talents in the double capacity of poet and philosopher.

"In many authors written you may see,
Totum consistit in ignis regimine;
Wherefore in all things so proceed,
That heat work no more no less than it need;
Wherein many of Geber's cooks
Deceived were, though they be wise in books.
Such heate wherewith a pig or goose is scalded
In this arte *Decoction* it is called;
Such heate as dryeth lawne karchiefs fair,
In thirty operations serveth for our ayre;
But for divisions you must use such heate,
As cooks make when they roaste raw meate.
Ignis humidus another fier alsoe
Is, and yet seemeth *oppositum in adjecto*:
Another fier is fier of desiccation,
For matters which be imbibed with humectation.
Ignis corrodens serveth in this arte,
Elementa propinqua wisely to depart.
By one point of excess all your work is shent,
And one point too little is insufficient;
Who can be sure to find its trew degree,
Magister magnus in igne shall he be.
All that hath pleasure in this booke to reade,
Pray for my soule, and all both quick and deade,
In this yeare of Christ 1477,
This work was begun, honour to God in heaven."

In later times we have had two or three believers in transmutation. In the year 1782, Dr. Price, of Guildford, by means of a white

white and a red powder, professed to convert mercury into silver and gold, and is said to have convinced many disbelievers of the possibility of such change: his experiments were to have been repeated before an adequate tribunal, but he put a period to his existence by swallowing laurel-water.

Another true believer in the mysteries of art was Peter Woulfe, of whom it is to be regretted that no biographical memoir has been preserved. I have picked up a few anecdotes respecting him from two or three friends who were his acquaintance. He occupied chambers in Barnard's Inn while residing in London, and usually spent the summer in Paris. His rooms, which were extensive, were so filled with furnaces and apparatus that it was difficult to reach his fire-side. Dr. Babington told me that he once put down his hat, and never could find it again, such was the confusion of boxes, packages, and parcels, that lay about the chamber. His breakfast hour was four in the morning: a few of his select friends were occasionally invited to this repast, to whom a secret signal was given by which they gained entrance, knocking a certain number of times at the inner door of his apartment. He had long vainly searched for the elixir, and attributed his repeated failures to the want of due preparation by pious and charitable acts. I understand that some of his apparatus is still extant, upon which are supplications for success, and for the welfare of the adepts. Whenever he wished to break an acquaintance, or felt himself offended, he resented the supposed injury by sending a present to the offender and never seeing him afterwards. These presents were sometimes of a curious description, and consisted usually of some expensive chemical produet or preparation. He had an heroic remedy for illness: when he felt himself seriously indisposed, he took a place in the Edinburgh mail, and, having reached that city, immediately came back in the returning coach to London. A cold taken on one of these expeditions terminated in an inflamation of the lungs, of which he died in 1805.

A few other persons of less note might be quoted as believers in transmutation, but the history of one is that of all; and in the emphatic language of Spenser, they were doomed

> "To lose good days that might be better spent,
> To waste long nights in pensive discontent,
> To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
> To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow,
> To fret their souls with crosses and with cares,
> To eat their hearts through comfortless despairs:
> Unhappy wights! born to disastrous end,
> That do their lives in tedious tendance spend."

The sketch which I have given, imperfect and hasty as it has been of the age of alchymy, will, I trust, suffice to afford a notion of the merits and eccentricities of a race of philosophists, who have certainly gained more credit and reputation than either their objects

jects or success entitled them to. Their history is a tissue of folly, delusion, and imposture. We must, however, in forming this estimate, carefully distinguish between the persons we are now taking leave of, and those who pursued chemistry with the real view of benefiting mankind, and of elucidating attainable objects by experiments, though they pursued these ends not altogether independent of alchymical notions. Such men were Van Helmont, Basil Valentine, Beguin, Glauber, Agricola, and perhaps Paracelsus. To these experimentalists we are indebted for a rich and profitable harvest of discoveries, and with them many weighty doctrines and brilliant discoveries had their origin, which now adorn our science, and of which we daily avail ourselves, forgetful of the fountain whence they flow. But although the alchymists have given us little in the way of useful facts or applicable discoveries, their reign was fruitful in the invention of apparatus. Alembics, stills, retorts, receivers, and a variety of whimsical and complex vessels, in glass and porcelain, are described and depicted in their works; and they not only possessed all the furnaces with which our modern laboratories are necessarily supplied, but were particularly expert in their construction, and often surprisingly happy in their application.

DESCRIPTION of the ROYAL GARDENS of LAHORE.

[In a Letter to the Editor of 'The Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts,' from Captain BENJAMIN BLAKE, of the Bengal Army.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH I am aware that two or three descriptions of Shah Leemar (or royal oriental gardens) have at divers times appeared,—such as those by Foster in his Travels through Cashmere, Franklin in his Present State of Delhi, and Elphinston's Embassy to Cabul,—yet as those gardens described were not of the class of the hanging gardens, and as, during a residence in India, I was fortunate enough to make one of an embassy to Lahore, where I viewed the royal gardens of the Moghul emperors, situated between three and four miles east of the city of Lahore, in the Punjab, or country of Five Waters,—considering a description of them may afford pleasure to your readers, who, no doubt, have heard of the splendid hanging gardens of Babylon, said to have been erected by order of Nebuchadnezzar to gratify his wife Amytis; and though the gardens to be described in this paper are not of that splendid character, yet they certainly belong to the same class, thereby differing from the royal gardens generally found in India.

The embassy to Lahore (headed by Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, ambassador from the honourable East India company to Runjeet Sing, chief of the Punjab,) had been encamped upon the plain, on the

north-east side of the city of Lahore, and immediately opposite the palace of the Moghul emperors, that part of it erected by Aurungzebe towering above the rest of the buildings, and particularly striking and deserving of notice for the many very beautiful lattiged windows of white marble which it contains, the marble being wrought into an open work, resembling the trellis or open work of the ivory boxes which come from China. On Tuesday, 10th January 1809, we quitted this plain, and, entering the city, passed the eastern quarter, and through the Delhi-gate, which, as well as the walls generally, and this far-famed city itself, is decaying very fast under the hand of time, and its frequent accessary neglect. At a distance from the city of a little more than three miles east, the road being bordered here and there with mangoe groves, we arrived at the Shah Leemar gardens. The extreme length of these gardens, from south to north, is about five hundred yards, by a breadth of one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty. Mr. Metcalfe having obtained permission for his suite to view these gardens with him, we entered the west side of the northern or lowest garden, under a pretty good arched gateway, which appears to have been the only entrance from the time they were first formed. There are three distinct gardens descending from the south; the highest, situated on remarkably rising ground, receives the Uslee canal* on its south side, through a small stone building, the front of which, towards the garden, has arches of a Gothic character; the back of the building being a blank wall, under which the canal first enters, flowing into a marble basin of three feet diameter, in the centre of which is a fountain. The surplus water of the canal is conveyed by aqueducts, under a marble floor, and the water in the basin passes in a thin sheet over a white marble slab (from which it falls into the garden) carved in scollops, the edges of the scollops being inlaid with black marble, in the fashion of fishes' scales. From this scolloped slab the water flows through the highest garden, and running under the marble floor of a Barah Dooree, or stone building of twelve arches, (being a square, having three to each face, as its name, in the language of the country, imports,) it falls to the second garden over a large surface of marble, sloping at an angle of about twenty degrees from the perpendicular. This fall consists of three fine slabs, each being ten feet by four, the whole displaying a sheet of water of ten feet deep by twelve feet in breadth, the marble being scolloped and inlaid with black, in a manner similar to the first slab already described. A most beautiful effect is produced by the rippling of the water over their scaly-marked indentations to its receptacle at the bottom of the inclined plane, in a reservoir of marble, fourteen feet by ten, and one foot in depth, having in its centre a Pulung, or

* This canal is brought to these gardens over high grounds from the Ranvee river, a distance of upwards of sixty miles above the city of Lahore. It also irrigates the country though which it passes, and a considerable revenue is derived by the tax levied for its supply of water applied to agricultural purposes.

couch,

couch, also of marble, with claw feet. On this couch the Moghul emperors were used to recline in the hot season, where, the waters rippling over the scolloped fall, they enjoyed the refreshing luxury of coolness from the falling water agitating the airy particles, and also the delightful sensation imparted by its murmurs over the uneven surface of the marble; thus rendering their situation, in the evenings of the sultry days, (when this aquatic couch is screened from the sun by an arcade in the garden immediately above,) most perfectly fitted to an enchanting repose, the exquisite luxury of which may be sufficiently appreciated by such as have resided in this warm climate. From this reservoir, and its luxurious couch, the water flows in a gentle stream into a large quadrangular basin or tank, which occupies nearly the whole of this garden, having in its centre a square insulated platform, or bank of earth, which contains some flowers: and around the tank is a border of flowers of eighteen or twenty feet in width, having on the side nearest to the water a narrow walk of not more than three feet.

The water, on leaving this tank, passes between marble slabs laid horizontally, the upper ones forming the floor of an arcade twelve feet square, of which only three sides are arched. This three-sided arcade, erected over this passage of the water into the lower garden, (the walls of which rest upon this garden,) presents the appearance of an aquatic chamber, the water here again falling in thin sheets of three faces, and the walls containing a great number of recesses for lamps, whose glittering lustre under the falling water displays a magical and peculiarly brilliant effect, which, with the addition of five fountains in this watery recess, produces an enchanting union of refreshing luxuries. The water flows, in the usual character of a stream, from this extremely cool recess through this lowest or northernmost garden, which is plentifully stored with large trees, among which are the apple, pear, and some very fine mangoes; the latter affording, from the luxuriance of their foliage, delightful groves, whose umbrageous protection from the scorching rays of the sun, renders this spot a most desirable and refreshing retreat. The upper gardens are laid out in a sufficiently tasteful manner, with fruit- and flower-trees; among the latter we observed the narcissus in great abundance. The present chief of the Punjab, Runjeet Sing, has erected, in the highest garden, a Tye Khanah, or cool retreat for the hot season, which has somewhat disfigured it. The construction of this retreat is very simple, being a house of two rooms, one below ground, the other above, and on a level with the ground. At one end of this building, on the space beneath the usual level of the ground, there is a well of water, towards which the lower room opens; and when it is requisite to cool this room, the following operation is put in action, viz. At the top of the well there is a large wheel, over which pass two ropes parallel to each other, to which are suspended along the entire length of the ropes, reaching to a depth of two or three feet in the water, a succession of earthen pots; so that, when the wheel

wheel is put in motion, the buckets are drawn up full on one side, and, passing over the top of the well, return their contents again into it; the operation of which agitates the circumambient air, causing a rapid evaporation, thus rendering the chamber refreshingly cool.

During the encampment of the embassy at Lahore, (a period of three weeks,) we made frequent excursions in its neighbourhood, and within the extent of three to five miles beheld numerous remains of the mansions of the Emirs, or nobles of the empire, of which there is scarcely a remaining vestige in the vicinity of Delhi; for there "the spider holds the veil in the palace of Cæsar; the owl stands sentinel in the watch-tower of Afrasiab."

In one of these excursions, on the right bank of the Rauvee, we stumbled, as it were, upon a most magnificent mausoleum of the emperor Jehangeer, nothing inferior to the celebrated Taj Muhul at Agrah. The building which contains this mausoleum is much larger than that at Agrah, though it is not, in the exterior, of so chaste and beautiful a design. The large piazzas which surround this immense mass of buildings contain numerous accommodations for pilgrims and other travellers, and are floored throughout with pudding-stone. There are various chambers within the edifice, some ornamented with paintings in fresco, tolerably well executed, particularly some of domestic scenes, of parties eating fruit, &c., in a taste evidently superior to any thing we can suppose the natives to have ever arrived at; and, therefore, were, most likely, designed by the artists who came from Italy to construct the tomb. The tomb itself is in the centre of the building, and is composed of the whitest marble, inlaid with mosaic work of cornelians, representing wreaths of flowers of the most beautiful hues; the cornelians being of such a variety of colours, that I counted sixteen differently coloured in the formation of one flower; and so exquisite is the execution of this mosaic, that the junction of one stone with the other was discernible only by a very near inspection. Around this edifice is a spacious court-yard, and a fine garden of orange and pomegranate trees, the wole encompassed by a good wall. The immense sum said to have been expended in the construction of this wall I dare not name, as it appears incredible. In the vicinity of this splendid sepulchre of the emperor Jehangeer is the modest tomb of his beauteous, fascinating, and favourite sultana, styled Noor Muhul, the light of the palace, and afterwards Noor Jehan, the light of the world. But she is better known to our English readers since the publication of Moore's last and best poem, Lalla Rookh, where she is styled the light of the Haram. It may be satisfactory here to gratify the curiosity of your readers respecting this far-famed beauty, by giving some history of her birth and fortunes; and, in offering this, I know of no better mode to convey information, than by adding an extract from Dow's History of Hindostan.

"About the year 1586, Chaja Aiass, a native of the Western Tartary, left that country, to push his

his fortune in Hindostan. He was descended of an ancient and noble family, fallen to decay by various revolutions of fortune. He, however, had received a good education, which was all his parents could bestow. Falling in love with a young woman as poor as himself, he married her; but he found it difficult to provide for her the very necessaries of life. Reduced to the last extremity, he turned his thoughts upon India, the usual resource of the needy Tartars of the North. He left privately friends who either would not or could not assist him, and turned his face to a foreign country. His all consisted of one sorry horse, and a very small sum of money, which had proceeded from the sale of his other effects. Placing his wife upon the horse, he walked by her side. She happened to be with child, and could ill endure the fatigue of so great a journey. Their scanty pittance of money was soon expended; they had even subsisted for some days upon charity, when they arrived on the skirts of the great Solitudes which separate Tartary from the dominions of the family of Timur, in India. No house was there to cover them from the inclemency of the weather—no hand to relieve their wants. To return, was certain misery; to proceed, apparent destruction. They had fasted three days:—to complete their misfortunes. the wife of Aiass was taken in labour. She began to reproach her husband for leaving his native country at an unfortunate hour; for exchanging a quiet though poor life for the ideal prospect of wealth in a distant country. In this distressed situation she brought fourth a daughter. They remained in the place for some hours, with a vain hope that travellers might pass that way. They were disappointed: human feet seldom tread these deserts. The sun declined apace: they feared the approach of night; the place was the haunt of wild beasts; and should they escape their hunger, they must fall by their own. Chaja Aiass, in this extremity, having placed his wife on the horse, found himself so much exhausted that he could scarcely move. To carry the child was impossible; the mother could not even hold herself fast on the horse. A long contest began between humanity and necessity; the latter prevailed, and they agreed to expose the child on the highway. The infant, covered with leaves, was placed under a tree, and the disconsolate parents proceeded in tears.

"When they had advanced about a mile from the place, and the eyes of the mother could no longer distinguish the solitary tree under which her daughter had been left, she gave way to grief, and, throwing herself from the horse to the ground, exclaimed, 'My child, my child!' She endeavoured to raise herself; but she had no strength to return. Aiass was pierced to the heart. He prevailed upon his wife to sit down. He promised to bring her the infant. He arrived at the place. No sooner had his eyes reached the child, than he was almost struck dead with horror. A black snake (say our authors) was coiled around it, and Aiass believed he beheld him extending his fatal jaws to devour the infant. The father rushed forward.

The

The serpent, alarmed at his vociferation, retired into the hollow tree. He took up his daughter unhurt, and returned to the mother. He gave her child into her arms; and, as he was informing her of the wonderful escape of the infant, some travellers appeared, and soon relieved them of all their wants. They proceeded gradually, and came to Lahore.

"The emperor Akbar, at the arrival of Chaja Aiass, kept his court at Lahore. Asiph Khan, one of that monarch's principal omrahs, attended then the presence. He was a distant relation of Aiass, and he received him with attention and friendship. To employ him, he made him his own secretary. Aiass soon recommended himself to Asiph in that station; and, by some accident, his diligence and ability attracted the notice of the emperor, who raised him to the command of 1,000 horse. He became, in process of time, master of the household; and his genius being even greater than his good fortune, he raised himself to the office and title of Aktimad-ul-Dowla, or high treasurer of the empire. Thus he, who almost perished through mere want in the desert, became, in the space of a few years, the first subject in India. The daughter who had been born to Aiass in the desert, received, as she grew up at Lahore, the name of Mher-ul-Nissa, or the sun of women. She had some right to the appellation, for in beauty she exceeded all the ladies of the East. In music, in dancing, in poetry, in painting, she had no equal among her own sex; her disposition was volatile, her wit lively and satirical, her spirit lofty and uncontrolled; she was married first to Sheri Afghan*, whose original name was Asta Jillô, and afterwards to Jehangeer."

On the Shawl Goat.

By J. MacCulloch, M.D., F.R.S., &c.

[From 'The Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts,' No. xviii.]

THIS animal is a native of that part of the mountains of Thibet which lies near to the region of perpetual snow, and of which the actual elevation, although very great, has not yet been determined in such a manner as to have satisfied the doubts of all parties. The climate is subject to sudden changes, although it does not appear that the summer temperature is ever high; and as that of winter is below the freezing point, the water which then falls is in the form of snow, not of rain. Hence it is understood to be a dry climate: what the exact state of the summer, however, may be, we are not thoroughly informed; and it is probable, that too much stress has been laid on this circumstance, in the fears which have been entertained respecting the naturali-

* He received this title from having fought with and conquered a tiger in single combat.

zation

zation of the animal in Scotland; as Mr. Grant's flock seems to have been thoroughly inured to a district which, both in summer and winter, is subject to frequent rains. There is indeed no reason to fear, from the analogy of many other animals which are in time educated to bear all climates, that this also may become habituated to one so different from that to which it belongs. What effect such a change may have on the wool, is another and an important question, which can however only be determined by experience. Some prospective judgment may perhaps be formed respecting this subject, by the consequences produced by similar alterations in the case of Merino sheep; but I am not aware that a difference in the quantity of rain is supposed to have any effect in altering the quality of their wool.

No accurate account has been yet received of the range of temperature in those regions inhabited by the Thibet goat, nor of the mean annual heat; so that it is impossible to institute any comparison between that important circumstance and the climate of Scotland. It is a natural consequence of transferring a deep-furred animal from a cold to a warm climate, that its fur should be diminished in quantity, as well as in the fineness of its quality. This change has accordingly been found to occur in India to those goats which have been brought down to the plains of Bengal; but the return to a colder region soon restores their wool to its pristine condition. Yet there is so wide a difference between the temperature of Scotland and that of Bengal, that no fears need be entertained of any change to this extent; while the permanence of many of the finer-woolled sheep, under a considerable range of climate, renders it probable, that the loss of quality which the fleeces might experience in Scotland, would not be such as to deprive them of their value, should it even in some degree diminish the quantity and quality of the produce.

It must however be evident, from both the preceding considerations, that the eastern parts of Scotland are better adapted for the cultivation of this goat than the western; since, if an irregular line be drawn between Perth and Inverness, it will be found that the number of rainy days, as well as the quantity of rain, is far greater on the western than on the eastern side of this line. Abstracting some particular spots also, the quantity of rain diminishes in this latter division as we recede from the sea; while both the mean annual temperature will be found the least, and the severity of winter the greatest, in that middle tract which contains the courses of the Garry and the Spey. The district of Badenoch is in fact the coldest, and, in the Highlands, probably the driest part of Scotland; and the rocky mountains of that division, therefore, seem most particularly adapted to this object.

The necessity of rocky and mountainous pasture is more particularly rendered obvious by that disease of the feet which was mentioned in recording the experiment made at Dunkeld; and it must be here added, that the growth of the hoofs in one of these animals was checked, and the

the feet restored to a sound state, merely by allowing it a free access to a paved stable. Although it was mentioned in the preceding remarks, that it had been found necessary to pare the hoofs in India, it does uot appear that this practice is required in Thibet, where, doubtless, they have a free range over roky ground during the summer, or on hard ice in winter. Moisture is indeed injurious, as is well known, even to the feet of sheep; and the common goat of the Highlands invariably avoids the low grounds, when in its power, to seek refuge among the dry and stony places.

A fear lest they should become a prey to the fox, which in the Highland mountains is a very powerful and comparatively a bold animal, prevented the risking of those which were at Blair and Dunkeld in the hill pastures, and thus probably tended to their destruction. That caution would not be necessary, should they become more numerous. But although these goats were extremely gentle and familiar, partly owing to the mode in which they are reared in Thibet, and partly owing to a long sea voyage, they are courageous; and, as the female as well as the male is provided with powerful horns, it is not likely that the fox would attack them, as he never attempts the horned sheep unless they are reduced by disease.

In their native country, the goats are driven in, in the evening, for the purpose of milking the females; and it appears that they are also provided with sheds, in which they may occasionally be sheltered from the rain. Their habits are, in fact, those of a domestic and not of a wild animal; and to this care is probably owing much of their good qualities, and of the various degrees of excellence which are found in the wool in different situations. It would, therefore, be proper for those who may repeat the experiments on their cultivation in this country, to bear these circumstances in mind, and to provide them with that shelter and attention which they seem to require.

With respect to their pasture, it is found, that they not only shun the rich grasses, but that this food is injurious to their health and to their fleeces. In this respect they resemble the common goat of this country, who invariably avoids these pastures, if he can get access to rocky land, covered with a variety of shrubs and plants. In their native hills, they thus travel for great distances among the dry and scanty pastures; and this free range and exercise is considered to be conducive to their health. They are found to subsist indiscriminately, like their species elsewhere, on all the plants and shrubs within their reach, and chiefly, it is said, on several aromatic plants, and on a prickly shrub which Mr. Moorcroft calls furze. Of this, no botanical description has been given, and it has been supposed that it cannot be the *Ulex Europeus*. This, however, does not follow, as many of the common European plants are found to inhabit the high mountains of middle Asia, and as it appears that even our common gooseberry plant is found in the mountains in question. In this country, it has been ascertained that they eat the common furze with avidity; and, like the sheep, they

they also browse on the young shoots of the heaths. It is further said that they are particularly fond of rue; and, in India, it is recommended to keep this plant in the inclosures in which they are confined in that country. The whole of the species, indeed, appears attached to all the strong-tasted plants, and even to those poisonous species which other animals refuse; but it is evident that, on a large scale, it would be impossible to pay attention to any cultivation of this nature, while the advantages to be derived from it are probably in a great measure visionary. When the ground is so covered with snow in Thibet that the plants are no longer accessible, they are fed on the bruised tops of the furze above mentioned.

It is found to be a salutary practice to give them salt once in a week; and this is said to be general in their native district, and to be the only particular expense to which the proprietors are subject. From this condiment, indeed, all graminivorous animals appear to derive benefit; and, in the commencement, at least, of their naturalization in this country, it ought to be adopted. Had it been known when the first flocks arrived, it might perhaps have prevented their loss.

It is now well known to naturalists, that the goat of Thibet is merely a variety of the common goat; differing from it only in the nature and quantity of its clothing, as that has been modified, partly by the climate which it inhabits, and partly, it is to be presumed, by careful breeding and cultivation. The individuals vary much in size; but are generally all characterized by a head somewhat large when compared to the breeds of our own country, long horns lying backwards and slightly bent, a straight back, and delicate limbs.

The coat consists of a thick covering of long coarse hair externally, concealing the fine wool, which is curled up close to the skin. No material differences could be discovered in the wool of those which arrived in Scotland; but it is well known that they vary materially in this respect; and it is further suspected, that although the most weighty fleeces come from the coldest regions, the finest are produced where most care is bestowed on the animal; as, in the sheep, the wool of yearlings is found to be of the finest quality, and is always distinguished in the market as a superior article. It is also remarked, that the white fleeces are less fine than the coloured, and that the black are the finest of all. They equally vary in quantity; the finest wool also producing the heaviest fleece.

The varieties in respect to colour which arrived in Scotland were white, white and brown intermixed, and black. In their native country it is remarked, that those which inhabit the most elevated valleys are of a bright ochre yellow; that, lower down, they are yellow and white intermixed; and that, still further from the highest tracts, they are pure white, or white stained with black or brown. It is not mentioned whether the black variety is limited to any particular district, but, from the much superior price of its produce, it is probably rare.

In Tartary, the fleeces are shorn with

with a knife, in a rude manner, about the end of spring, when the snows have melted; and it is probable that our own period of sheepshearing would be the proper time for that operation in this country. It was formerly remarked, that the first flock at Blair was shedding the fleeces in August. Those at Dunkeld had entirely lost theirs at the end of July. In August, the flock in Sutherland was also losing the fleeces.

The last circumstance, which now remains to be mentioned respecting the shawl goat, is the treatment of the fleeces.

In Tartary, they first undergo two sortings: one according to their colour, and another according to their quality. With respect to the latter operation, two degrees of fineness only are distinguished. It is probable, that from the rude mode of shearing adopted, the whole fleece is confounded together; and that the separation of the different qualities is far less perfect than it would be in this country, if the fleece was shorn entire, and then separated, as is done in the sheep. After shearing, the long hairs are all picked by hand from the wool; an operation which is understood to be performed by children, but which must be both tedious and expensive. It is probable, that if ever the animal should be naturalized in this country, some sort of machinery would be applied to diminish this labour, as the hair is not entangled in the wool. In those fleeces which were naturally shed in Scotland, the wool was almost entirely separated from the hair during that act; so that from one goat I procured nearly a clean fleece in this manner.

After the several operations of picking and sorting, according to the degrees of fineness and colour, the wool is washed in a warm and weak solution of potash, and afterwards in water. It is then bleached on the grass, and, when completed, is carded, and prepared for spinning.

That wool which is intended for dyeing, is dyed once before carding: it is then dyed a second time after spinning, and once more when manufactured into a shawl. Great attention is required in the washing, to prevent it from felting.

The spinning in Tartary is all performed by hand with the distaff and spindle; the latter being made of a ball of clay, containing an iron wire, and the finger and thumb being preserved in a smooth state by powdered steatite. Great care is taken not to spin the thread too hard, as the softness of the future shawl depends much on its texture in this respect.

The weight of wool required for a superfine shawl is five pounds, for one of the second quality three, and for the inferior sort two.

POETRY

POETRY.

Portraits.

[From A Sicilian Story, and other Poems.]

By Barry Cornwall.

I DREAMT, and o'er my enchanted vision pass'd
Shapes of the elder time: (beautiful things
That men have died for;) as they stood on earth,
But more ethereal, and each forehead bore
The stamp and character of the starry skies.

First came that Roman lady from whose bosom
The Gracchi twins were born, gracious Cornelia:
Her raven hair was wreath'd about her brow
Severe, yet fair and lovely. Like a queen
She trod, majestic as when Juno throned
Above the Deities, by the side of Jove,
Lends her proud smile celestial, while her lord
Showers Heaven's bounties on the world below.

Behind her follow'd an Athenian dame,
(The pale and elegant Aspasia,)
Like some fair marble carved by Phidias' hand,
And meant to imitate the nymph or muse:
Mistress of poetry and song was she,
And fit to be beloved of Pericles.
Shadow'd by myrtle boughs she floated onwards.

Then came a dark-brow'd spirit, on whose head
Laurel and withering roses loosely hung:
She held a harp, amongst whose chords her hand
Wander'd for music—and it came: She sang
A song despairing, and the whispering winds
Seem'd envious of her melody, and stream'd
Amidst the wires to rival her, in vain.

Short was the strain, but sweet: Methought it spoke
Of broken hearts, and still and moonlight seas,
Of love, and loneliness, and fancy gone,
And hopes decay'd for ever: and my ear
Caught well remember'd names, 'Leucadia's rock'
At times, and 'faithless Phaon:' Then the form
Pass'd not, but seem'd to melt in air away:
This was the Lesbian Sappho.—Then pass'd by
Another, and another, and another without names.

At last, came one whom none could e'er mistake
Amidst a million: Egypt's dark-eyed Queen:
The love, the spell, the bane of Antony.
O Cleopatra! who shall speak of *thee?*
Gaily, but like the Empress of a land
She moved, and light as a wood nymph in her prime,
And crown'd with costly gems, whose single price
Might buy a kingdom. Yet how dim they shone
Beneath the magic of her eye, whose beam
Flash'd love and languishment! Of varying humours
She seem'd, yet subtle in her wildest mood,
As guile were to her passions ministrant.
At last she sank as dead. A noxious worm
Fed on those blue and wandering veins that laced
Her rising bosom: aye, did sleep upon
The pillow of Antony, and left behind,
In dark requital for its banquet—death.

Sonnets.

[From the same.]

SPRING.

IT is not that sweet herbs and flowers alone
Start up, like spirits that have lain asleep
In their great Mother's iced bosom deep
For months, or that the birds, more joyous grown,
Catch once again their silver summer tone,
And they who late from bough to bough did creep,
Now trim their plumes upon some sunny steep,
And seem to sing of Winter overthrown.
No—with an equal march the immortal mind,
As tho' it never could be left behind,
Keeps pace with every movement of the year;
And (for high truths are born in happiness)
As the warm heart expands, the eye grows clear,
And sees beyond the slave's or bigot's guess.

SUMMER.

NOW have green April and the blue-eyed May
Vanish'd awhile: and lo! the glorious June
(While Nature ripens in his burning noon)
Comes like a young inheritor, and gay,
Altho' his parent months have pass'd away:
But his green crown shall wither, and the tune
That usher'd in his birth be silent soon,
And in the strength of youth shall he decay.
What matters this—so long as in the past
And in the days to come we live, and feel
The present nothing worth, until it steal
Away, and like a disappointment die?
For Joy, dim child of Hope and Memory,
Flies ever on before, or follows fast.

AUTUMN.

THERE is a fearful spirit busy now:
Already have the elements unfurl'd
Their banners: the great sea-wave is upcurl'd:
The cloud comes: the fierce winds begin to blow
About, and blindly on their errands go,
And quickly will the pale red leaves be hurl'd
From their dry boughs, and all the forest world,
Stripp'd of its pride, be like a desert show.
I love that moaning music which I hear
In the bleak gusts of Autumn, for the soul
Seems gathering tidings from another sphere;
And, in sublime mysterious sympathy,
Man's bounding spirit ebbs and swells more high,
Accordant to the billow's loftier roll.

WINTER.

THIS is the eldest of the seasons: he
Moves not like Spring with gradual step, nor grows
From bud to beauty, but with all his snows
Comes down at once in hoar antiquity.
No rains nor loud proclaiming tempests flee
Before him, nor unto his time belong
The suns of Summer, nor the charms of song
That with May's gentle smiles so well agree.

But he, made perfect in his birth-day cloud,
Starts into sudden life with scarce a sound,
And with a gentle footstep treads the ground,
As tho' to cheat man's ear; yet while he stays,
He seems as 'twere to prompt our merriest days,
And bid the dance and joke be long and loud.

A Vision.

[From the same.]

ONCE, in a dream, I saw a shape of power
And unimaginable beauty, clad
In a vest of brightness star-dropt, arm'd with
A spear (celestial temper), while around
Blazed circling light—intense—and far beyond
Those sheeted lightnings that, by night, cast out
Their splendours near the line. The vision spoke
Cheering, and, as it spoke, the air became
Painfully sweet. Such odours as the rose
Wastes on the summer air, or such as rise
From beds of hyacinths, or from jasmine flowers,
Or when the blue-eyed violet weeps upon
Some sloping bank remote, while the young sun
(Creeping within her sheltering bower of leaves)
Dries up her tears, were nought—fantastical.
It spoke—in tones cathedral organs (touch'd
By master hands) ne'er gave—nor April winds,
Wandering thro' harps Æolian—nor the note
Of pastoral pipe, heard on the Garonne banks
At eventide—nor Spanish youth's guitar,
Night-touch'd—nor strains that take the charmed ear,
Breathed by the 'witching dames of Italy.

The Poachers.

[From Crabbe's Tales of the Hall.]

NOW met the lawless clan,—in secret met,
And down at their convivial board were set;
The plans in view to past adventures led,
And the past conflicts present anger bred;
They sigh'd for pleasures gone, they groan'd for heroes dead:
Their ancient stores were rifled,—strong desires
Awaked, and wine rekindled latent fires.

It

It was a night such bold desires to move,
Strong winds and wintry torrents fill'd the grove;
The crackling boughs that in the forest fell,
The cawing rooks, the cur's affrighten'd yell;
The scenes above the wood, the floods below,
Were mix'd, and none the single sound could know;
'Loud blow the blasts," they cried, 'and call us as they blow.'

In such a night—and then the heroes told
What had been done in better times of old;
How they had conquer'd all opposed to them,
By force in part, in part by stratagem;
And as the tales inflamed the fiery crew,
What had been done they then prepar'd to do;
'Tis a last night,' they said—the angry blast
And roaring floods seem'd answering 'Tis a last!'

James knew they met, for he had spies about,
Grave, sober men, whom none presumed to doubt;
For if suspected they had soon been tried
Where fears are evidence, and doubts decide:
But these escaped——Now James companions took,
Sturdy and bold, with terror-stirring look;
He had before, by informations led,
Left the afflicted partner of his bed;
Awaked his men, and through plantations wide,
Deep woods, and trackless ling, had been their guide;
And then return'd to wake the pitying wife,
And hear her tender terrors for his life.

But in this night a sure informer came,
They were assembled who attack'd his game;
Who more than once had through the park made way,
And slain the dappled breed, or vow'd to slay;
The trembling spy had heard the solemn vow,
And need and vengeance both inspired them now.

The keeper early had retired to rest
For brief repose;—sad thoughts his mind possess'd;
In his short sleep he started from his bed,
And ask'd in fancy's terror 'Is he dead?'

There was a call below, when James awoke,
Rose from his bed, and arms to aid him took,
Not all defensive!—there his helpers stood,
Arm'd like himself, and hastening to the wood.

'Why

'Why this?' he said, for Rachel pour'd her tears
Profuse, that spoke involuntary fears:
'Sleep, that so early thou for us mayst wake,
'And we our comforts in return may take;
'Sleep, and farewell!' he said, and took his way,
And the sad wife in neither could obey;
She slept not nor well fared, but restless dwelt
On her past life, and past afflictions felt;
The man she loved the brother and the foe
Of him she married!—It had wrought her woe;
Not that she loved, but pitied, and that now
Was, so she fear'd, infringement of her vow:
James too was civil, though she must confess
That his was not her kind of happiness;
That he would shoot the man who shot a hare
Was what her timid conscience could not bear;
But still she loved him—wonder'd where he stray'd
In this loud night! and if he were afraid.

More than one hour she thought, and dropping then
In sudden sleep, cried loudly 'Spare him, men!
And do no murder!'—then awaked she rose,
And thought no more of trying for repose.

'Twas past the dead of night, when every sound
That nature mingles might be heard around;
But none from man,—man's feeble voice was hush'd,
Where rivers swelling roar'd, and woods were crush'd;
Hurried by these, the wife could sit no more,
But must the terrors of the night explore.

Softly she left her door, her garden gate,
And seem'd as then committed to her fate;
To every horrid thought and doubt a prey,
She hurried on, already lost her way;
Oft as she glided on in that sad night,
She stopp'd to listen, and she look'd for light;
An hour she wander'd, and was still to learn
Aught of her husband's safety or return:
A sudden break of heavy clouds could show
A place she knew not, but she strove to know;
Still further on she crept with trembling feet,
With hope a friend, with fear a foe to meet:
And there was something fearful in the sight,
And in the sound of what appear'd to-night;
For now, of night and nervous terror bred,
Arose a strong and superstitious dread;
She heard strange noises, and the shapes she saw
Of fancied beings bound her soul in awe.

The moon was risen, and she sometimes shone
Through thick white clouds, that flew tumultuous on,
Passing beneath her with an eagle's speed,
That her soft light imprison'd and then freed;
The fitful glimmering through the hedge-row green
Gave a strange beauty to the changing scene;
And roaring winds and rushing waters lent
Their mingled voice that to the spirit went.

To these she listen'd; but new sounds were heard,
And sight more startling to her soul appear'd;
There were low lengthen'd tones with sobs between,
And near at hand, but nothing yet was seen;
She hurried on, and 'Who is there?' she cried,
'A dying wretch!'—was from the earth replied.
It was her lover, was the man she gave,
The price she paid, himself from death to save;
With whom, expiring, she must kneel and pray,
While the soul flitted from the shivering clay
That press'd the dewy ground, and bled its life away!

This was the part that duty bad her take,
Instant and ere her feelings were awake;
But now they waked to anguish; there came then,
Hurrying with lights, loud-speaking, eager men.

'And here, my lord, we met—And who is here?
The keeper's wife—Ah! woman, go not near!
There lies the man that was the head of all—
See, in his temples went the fatal ball!
And James that instant, who was then our guide,
Felt in his heart the adverse shot, and died!
It was a sudden meeting, and the light
Of a dull moon made indistinct our fight;
He foremost fell!—But see, the woman creeps
Like a lost thing, that wanders as she sleeps.

See, here her husband's body—but she knows
That other dead! and that her action shows.
Rachel! why look you at your mortal foe?—
She does not hear us—Whither will she go?'

Now, more attentive, on the dead they gazed,
And they were brothers: sorrowing and amazed,
On all a momentary silence came,
A common softness, and a moral shame.

'Seized you the poachers?' said my lord—'They fled,
And we pursued not,—one of them was dead,

And one of us; they hurried through the wood,
Two lives were gone, and we no more pursued.
Two lives of men, of valiant brothers lost!
Enough, my lord, do hares and pheasants cost!'

So many thought, and there is found a heart
To dwell upon the deaths on either part;
Since this their morals have been more correct,
The cruel spirit in the place is check'd;
His lordship holds not in such sacred care,
Nor takes such dreadful vengeance for a hare;
The smugglers fear, the poacher stands in awe
Of Heaven's own act, and reverences the law;
There was, there is a terror in the place
That operates on man's offending race;
Such acts will stamp their moral on the soul,
And while the bad they threaten and control,
Will to the pious and the humble say,
Yours is the right, the safe, the certain way,
'Tis wisdom to be good, 'tis virtue to obey.

So Rachel thinks, the pure, the good, the meek,
Whose outward acts the inward purpose speak;
As men will children at their sports behold,
And smile to see them, though unmoved and cold,
Smile at the recollected games, and then
Depart and mix in the affairs of men:
So Rachel looks upon the world, and sees
It cannot longer pain her, longer please,
But just detain the passing thought, or cause
A gentle smile of pity or applause;
And then the recollected soul repairs
Her slumbering hope, and heeds her own affairs.

The White Hat.

[From The Sun Newspaper.]

IN sixteen hundred and forty-one,
The Radicals had some famous fun;
Till with King Charles they so merrily sped,
They first took his crown, and then his head.
Then hey for Radical Reform,
To raise in England a glorious storm;
Till every man his dinner has got,
For two-pence the loaf, and a penny the pot.

Hampden

Hampden and Pym, with their Radical shears,
Cropt the bishops and sliced the peers;
While Oliver kick'd the mace with an air,
And set his own rump in the Speaker's chair.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

Oliver wore a broad-brimm'd hat:
It was not *white*, but no matter for that;
For so very broad its brim was grown,
That it cover'd the altar and capp'd the throne.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

Oliver then grew proud and high;
He look'd on his comrades rather shy;
He spit in their faces, and cut them all,
Till they humbly cried—God save King Noll!—
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

In eighteen hundred and nineteen,
Again shall be what before has been;
Until we reform both Church and State,
As in sixteen hundred and forty-eight.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

Hampden and Pym were not half as good
As Doctor Watson and Thistlewood;
And Lawyer Pearson as learnedly spoke
As ever did Mr. Solicitor Coke.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

And there's Henry Hunt, the cock of us all,
Will do the job much better than Noll;
Whose beaver was never so broad or flat,
As our King Harry the Ninth's White Hat.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

And Oliver had not Harry's way,
In making harangues from a one-horse *chay*;
Or, when he had reach'd his private ends,
In cutting his inconvenient friends.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

We'll have no pension, place, nor court,
No King nor Regent to support;
No priests to feed, no taxes to pay:
And we'll go to the devil our own way.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

A Parliament shall be held once a year,
Without the presence of bishop or peer;
And every man be his own law-maker,
In right of his single vote and acre.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

Reform like this we Radicals choose,
Who have something to gain and nothing to lose;
Unlike Sir Frank, and the Whiggish train,
Who have something to lose and nothing to gain.
Then hey for Radical Reform, &c.

Now march, my boys, in your Radical rags;
Handle your sticks, and flourish your flags;
Till we lay the Throne and the Altar flat,
With a whisk of Harry the Ninth's White Hat!
And hey for Radical Reform,
To raise in England a glorious storm;
And level each purse-proud aristocrat,
With a whisk of Harry the Ninth's White Hat.

The BACKWOODSMAN and his FAMILY floating down the OHIO.

[From The BACKWOODSMAN, an American Poem, by Mr. PAULSON.]

AS down Ohio's ever-ebbing tide,
Oarless and sailless silently they glide,
How still the scene, how lifeless, yet how fair,
Was the lone land that met the strangers there!
No smiling villages, or curling smoke,
The busy haunts of busy men bespoke,
No solitary hut, the banks along,
Sent forth blithe Labour's homely rustic song:
No urchin gambol'd on the smooth white sand,
Or hurl'd the skipping stone with playful hand,
While playmate dog plunged in the clear blue wave,
And swam in vain the sinking prize to save.
Where now are seen, along the river side,
Young busy towns in buxom painted pride,
And fleets of gliding boats with riches crown'd,
To distant Orleans or St. Louis bound,
Nothing appear'd, but Nature unsubdued,
One endless, noiseless, woodland solitude,
Or boundless prairie, that aye seem'd to be
As level and as lifeless as the sea;

They

They seem'd to breathe in this wide world alone,
Heirs of the Earth—the land was all their own!

'Twas evening now—the hour of toil was o'er,
Yet still they durst not seek the fearful shore,
Lest watchful Indian crew should silent creep,
And spring upon and murder them in sleep;
So through the livelong night they held their way,
And 'twas a night might shame the fairest day,
So still, so bright, so tranquil was its reign,
They cared not though the day ne'er came again.
The Moon high wheel'd the distant hills above,
Silver'd the fleecy foliage of the grove,
That as the wooing zephyrs on it fell,
Whisper'd it loved the gentle visit well—
That fair-faced orb alone to move appear'd,
That zephyr was the only sound they heard.
No deep-mouth'd hound the hunter's haunt betray'd;
No lights upon the shore or waters play'd;
No loud laugh broke upon the silent air,
To tell the wanderers man was nestling there;
While e'en the froward babe in mother's arms,
Lull'd by the scene, suppress'd its loud alarms,
And, yielding to that moment's tranquil sway,
Sunk on the breast, and slept its rage away.
All all was still, on gliding bark and shore,
As if the Earth now slept to wake no more;
Life seem'd extinct, as when the World first smiled,
Ere Adam was a dupe, or Eve beguiled.

In such a scene the Soul oft walks abroad,
For Silence is the energy of God!
Not in the blackest Tempest's midnight scowl,
The Earthquake's rocking, or the Whirlwind's howl,
Not from the crashing thunder-rifted cloud
Does His immortal mandate speak so loud,
As when the silent Night around her throws
Her star-bespangled mantle of repose;
Thunder and Whirlwind and the Earth's dread shake
The selfish thoughts of man alone awake;
His lips may prate of Heaven, but all his fears
Are for himself, though pious he appears.
But when all Nature sleeps in tranquil smiles,
What sweet yet lofty thought the soul beguiles!
There 's not an object 'neath the Moon's bright beam,
There 's not a shadow dark'ning on the stream,
There 's not a star that jewels yonder skies,
Whose bright reflection on the water lies,

That

That does not in the lifted mind awake
Thoughts that of love and Heaven alike partake;
While all its newly waken'd feelings prove,
That Love is Heaven, and God the Soul of Love.
In such sweet times the spirit rambles forth
Beyond the precincts of this grov'ling Earth,
Expatiates in a brighter world than this,
And plunging in the Future's dread abyss,
Proves an existence separate, and refined,
By leaving its frail tenement behind.
So felt our Basil, as he sat the while,
Guiding his boat beneath the moonbeam's smile.
For there are thoughts which God alike has given
To high and low—and these are thoughts of Heaven.

THE END.

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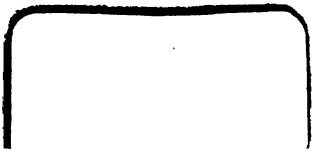
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